V.8 III

2 (c)

ZJA. 282 (2)

X58703

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2019 with funding from
Wellcome Library

https://archive.org/details/b31361742

A HISTORY
OF PERSIAN LITERATURE
UNDER TARTAR DOMINION
(A.D. 1265–1502)

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
C. F. CLAY, MANAGER
LONDON : FETTER LANE, E.C. 4

NEW YORK : THE MACMILLAN CO.
BOMBAY
CALCUTTA } MACMILLAN AND CO., LTD.
MADRAS
TORONTO : THE MACMILLAN CO. OF CANADA, LTD.
TOKYO : MARUZEN-KABUSHIKI-KAISHA

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

HÚLÁGÚ

Add. 18803 (Brit. Mus.), f. 19

Frontispiece

60850

A HISTORY OF PERSIAN LITERATURE UNDER TARTAR DOMINION

(A.D. 1265–1502)

BY

EDWARD G. BROWNE

M.A., M.B., F.B.A., F.R.C.P.

SIR THOMAS ADAMS'S PROFESSOR OF ARABIC
AND FELLOW OF PEMBROKE COLLEGE IN THE
UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

CAMBRIDGE
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
1920

Oriental Room

ZJA.282 (2)

2 (c)

WELLCOME
HISTORICAL
MEDICAL
LIBRARY

I DEDICATE THIS VOLUME TO MY WIFE, TO
WHOSE PERSUASION AND ENCOURAGEMENT
ITS COMPLETION IS CHIEFLY DUE

یك روز بود عید بیك سال یکبار
همواره مرا عید ز دیدار تو هموار

(Imámí : see pp. 116–117.)

PREFACE

FOURTEEN years have elapsed since the second volume of my *Literary History of Persia*[1], of which the present work is in fact, if not in name and form, a continuation, was published. That the appearance of this continuation, which comprises the period between Sa'dí and Jámí, and extends from the death of Húlágú the Mongol to the rise of the Ṣafawí dynasty (A.D. 1265–1502), has been so long delayed is due to a variety of causes, at one of which, operative for five or six years (A.D. 1907–12), I have hinted in the Preface (p. xx) to my *Persian Revolution of* 1905–9. While Persia was going through what repeatedly appeared to be her death-agony, it was difficult for anyone who loved her to turn his eyes for long from her present sufferings to her past glories. Often, indeed, I almost abandoned all hope of continuing this work, and that I did at last take up, revise and complete what I had already begun to write was due above all else to the urgency and encouragement of my wife, and of one or two of my old friends and colleagues, amongst whom I would especially mention Dr T. W. Arnold and Mr Guy le Strange.

The delay in the production of this volume has not, however, been altogether a matter for regret, since it has enabled me to make use of materials, both printed and manuscript, which would not have been available at an earlier date. In particular it has been my good fortune to acquire

[1] Of these two volumes, published by Mr T. Fisher Unwin in the "Library of Literary History," the full titles are as follows: *A Literary History of Persia from the earliest times until Firdawsí* (pp. xvi + 521), 1902; and *A Literary History of Persia from Firdawsí to Sa'dí* (pp. xvi + 568), 1906. In the notes to this volume they are referred to as *Lit. Hist. of Persia, vol. i* or *vol. ii.*

India Research Students of exceptional learning, ability and industry, Muḥammad Shafí', a member of my own College and now Professor of Arabic in the Panjáb University, and, on his departure, by Muḥammad Iqbál, a young scholar of great promise. To both of these I owe many valuable emendations, corrections and suggestions.

Of the twelve illustrations to this volume four (those facing pp. 8, 66, 74 and 96) have already appeared in the edition of the *Ta'ríkh-i-Jahán-gushá* published in 1912 by the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Trust" (vol. xvi, 1, pp. lxxxvii, 147, 154 and 222), and are reproduced here by the kind permission of my fellow trustees. To my old friend Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, of Columbia University, and to Messrs Macmillan, his publishers, I am indebted for permission to reproduce the photograph of the Tomb of Ḥáfiẓ at Shíráz which originally appeared in his *Persia, Past and Present* (p. 332), and here appears facing p. 310. The facsimile of Jámí's autograph facing p. 508 of this volume is reproduced from vol. iii (1886) of the *Collections Scientifiques de l'Institut des Langues Orientales du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères à St Pétersbourg: Manuscrits Persans*, compiled with so much judgment by the late Baron Victor Rosen, to whose help and encouragement in the early days of my career I am deeply indebted. The six remaining illustrations, which are new, and, as I think will be generally admitted, of exceptional beauty and interest, were selected for me from manuscripts in the British Museum by my friends Mr A. G. Ellis and Mr Edward Edwards, to whose unfailing erudition and kindness I owe more than I can say. Three of them, the portraits of Sa'dí, Ḥáfiẓ and Sháh-rukh, are from **Add. 7468** (ff. 19, 34 and 44 respectively), while the portraits of Húlágú and Tímúr are from **Add. 18,803**, f. 19, and **Add. 18,801**, f. 23. The colophon of the beautifully written *Qur'án* transcribed at Mawṣil in A.H. 710 (A.D. 1310–11) for Úljáytú (Khudá-banda) and his two ministers Rashídu'd-Dín

Faḍlu'lláh and Sa'du'd-Dín is from the recently acquired Or. 4945[1]. All these have been reproduced by Mr R. B. Fleming with his usual taste and skill.

Lastly I am indebted to Miss Gertrude Lowthian Bell, whose later devotion to Arabic has caused her services to Persian letters to be unduly forgotten, for permission to reprint in this volume some of her beautiful translations of the odes of Ḥáfiẓ, together with her fine appreciation of his position as one of the great poets not only of his own age and country but of the world and of all time.

EDWARD G. BROWNE.

April 5, 1920.

[1] See the first entry in the *Descriptive List of the Arabic Manuscripts acquired by the Trustees of the British Museum since* 1894, by Mr A. G. Ellis and Mr Edward Edwards (London, 1912).

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

I.	Húlágú. (Phot. by Mr R. B. Fleming) . .	*Frontispiece*	
II.	Bátú's court on the Volga . . .	*To face page*	8
III.	Colophon of oldest MS. of the *Ta'ríkh-i-Jahán-gushá*	„	„ 66
IV.	Enthronement of Ogotáy	„	„ 74
V.	Colophon of *Qur'án* transcribed for Úljáytú, Rashídu'd-Dín and Sa'du'd-Dín. (Phot. by Mr R. B. Fleming)	„	„ 78
VI.	Mongol siege of a Chinese town . .	„	„ 96
VII.	Tímúr-i-Lang (Tamerlane). (Phot. by Mr R. B. Fleming)	„	„ 180
VIII.	Ḥáfiẓ and Abú Isḥáq. (Phot. by Mr R. B. Fleming)	„	„ 274
IX.	The Ḥáfiziyya or Tomb of Ḥáfiẓ . .	„	„ 310
X.	Sháh-rukh. (Phot. by Mr R. B. Fleming)	„	„ 382
XI.	Sa'dí. (Phot. by Mr R. B. Fleming) .	„	„ 484
XII.	Jámí's autograph	„	„ 508

ERRATA

p. 60, last line, read *Maṭla'u's-Sa'dayn.*

p. 110, l. 25, for *speed* read *speech.*

p. 111, l. 23, for *Majma'u'sh-Shu'ará* read *Majma'u'l-Fuṣaḥá.*

p. 311, l. 11. The date given is evidently wrong, for Karím Khán reigned from A.H. 1163–1193 (A.D. 1750–1779).

p. 398, ll. 28 and 31, for *Báyazíd III* read *Báyazíd II.*

pp. 411, l. 16, and 412, l. 26. One of the two dates (A.D. 1472 and 1474) here given is wrong, but I do not know which.

BOOK I.

THE MONGOL ÍL-KHÁNS OF PERSIA, FROM THE DEATH OF HÚLÁGÚ TO THE EXTINCTION OF THE DYNASTY

(A.H. 663–737 = A.D. 1265–1337).

CHAPTER I.

THE MONGOL ÍL-KHÁNS OF PERSIA.

Great epochs in Persian history, and their connection with World-history

Although to the student every period in the history of every nation is more or less interesting, or could be made so with sufficient knowledge, sympathy and imagination, there are in the history of most peoples certain momentous epochs of upheaval and reconstruction about which it behoves every educated person to know something. Of such epochs Persia, for geographical and ethnological reasons, has had her full share. A glance at the map will suffice to remind the reader that this ancient, civilized and homogeneous land, occupying the whole space between the Caspian Sea and the Persian Gulf, forms, as it were, a bridge between Europe and Asia Minor on the one hand and Central and Eastern Asia on the other, across which bridge from the earliest times have passed the invading hosts of the West or the East on their respective paths of conquest. The chief moments at which Persian history thus merges in World-history are as follows :

(1) The Persian invasion of Greece by the Achaemenian kings in the fifth century before Christ.

Enumeration of seven of these epochs

(2) Alexander's invasion of Persia on his way to India in the fourth century before Christ, resulting in the overthrow of the Achaemenian dynasty and the extinction of Persia as a Great Power for five centuries and a half.

(3) The restoration of the Persian Empire by the House of Sásán in the third, and their often successful wars with the Romans in the fourth and following centuries after Christ.

(4) The Arab invasion of the seventh century after Christ, which formed part of that extraordinary religious revival of a people hitherto accounted as naught, which in

the course of a few years carried the standards of Islám from the heart of desert Arabia to Spain in the West and the Oxus and Indus in the East.

(5) The Mongol or Tartar invasion of the thirteenth century, which profoundly affected the greater part of Asia and South-eastern Europe, and which may be truly described as one of the most dreadful calamities which ever befel the human race.

(6) The second Tartar invasion of Tamerlane (*Tímúr-i-Lang* or "Limping Tímúr") in the latter part of the fourteenth century.

(7) The Turco-Persian Wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which gave Persia at that time so great an importance in the eyes of Europe as a potential check on Turkish ambitions, and caused her friendship to be so eagerly sought after by the chief Western nations.

Of these seven great epochs in Persian history the fourth and fifth are the most important and have had the greatest and most profound influence. In all points save one, however, the Arab and Mongol invasions were utterly dissimilar. The Arabs came from the South-west, the Tartars from the North-east; the Arabs were inspired by a fiery religious enthusiasm, the Tartars by mere brutish lust of conquest, bloodshed and rapine; the Arabs brought a new civilization and order to replace those which they had destroyed, the Tartars brought mere terror and devastation. In a word, the Tartars were cunning, ruthless and bloodthirsty marauders, while the Arabs were, as even their Spanish foes were fain to admit, "Knights...and gentlemen, albeit Moors."

The Arab and Mongol invasions of Persia compared and contrasted

The one point of resemblance between the two was the scorn which their scanty equipment and insignificant appearance aroused in their well-armed and richly-equipped antagonists before they had tasted of their quality. This point is well brought out in that charming Arabic history the *Kitábu'l-Fakhrí*, whose author wrote about A.D. 1300, some fifty years after the Tartars had sacked Baghdád and

destroyed the Caliphate. After describing the Arab invasion of Persia and the merriment of the Persian satraps and officers at the tattered scabbards, slender lances and small horses of the Arabs, he relates, *à propos* of this, the account[1] given to him by one of those who "marched out to meet the Tartars on the Western side of Baghdád on the occasion of its supreme catastrophe in the year 656/1258," and tells how to meet one of their splendidly appointed champions in single combat there rode forth from the Mongol ranks "a man mounted on a horse resembling a donkey, having in his hand a spear like a spindle, and wearing neither uniform nor armour, so that all who saw him were moved to laughter." "Yet ere the day was done," he concludes, "theirs was the victory, and they inflicted on us a great defeat, which was the Key of Evil, and after which there befell us what befell us."

Terrible character and lasting effects of the Mongol invasion

It is almost impossible to exaggerate either the historical importance or the horror of this great irruption of barbarians out of Mongolia, Turkistán and Transoxiana in the first half of the thirteenth century. Amongst its results were the destruction of the Arabian Caliphate and disruption of the Muhammadan Empire, the creation of the modern political divisions of Western Asia, the driving into Asia Minor and subsequently into Europe of the Ottoman Turks, the stunting and barbarizing of Russia, and indirectly the Renaissance. As regards the terror universally inspired by the atrocious deeds of the Tartars, d'Ohsson in his admirable *Histoire des Mongols* observes[2] that we should be tempted to charge the Oriental historians with exaggeration, were it not that their statements are entirely confirmed by the independent testimony of Western historians as to the precisely similar proceedings of the Tartars in South-eastern Europe, where

[1] For the full translation of this passage see *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, vol. i, pp. 197–8.

[2] Vol. i, p. vii: "On croirait que l'histoire a exagéré leurs atrocités, si les annales de tous les pays n'étaient d'accord sur ce point."

they ravaged not only Russia, Poland and Hungary, but penetrated to Silesia, Moravia and Dalmatia, and at the fatal battle of Liegnitz (April 9, 1241) defeated an army of 30,000 Germans, Austrians, Hungarians and Poles commanded by Henry the Pious, Duke of Silesia. Already two years before this date the terror which they inspired even in Western Europe was so great that the contemporary chronicler Matthew Paris, writing at St Albans, records under the year A.D. 1238 that for fear of the Mongols the fishermen of Gothland and Friesland dared not cross the North Sea to take part in the herring-fishing at Yarmouth, and that consequently herrings were so cheap and abundant in England that year that forty or fifty were sold for a piece of silver, even at places far from the coast. In the same year an envoy from the Isma'ílís or Assassins of Alamút by the Caspian Sea came to France and England to crave help against those terrible foes by whom they were annihilated twenty years later. He met with little encouragement, however, for the Bishop of Winchester, having heard his appeal, replied: "Let these dogs devour each other and be utterly wiped out, and then we shall see, founded on their ruins, the Universal Catholic Church, and then shall truly be one shepherd and one flock!"

Matthew Paris cited

The accounts given by Ibnu'l-Athír, Yáqút and other contemporary Muhammadan historians of the Mongol invasion have been cited in part in a previous volume[1] and need not be repeated here, but it is instructive to compare them with what Matthew Paris says about those terrible Tatars, who, for reasons which he indicates, through a popular etymology connecting them with the infernal regions, became known in Europe as "Tartars." Under the year A.D. 1240 he writes of them as follows[2]:

"That the joys of mortal man be not enduring, nor

[1] *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, vol. ii, pp. 426 *et seqq.*

[2] Vol. iv, pp. 76–78, cited in the Introductory Note to vol. iv of the Second Series of the Hakluyt Society's publications (London, 1900).

worldly happiness long lasting without lamentations, in this same year a detestable nation of Satan, to wit the countless army of Tartars, broke loose from its mountain-environed home, and, piercing the solid rocks (of the Caucasus) poured forth like devils from the Tartarus, so that they are rightly called 'Tartars' or 'Tartarians.' Swarming like locusts over the face of the earth, they have brought terrible devastation to the eastern parts (of Europe), laying them waste with fire and carnage. After having passed through the land of the Saracens, they have razed cities, cut down forests, overthrown fortresses, pulled up vines, destroyed gardens, killed townspeople and peasants. If perchance they have spared any suppliants, they have forced them, reduced to the lowest condition of slavery, to fight in the foremost ranks against their own neighbours. Those who have feigned to fight, or have hidden in the hope of escaping, have been followed up by the Tartars and butchered. If any have fought bravely for them and conquered, they have got no thanks for reward; and so they have misused their captives as they have their mares. For they are inhuman and beastly, rather monsters than men, thirsting for and drinking blood, tearing and devouring the flesh of dogs and men, dressed in ox-hides, armed with plates of iron, short and stout, thickset, strong, invincible, indefatigable, their backs unprotected, their breasts covered with armour; drinking with delight the pure blood of their flocks, with big, strong horses, which eat branches and even trees, and which they have to mount by the help of three steps on account of the shortness of their thighs. They are without human laws, know no comforts, are more ferocious than lions or bears, have boats made of ox-hides which ten or twelve of them own in common; they are able to swim or manage a boat, so that they can cross the largest and swiftest rivers without let or hindrance, drinking turbid and muddy water when blood fails them (as a beverage). They have one-edged swords and daggers, are wonderful archers, spare neither age, nor sex, nor condition. They know no

other language but their own, which no one else knows; for until now there has been no access to them, nor did they go forth (from their own country); so that there could be no knowledge of their customs or persons through the common intercourse of men. They wander about with their flocks and their wives, who are taught to fight like men. And so they come with the swiftness of lightning to the confines of Christendom, ravaging and slaughtering, striking everyone with terror and incomparable horror. It was for this that the Saracens sought to ally themselves with the Christians, hoping to be able to resist these monsters with their combined forces."

Early European envoys to the Mongol capital

So far from such alliance taking place, however, it was not long before the ecclesiastical and temporal rulers of Christendom conceived the idea of making use of the Tartars to crush Islám, and so end in their favour once and for all the secular struggle of which the Crusades were the chief manifestation. Communications were opened up between Western Europe and the remote and inhospitable Tartar capital of Qaraqorum; letters and envoys began to pass to and fro; and devoted friars like John of Pian de Carpine and William of Rubruck did not shrink from braving the dangers and hardships of that long and dreary road, or the arrogance and exactions of the Mongols, in the discharge of the missions confided to them. The former, bearing a letter from the Pope dated March 9, 1245, returned to Lyons in the autumn of 1247 after an absence of two years and a half, and delivered to the Pope the written answer of the Mongol Emperor Kuyúk Khán. The latter accomplished his journey in the years 1253–5 and spent about eight months (January—August, 1254) at the camp and capital of Mangú Khán, by whom he was several times received in audience. Both have left narratives of their adventurous and arduous journeys which the Hakluyt Society has rendered easily accessible to English readers[1], and of which that of Friar

[1] Second Series, vol. iv, London, 1900, translated and edited by W. W. Rockhill.

II

Bátú, the grandson of Chingíz, holds his Court on the Volga

From an old MS. of the
Jámi'u't-Tawáríkh in the
Bibliothèque Nationale

To face p. 8

William of Rubruck especially is of engrossing interest and great value. These give us a very vivid picture of the Tartar Court and its ceremonies, the splendour of the presents offered to the Emperor by the numerous envoys of foreign nations and subject peoples, the gluttonous eating and drinking which prevailed (and which, as we shall see, also characterized the Court of Tímúr 150 years later), and the extraordinary afflux of foreigners, amongst whom were included, besides almost every Asiatic nation, Russians, Georgians, Hungarians, Ruthenians and even Frenchmen. Some of these had spent ten, twenty, or even thirty years amongst the Mongols, were conversant with their language, and were able and willing to inform the missionaries "most fully of all things" without much questioning, and to act as interpreters[1]. The language question, as affecting the answer to the Pope's letter, presented, however, some difficulties. The Mongols enquired "whether there were any persons with the Lord Pope who understood the written languages of the Ruthenians, or Saracens, or Tartars," but Friar John advised that the letter should be written in Tartar and carefully translated and explained to them, so that they might make a Latin translation to take back with the original. The Mongol Emperor wished to send envoys of his own to Europe in the company of Friar John, who, however, discountenanced this plan for five reasons, of which the first three were: (1) that he feared lest, seeing the wars and dissensions of the Christians, the Tartars might be further encouraged to attack them; (2) that they might act as spies; (3) that some harm might befall them in Europe "as our people are for the most part arrogant and hasty," and "it is the custom of the Tartars never to make peace with those who have killed their envoys till they have wreaked vengeance upon them." So Friar John and his

[1] M. Léon Cahun in his *Introduction à l'Histoire de l'Asie*, p. 353, n. 2 *ad calc.*, puts forward the ingenious suggestion that the German *Dolmetsch* is derived from the Turco-Mongol *Tilmáj*, both words meaning "Interpreter."

companions came at last to Kieff on their homeward journey, and were there "congratulated as though they had risen from the dead, and so also throughout Russia, Poland and Bohemia."

Diplomatic relations of the Mongols with Europe

The history of the diplomatic missions[1] which passed between Europe and Tartary in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries has been admirably illustrated by Abel-Rémusat in his two classical *Mémoires sur les Rélations politiques des Princes Chrétiens, et particulièrement les Rois de France, avec les Empereurs Mongols.* *Fac-similes* are here given, with printed texts and in some cases Latin or French translations, of nine Mongol letters conveyed by different envoys at different periods to the French Court. The originals of these, measuring in some cases more than six feet in length, may still be seen in the *Archives* in Paris. The arrogance of their tone is very noticeable; still more so the occurrence in the Latin version of a letter to the Pope from Bachú Núyán of a very ominous and characteristic phrase which is also noticed by the contemporary Persian historian Juwayní. "Si vultis super terram vestram, aquam et patrimonium sedere," runs the letter, "oportet ut, tu Papa, in propriâ personâ ad nos venias, et ad eum qui faciem totius terrae continet accedas. Et si tu præceptum Dei stabile et illius qui faciem totius terrae continet non audieris, *illud nos nescimus Deus scit*[2]." So Juwayní says[3] that, unlike other great rulers and conquerors, they never indulged in violent and wordy threats when demanding submission or surrender, but "as their utmost warning used to write but this much: '*If they do not submit and obey, what do we know* [*what may happen*]*? the Eternal God knows'!*" As to what would inevitably happen if the Tartars were resisted (and

[1] Published in the *Mémoires de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* in 1821 and 1822, vol. vi, p. 396 and vol. vii, p. 335.

[2] See pp. 421–2 of the second memoir mentioned above.

[3] *Ta'ríkh-i-Jahán-gushá* ("E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series, vol. xvi, 1, 1912) Part I, p. 18, l. 11.

often even if they were not resisted) men were not long left in doubt. "Wherever there was a king, or local ruler, or city warden who ventured to oppose, him they annihilated, together with his family and his clan, kinsmen and strangers alike, to such a degree that, without exaggeration, not a hundred persons were left where there had been a hundred thousand. The proof of this assertion is the account of the happenings in the various towns, each of which has been duly recorded in its proper time and place[1]."

Mongol envoys visit Edward II at Northampton in 1307

Whether any such letters exist in the records of this country I do not know, but in 1307, shortly after the death of Edward I (to whom they had been accredited), two Mongol ambassadors, whose names are given as Mamlakh and Túmán[2], came to Northampton and carried back with them an answer from Edward II written in Latin and dated October 16, 1307. The principal object of this and previous missions was to effect an alliance between the Mongols and the European nations against the Muhammadans, especially the Egyptians. To attain this end the wily Mongols constantly represented themselves as disposed to embrace the Christian religion, a deceitful pretence which the more readily succeeded because of the belief prevalent in Europe that there existed somewhere in Central or Eastern Asia a great Christian emperor called "Prester John," generally identified with Úng Khán the ruler of the Karíts (or Kerá'its), a people akin to the Mongols, with whom at the beginning of his career Chingíz Khán stood in close relations, and who had been converted to Christianity by Nestorian missionaries[3]. But as a matter of fact Islám had been the official religion of

"Prester John"

[1] Juwayní, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

[2] Called elsewhere "Thomas Ildaci" or "Iouldoutchi" (Yoldúchí).

[3] This identification is explicitly made by Abu'l-Faraj Bar-Hebraeus (Beyrout ed. of 1890, p. 394). See also d'Ohsson's *Hist. des Mongols*, vol. i, pp. 48–9 and 52–3 with the footnotes. *Úng* or *Ong Khán* was converted by popular etymology into *Yokhnan=Johan.*

the Mongol rulers of Persia for at least ten years before the above-mentioned ambassadors obtained audience of Edward II.

Excellence and abundance of materials for Mongol history

The contemporary Oriental histories of the Mongols are singularly full and good[1], and include in Arabic Ibnu 'l-Athír's great chronicle, which comes down to the year 628/1231; Shihábu'd-Dín Nasá'í's very full biography of his master Jalálu'd-Dín Mankobirní, the gallant Prince of Khwárazm who maintained so heroic and protracted a struggle against the destroyers of his house and his empire; the Christian Abu'l-Faraj Bar-Hebraeus, whose Arabic history (for he wrote a fuller chronicle in Syriac) comes down to 683/1284, two years before his death; and Yáqút the geographer, most of which have been discussed and quoted in a previous volume. Of the three chief Persian sources, the *Ta'ríkh-i-Jahán-gushá* of Juwayní, the *Ta'ríkh-i-Waṣṣáf*, and the *Jámi'u't-Tawáríkh*, a good deal will be said in the next chapter, but one may be permitted to express regret that the last-mentioned history, one of the most original, extensive and valuable existing in the Persian language, still remains for the most part unpublished and almost inaccessible[2].

European histories of the Mongols

(1) d'Ohsson

Of the three best-known European histories of the Mongols, and of the point of view represented by each, something must needs be said here. First there is Baron d'Ohsson's admirable *Histoire des Mongols, depuis Tchinguiz Khan jusqu'à Timour Bey ou Tamerlan*[3], a monument of clear exposition based on profound research. While recognizing, as every

[1] They are admirably enumerated and described by d'Ohsson, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. x–lxvi.

[2] I have discussed the materials available for a complete text of this important work in an article published in the *J. R. A. S.* for 1908, vol. xl, pp. 17–37, entitled *Suggestions for a complete edition of the* Jámi'u't-Tawáríkh *of Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh.*

[3] Published in four volumes at the Hague and Amsterdam, 1834–5.

student of the subject must recognize, the immense importance and far-reaching effects of the Mongol conquests, he finds this people utterly detestable: "their government," he says, "was the triumph of depravity: all that was noble and honourable was abased; while the most corrupt persons, taking service under these ferocious masters, obtained, as the price of their vile devotion, wealth, honours, and the power to oppress their countrymen. The history of the Mongols, stamped by their savagery, presents therefore only hideous pictures; but, closely connected as it is to that of several empires, it is necessary for the proper understanding of the great events of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries[1]."

(2) Sir Henry Howorth

Next in point of time is Sir Henry Howorth's great *History of the Mongols* in four large volumes[2]. His view of the Tartars differs somewhat from d'Ohsson's, for he sees in them "one of those hardy, brawny races, cradled amidst want and hard circumstances, in whose blood there is a good mixture of iron, which are sent periodically to destroy the luxurious and the wealthy, to lay in ashes the arts and culture which only grow under the shelter of wealth and easy circumstances, and to convert into a desert the paradise which man has painfully cultivated. Like the pestilence and the famine the Mongols were essentially an engine of destruction; and if it be a painful, harassing story to read, it is nevertheless a necessary one if we are to understand the great course of human progress[3]." After enumerating other luxurious and civilized peoples who have been similarly renovated by the like drastic methods, he asserts that this "was so to a large extent, with the victims of the Mongol arms; their prosperity was hollow and pretentious,

[1] *Op. laud.*, vol. i, pp. vii–viii.

[2] Published in London 1876–1888 and divided into three parts, of which part 2 forms vols. ii and iii. Part 3 (vol. iv) deals with the Mongols of Persia.

[3] *Op. laud.*, part 1, p. x.

their grandeur very largely but outward glitter, and the diseased body needed a sharp remedy; the apoplexy that was impending could probably only be staved off by much blood-letting, the demoralized cities must be sown with salt and their inhabitants inoculated with fresh streams of vigorous blood from the uncontaminated desert[1]." With more justice he insists on the wonderful bringing together of the most remote peoples of the East and West which was the most important constructive effect of the Mongol conquest, and concludes: "I have no doubt myself...that the art of printing, the mariner's compass, firearms, and a great many details of social life, were not discovered in Europe, but imported by means of Mongol influence from the furthest East."

(3) Léon Cahun

The third book which demands notice, chiefly on account of its influence in Turkey in generating the *Yeñi Túrán*, or Pan-Turanian movement, of which it is not yet possible exactly to appraise the political importance, is M. Léon Cahun's *Introduction à l'Histoire de l'Asie: Turcs et Mongols, des Origines à* 1405[2]. This writer goes very much further than Howorth in his admiration of the Mongols and the various kindred Turkish peoples who formed the bulk of their following. A note of admiration characterizes his description of their military virtues[3], their "culte du drapeau, la glorification du nom *turc*, puis *mongol*, le chauvinisme[4]"; their political combinations against the Sásánian Persians[5], and later against the Islamic influences of which Persia was the centre; their courage, hardihood, discipline, hospitality, lack of religious fanaticism, and firm administration. This book, though diffuse, is suggestive, and is in any case worth reading because of its influence on certain chauvinistic circles in Turkey, as is a historical romance about the Mongols by

[1] *Op. laud.*, p. 11.
[2] Paris, 1896.
[3] *Op. laud.*, p. ix.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 79.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 111–118.

the same author, translated into English under the title of *The Blue Banner*. Of the *Yeñi Túrán* movement I have spoken briefly elsewhere[1], and this is hardly the place to discuss it more fully, though it has perhaps a greater significance than I was at that time disposed to think. On the literary side it aims at preferring Turkish to Arabic and Persian words, idioms and vehicles of expression, and at combating Arabic and Persian influences and traditions; while on the political side it dreams of amalgamating in one State all the Turkish and kindred peoples west and east of the Caspian Sea (including the Mongols on the one hand and the Bulgarians on the other), and of creating a great Turkish or Turanian Empire more or less coextensive with that of Chingíz Khán. The ideas of this school were chiefly embodied in a fortnightly publication entitled *Turk Yurdu* (the "Turkish Hearth") inaugurated in December, 1911.

The *Yeñi Túrán*, or "New Turanian" Movement

It is not, however, with the Mongol Empire as a whole, but with Persia under Mongol dominion that we are here chiefly concerned, nor is it necessary to record in detail the history of the Mongol *Íl-kháns* who succeeded Húlágú, which can be read in full in the pages of d'Ohsson and Howorth. Considering what Persia suffered at the hands of the Tartars, it is wonderful how much good literature was produced during this period.

State of Persia under the Mongols

Generally speaking the South of Persia, lying apart from the main track of conquest to the West, suffered much less than the North, West and Centre. Iṣfahán suffered a massacre in which one famous poet at least perished[2], but Shíráz, owing to the timely and prudent submission of its ruler, escaped almost scatheless, a fact to which Sa'dí ingeniously alludes in the

Relative immunity of South Persia

[1] *The Press and Poetry of Modern Persia*, p. xxxix. An interesting article on this subject, written, I understand, by Mr Arnold Toynbee, also appeared in the *Times* for Jan. 3, 5 and 7, 1918.

[2] See *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, vol. ii, pp. 541–2.

panegyric on his patron prefixed to the *Bústán*, where he says[1]:

سکندر بدیوار روئین و سنگ ' بکرد از جهان راهِ یاجوج تنگ '
ترا سدِّ یاجوجِ کُفْر از زرست ' نه روئین چو دیوارِ اسکندرست '

"Alexander, by means of a Wall of brass and stone, narrowed the road of Gog from the world:
Thy barrier to the Gog of Paganism is of gold, not of brass like the Wall of Alexander."

"By the 'Gog of Paganism,'" says the commentator, "Chingíz Khán is meant. The King-Atábek made peace with him by money, so that the Musulmáns of Shíráz were saved from the hands of his tyranny. The author ascribes pre-eminence to his patron because, says he, 'Alexander barred Gog's advance with a brazen barrier, but thou didst check the advance of the Gog of Paganism with gold.'"

Twenty-five years before Sa'dí wrote this, Shamsu'd-Dín Muḥammad ibn Qays of Ray, flying before the first fury of the Tartar irruption, had found at Shíráz a haven of refuge wherein to complete his interrupted work on the *Ars Poetica* and prosody of Persia[2]; and the life of Shíráz seems to have gone on fairly tranquilly and suffered relatively little disturbance during those stormy days.

Why certain branches of learning suffered less than others

Another point to be noted is that, while all learning suffered from the wholesale massacres of scholars and destruction of mosques, libraries, and other pious foundations, some branches of learning suffered much less than others. For theology and philosophy, for example, the pagan Mongols naturally cared little; but they attached considerable importance to medicine, botany, astronomy and other natural sciences,

[1] See Graf's edition, last line on p. 22 and first line on p. 23. The *Bústán* was written in 665/1257, a year before the *Gulistán*.

[2] See the English Preface (pp. xv–xviii) to Mírzá Muḥammad's edition of his *Mu'jam fí Ma'áyíri Ash'ári 'l-'Ajam*, published in the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series, vol. x, 1909.

were especially desirous that their achievements should be fully and accurately recorded by competent historians, and were not altogether indifferent to the praises of poets. At no other period, as will be pointed out more fully in the next chapter, were so many first-rate histories written in Persian; but it must be remembered that the writers were, as a rule, men whose education reposed on the more scholarly tradition of pre-Mongol days, and that such historical works as the *Ta'ríkh-i-Jahán-gushá* of Juwayní and the *Jámi'u't-Tawáríkh* of Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh were isolated phenomena, hardly approached in excellence in later days. The *Ta'ríkh-i-Guzída* is as inferior to the latter as it is superior to the over-estimated histories of Mírkhwánd and Khwándamír which will be discussed in the concluding chapter of this volume. On the whole, then, it may be safely said that, allowing for the terrible crisis through which Persia was passing, when heathen rulers dominated the land, and Christians and Jews lorded it over Muslims, the period of Mongol ascendancy, from the death of Húlágú Khán on February 8, 1265, until the death of the last Mongol Íl-khán, Músá, in 1337, was wonderfully rich in literary achievements.

Before passing to the detailed consideration of these achievements, a brief sketch must be given of the external history of this period, which is divided into two nearly equal halves by the reign of Gházán, who, though not the first Mongol Íl-khán to embrace the religion of Islám, was the first to restore it to its position of supremacy and to purge the land of Mongol heathenism.

1. ABÁQÁ (A.D. 1265–1282).

The first successor of Húlágú was his son Abáqá (or Abaqá), who was crowned on June 19, 1265, a date chosen as auspicious by the famous astronomer and philosopher Naṣíru'd-Dín of Ṭús, whose brilliant scientific and dubious political achievements have been discussed in a previous volume[1]. His life was now

Abáqá, A.D. 1265–1282

[1] *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, vol. ii, pp. 484–6, *etc.*

drawing towards its close, but we hear of him once again five years later, in 669/1270–1, when he was called in to treat Abáqá, who had been gored by a wild cow on one of his hunting expeditions. The wound suppurated and an abscess formed which none of the Íl-khán's other medical advisers dared to open. Naṣíru'd-Dín successfully performed the operation. He died in the following year at the age of seventy-five. Bar-Hebraeus gives him a brief but laudatory notice in his *Mukhtaṣaru'd-Duwal*[1], describing him as "the Keeper of the Observatory at Maráǵha and a man of vast learning in all branches of philosophy." "Under his control," he continues, "were all the religious endowments in all the lands under Mongol rule. He composed many works on logic, the natural sciences and metaphysics, and on Euclid and the *Almagest*. He also wrote a Persian work on Ethics[2] of the utmost possible merit wherein he collected all the *dicta* of Plato and Aristotle on practical Philosophy, confirming the opinions of the ancients and solving the doubts of the moderns and the criticisms advanced by them in their writings."

Last days and death of Naṣíru 'd-Dín of Ṭús

Abáqá was thirty-one years of age when he became ruler of Persia, and whether or no there was any truth in the rumour that he was actually baptised into the Christian Church at the desire of his bride Despina, the natural daughter of Michael Palaeologus[3], he consistently favoured the Christians, and, indeed, appears to have owed his elevation to the throne to their influence, exercised through Doquz Khátún, the widow of his father and predecessor Húlágú, who survived her husband about a year, and who never failed to befriend her co-religionists in every possible way[4]. Abáqá's diplomatic relations with

Abáqá favours the Christians

[1] Beyrout ed. of A.D. 1890, pp. 500–1.

[2] *I.e.* the well-known *Akhláq-i-Náṣirí*, one of the three Persian works on this subject which are most read even at the present day. See *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, vol. ii, pp. 220, 456, 485.

[3] See Howorth, *op. cit.*, pt. 3, p. 223.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 218. She belonged to the Christian tribe of Kerá'it (or

the Popes and Christian kings of Europe are, however, in all probability to be ascribed rather to political than religious motives. He was in correspondence with Clement IV, who wrote him a letter from Viterbo in 1267; Gregory X in 1274; and Nicolas III, who in 1278 sent to him and to his overlord the great Qúbiláy ("Kubla") Khán an embassy of five Franciscan monks. One of his embassies even penetrated as far as England and was apparently received by Edward I, but the records of it seem to be scanty or non-existent[1]. The political object of these negotiations was to arrange for a combined attack on the still unsubdued Muslims of Egypt and Syria, the natural and deadly foes of the Mongols; and the inducement held out to the Christians was the possession of the Holy Land for which they had so long striven. Fortunately for the Muhammadans, Islám possessed in the Mamlúk Sulṭán Baybars, called al-Malik aẓ-Ẓáhir, a doughty champion well qualified to meet the double peril which menaced his faith and his country. Already in 1260, before he was elected king, he had driven Húlágú's Mongols out of Ghaza and routed them at 'Ayn Jálút, driven back the Crusaders in Syria, and broken the power of the Syrian branch of the Assassins; and in April, 1277, he inflicted on the Mongols another great defeat at Abulustayn, leaving nearly 7000 of them dead on the field of battle[2]. When Abáqá subsequently visited the battle-field, he was deeply moved, even to tears, by the numbers of the Mongol slain.

Karít) and was the granddaughter of their ruler Úng or Wang Khán, the original of the "Prester John" of mediaeval legend. Bar-Hebraeus in recording her death (*op. cit.*, p. 497) describes her as "great in her judgement and wisdom."

[1] See Howorth, *op. laud.*, pp. 278–281, and on the whole subject Abel-Rémusat's classical *Mémoires sur les Rélations politiques des Princes Chrétiens...avec les Empereurs Mongols* in the *Mém. de l'Acad. Royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, vols. vi and vii, pp. 396 and 335 respectively.

[2] See *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, vol. ii, p. 446; S. Lane-Poole's admirable little *History of Egypt*, pp. 262 and 270; and Howorth, *op. cit.* pp. 257–9.

Bitter hatred subsisted during all this period between the Mongol Íl-kháns and the Egyptian Mamlúks, and no more dangerous or damaging charge could be preferred against a subject of the former than an accusation of being in communication with the latter. Every Muslim subject of the Mongols must needs walk very warily if he would avoid such deadly suspicion, and, as we shall see hereafter, the favourite method of ruining a hated rival was to denounce him to the Mongol government as having relations with Egypt.

The Juwayní family

From our present point of view we are less concerned with the Mongol rulers and generals than with the Persian functionaries whom they found indispensable in the civil service (like the Arabs in earlier times), and amongst whom were included men of remarkable talents. Conspicuous amongst these was the Juwayní family, notably Shamsu'd-Dín Muḥammad the *Ṣáḥib-Díwán*, his brother 'Alá'u'd-Dín 'Aṭá Malik, and his son Bahá'u'd-Dín. The *Ṣáḥib-Díwán's* grandfather, also entitled Shamsu'd-Dín, but distinguished by the epithets *Buzurg* ("the Great") and *Múy-diráz* ("the long-haired"), had been Prime Minister to Quṭbu'd-Dín Khwárazmsháh, while his father, Bahá'u'd-Dín, had held the office of *Mustawfi'l-Mamálik* (approximately equivalent to Chancellor of the Exchequer). He himself had held the office of Prime Minister for ten years under Húlágú Khán, and was continued in this position by Abáqá. His brother, 'Alá'u'd-Dín is chiefly interesting to us as one of the finest historians whom Persia ever produced, and in this capacity he will be considered in the next chapter; but he was also a great administrator, and was for twenty-four years governor of Baghdád[1]. His son Bahá'u'd-Dín was governor of Persian 'Iráq and Fárs, while another son Sharafu'd-Dín

[1] He was appointed by Húlágú in 657/1259, one year after the capture of the city by the Mongols. See the Introduction to Mírzá Muḥammad's edition of the *Ta'ríkh-i-Jahán-gushá* in the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series, vol. xvi, 1 (1912), pp. xxviii.

Hárún was a poet and a patron of poets[1]. A full and critical account of this talented family, based on researches equally extensive and minute, is given by Mírzá Muḥammad of Qazwín, one of the finest and most critical Persian scholars whom I ever met, in his Introduction to the *Ta'ríkh-i-Jahán-gushá* (vol. i, pp. xix–xcii), to which the reader may refer for much detailed information which considerations of space render it impossible to reproduce here. The Juwayní family, alike in their love of literature and learning, their princely generosity, their administrative capacity, and their tragic fate, irresistibly recall to one's mind another great Persian family of statesmen, the celebrated House of Barmak or Barmecides of "the Golden Prime of good Haroun Alraschid[2]." Their influence was great and widespread; their connection with literature, both as writers and as patrons of poets and men of learning, extensive; and the jealousy of less fortunate rivals which embittered their lives and finally brought about their destruction commensurate with the power and high positions which they so long enjoyed. The first to die of those mentioned above, and one of the few who was fortunate enough to die a natural death, was Bahá'u'd-Dín, son of the *Ṣáḥib-Díwán* and governor of Persian 'Iráq. His death took place in 678/1279 at the early age of thirty. He was a terribly stern governor, who inspired the utmost terror in the hearts of his subjects, and whose ferocity went so far that he caused his little son, and he a favourite child, to be put to death by his executioner because in play he had caught hold of his beard. The historian Waṣṣáf gives many other instances of his implacable sternness, of which a selection will be found in Howorth's *History of the Mongols*[3]; but it is fair to add that under his

Death and character of Bahá'u'd-Dín Juwayní

[1] His *Díwán* is very rare, but there is a MS. (**Or. 3647**) in the British Museum. See Rieu's *Pers. Suppl. Cat.*, No. 254, pp. 166–7.

[2] Cf. Mírzá Muḥammad's Introduction to the *Jahán-gushá*, p. 4.

[3] Pt. 3, pp. 221–2, and the *Ta'ríkh-i-Waṣṣáf* (Bombay lith.), pp. 60 *et seqq.*

stern administration the utmost security prevailed in the provinces which he administered, while he eagerly cultivated the society of poets, scholars and artists. His father the *Ṣáḥib-Díwán* mourned his death in the following verse:

فرزندِ محمّد ای فلك هندُویت ، بازارِ زمانه‌را بها یك مُویت ،
تو پُشتِ پدر بُودی از آن پُشْتِ پدر ،
خم گشت چو ابروی بُتان بی رُویت ،

"Muḥammad's son! Thy slave is Heaven high;
One hair of thee the Age's Mart might buy;
Thy Sire's support wert thou: bereft of thee
His back is bent as brow o'er beauty's eye."

The following verse was composed by Hindúsháh to commemorate the date of his death:

چون شبِ شنبه که بود از ماه شعبان هفدهم ،
ششصد و هفتاد و هشت از هجره اندر اصفهان ،
صاحب اعظم بهاء الدّین که مثلش روزگار ،
در جهانبانی نبیند رفت بیرون از جهان ،

"On the eve of Saturday the seventeenth of Sha'bán's month
In the year three score and eighteen and six hundred from the Flight[1]
From the world Bahá'u'd-Dín, that great *wazír*, in Iṣfahán
Fled. Ah, when on such another ruler shall Time's eyes alight?"

This was the first of the misfortunes which befel the Juwayní family, and which were largely due to their ungrateful protégé Majdu'l-Mulk of Yazd, whose ambition led him to calumniate both the *Ṣáḥib-Díwán* and his brother 'Alá'u'l-Mulk 'Aṭá Malik. While still subordinate to the *Ṣáḥib-Díwán*, Majdu'l-Mulk addressed to him the following quatrain:

Misfortunes of Juwayní family

گفتم که بخدمتِ تو جاوید شوم ،
نی آنکه چو سَرْو آیم و چون بید شوم ،
نومید دلیر باشد و چیره زبان ،
ای دوست چنان مکن که نومید شوم ،

[1] Sha'bán 17, 678 = Dec. 23, 1279.

"I said, 'I'll ever in thy service be,
Not come like larch and go like willow tree'[1]:
He who despairs is bold and sharp of tongue;
Cause me not, Friend, thus desperate to be!"

Intrigues of Majdu'l-Mulk

By traducing the *Ṣáḥib-Díwán* to Abáqá, he finally induced that monarch to associate him in the government with his rival, and this dual control gave rise to endless friction and recriminations. On one occasion he sent another quatrain to the *Ṣáḥib-Díwán* as follows:

در بحرِ غمِ تو غوطه خواهم خوردن ،
یا غرقه شدن یا گهری آوردن ،
خصمیّ تو بس قویست خواهم کردن ،
یا روی بدان سرخ کنم یا گردن ،

"Into the Ocean of thy grief I'll dive,
And either drown, or pearls to gather strive;
'Tis hard to fight with thee, yet fight I will,
And die red-throated, or red-cheeked survive[2]."

To this the *Ṣáḥib-Díwán* sent the following answer:

یرغو برِ شاه چون نشاید بُردن ،
بس غُصّهٔ روزگار باید خوردن ،
این کار که پای در میانش داری ،
هم روی بدان سُرخ کنی هم گردن ،

"Since to the King complaints thou canst not bear
Much anguish to consume shall be thy share.
Through this design on which thou hast embarked
Thy face and neck alike shall crimson wear."

[1] I suppose the writer's meaning is, that he wishes to be a permanent and honoured associate of the minister, not liable to reprimand, humiliation or dismissal, coming in erect as the larch or cypress, and going out after some rebuff bowed down with humiliation like the weeping willow.

[2] "Die red-throated," *i.e.* by decapitation. "Red-cheeked" or "red-faced" means "honoured," the opposite of "black-faced."

Ultimately Majdu'l-Mulk succeeded in arousing Abáqá's suspicions against the *Ṣáḥib-Díwán's* brother, 'Alá'u'l-Mulk 'Aṭá Malik-i-Juwayní, who was arrested, paraded through the streets of Baghdád, tortured, and forced to pay large sums of money which he was alleged to have misappropriated. Matters might have gone yet worse with him had not Abáqá's sudden death on April 1, 1282, put an end to his persecution and brought about his release from prison, while soon afterwards his enemy Majdu'l-Mulk fell a victim to the popular fury, and was torn in pieces by the mob, his dismembered limbs being publicly exhibited in the chief cities of Persia. On this well-merited punishment of the old and inveterate foe of his family 'Aṭá Malik-i-Juwayní composed the following quatrain:

Disgrace and punishment of 'Aṭá Malik-i-Juwayní

Release of 'Aṭá Malik and death of Majdu'l-Mulk

روزی دو سه سرمایهٔ تزویر شدی
جویندهٔ مال و جاه و توفیر شدی
اعضاء تو هر یکی گرفت اقلیمی
فی الجمله بیك هفته جهانگیر شدی

"For some brief days thy guile did mischief wreak;
Position, wealth and increase thou didst seek:
Now every limb of thine a land hath ta'en:
Thou'st over-run the kingdom in a week!"

'Aṭá Malik, however, did not long survive his foe, for he too died in the spring of 1283.

Death of 'Aṭá Malik-i-Juwayní in A.D. 1283

In one curious particular connected with Abáqá's death all the historians agree. He had, in the usual Mongol fashion, been drinking deeply with his favourites and boon-companions. Feeling uneasy, he had withdrawn from them for a moment into the palace garden when he suddenly cried out that a large black bird was threatening him, and ordered some of his servants to shoot it with arrows. The servants hastened to him in answer to his call, but no bird was to be seen, and

Death of Abáqá

while they were still searching for it, Abáqá fell down in a swoon from which he never awoke[1].

Renewed activity of Assassins

A few other events of Abáqá's reign merit a brief mention. The Assassins, in spite of all they had suffered at the hands of the Mongols, so far recovered themselves as to attempt the life of 'Aṭá Malik-i-Juwayní in 670/1271–2, while four years later, in 674/1275–6, they actually succeeded, under the leadership of the son of their last Grand Master Ruknu'd-Dín Khursháh, in regaining possession of Alamút, though they were shortly afterwards subdued and destroyed by Abáqá.

Internecine wars of Mongol princes

Internecine wars between various Mongol princes began to be prevalent in Abáqá's reign, as, for instance, that between Yúshmút and Nogáy at Aq-sú in 663/1264–5, the year of Abáqá's accession, and that between Abáqá and Nikúdar the son of Chaghatáy in 667/1268–9. Further turmoil was caused by the repeated raids of the Nikúdarís, and by the revolt of Buráq in Khurásán.

Revolt of Buráq

The defeat of the latter by Abáqá's troops was due almost entirely to the valour of Subutáy, in allusion to which a contemporary poet says:

لشکرِ عشقِ ترا پای من آوردم و بس ؛
همچو در جنگِ بُراق از همه میران سُبُتای ؛

"'Gainst the army of thy love not one could stand save only I,
As against Buráq of all Abáqá's captains Subutáy."

AḤMAD TAKÚDAR[2] (A.D. 1282–1284).

On the death of Abáqá two rival candidates appeared on the scene, his brother Takúdar[2] (who, on his conversion

[1] Abu'l-Faraj Bar-Hebraeus (Beyrout ed. of 1890, p. 505) says that this happened at Hamadán in the house of a Persian named Bihnám who gave a banquet in Abáqá's honour. He does not explicitly mention the black bird, but says that Abáqá "began to see phantoms in the air."

[2] This name is sometimes given as Nikúdar or Nigúdar, but the Armenian form Tongudar given by Haithon seems decisive. See Howorth, *op. cit.*, pp. 310–11.

to Islám took the additional name of Aḥmad) and his son Arghún. A majority of the Mongol nobles preferred the former, and he was accordingly proclaimed on May 6, 1282, under the title of Sulṭán Aḥmad Takúdar. One of his earliest public acts was to show his devotion to the religion which he had adopted by letters addressed to the doctors of Baghdád[1] and to Qalá'ún, Sultan of Egypt[2], in which he expressed his desire to protect and foster the religion of Islám and to live on terms of peace and amity with all Muslims. His letter to Qalá'ún, dated Jumáda I, A.H. 681 (August, 1282), was entrusted to two special envoys, Quṭbu'd-Dín-i-Shírází and the Atábek Pahlawán, and Qalá'ún's answer was dated the beginning of Ramaḍán of the same year (December 3, 1282).

Aḥmad Takúdar A.H. 681–683 (A.D. 1282–1284)

However gratified the Muslims may have been at the conversion of Aḥmad Takúdar and the evidences of sincerity afforded by his conduct, the Mongols were far from sharing this satisfaction, and in the following year (682/1283–4), a formidable conspiracy of Mongol nobles to depose Aḥmad Takúdar and place his nephew Arghún on the throne came to light. Qunqurátáy, one of the chief conspirators, with a number of his accomplices, was put to death on January 18, 1284, but Arghún successfully revolted against his uncle, whom he ultimately captured and put to death on August 10 of the same year, and was proclaimed King on the following day.

Aḥmad Takúdar defeated, captured and slain by Arghún

[1] See d'Ohsson's *Hist. des Mongols*, vol. iii, pp. 553 *et seqq.*

[2] See the *Ta'ríkh-i-Waṣṣáf*, Bombay lithographed edition of A.H. 1269, pp. 113–115, and, for Qalá'ún's answer, pp. 115–118 of the same. Also Abu'l-Faraj Bar-Hebraeus (Beyrout ed. of 1890), pp. 506–510 and 510–518. English translations of both letters are given by Howorth, *op. cit.*, pp. 260–296.

ARGHÚN (A.D. 1284–1291).

Reign of Arghún A.H. 683–690 (A.D. 1284–1291)

One of Arghún's first acts was to make his son Gházán governor of Khurásán, Mázandarán, Ray and Qúmis. His formal recognition as Íl-khán of Persia by his over-lord Qúbiláy Khán ("Kubla Khán") was brought from China in the following year by Urdugaya.

The *Ṣáḥib-Díwán* put to death

During the reign of Aḥmad Takúdar the fortunes of the *Ṣáḥib-Díwán* and his family, threatened for a while by the intrigues of Majdu'l-Mulk, revived once more, but they were finally eclipsed by the accession of Arghún. On the death of his master, Shamsu'd-Dín Muḥammad the *Ṣáḥib-Díwán*, fearing Arghún's anger, fled to Qum, where he was overtaken by Arghún's messengers, brought back, and finally put to death at a place called Mú'ína near Ahar on Sha'bán 4 or 5, 683 (October 16 or 17, 1284)[1]. Before submitting himself to the headsman's hands he craved a brief respite, which was granted him. After performing the ablution, he took an augury from a *Qur'án* which belonged to him, and then wrote the following letter to the *'ulamá* of Tabríz:

The *Ṣáḥib-Díwán's* letter to the *'ulamá* of Tabríz

"When I sought an augury from the Qur'án, these were the words which came[2]: '*Verily those who said "God is our Lord," and then were steadfast, unto them do the angels descend* [saying]: "*Fear not, neither be afraid. Receive good tidings of the Paradise which ye were promised!*"' Since the Creator, exalted is He, hath well maintained his servant in this perishable world, and hath not withheld from him any wish, it hath pleased Him even in this world to give him glad tidings of the World Eternal. Therefore he hath deemed it incumbent on himself to convey these glad tidings to Mawláná Muḥiyyu'd-Dín, Mawláná Afḍalu'd-

[1] This is the last event recorded by Bar-Hebraeus in his history (pp. 521–2 of the Beyrout ed. of 1890).

[2] Qur'án, xli, 30.

Dín, Mawláná Shamsu'd-Dín, Mawláná Humámu'd-Dín and those other great divines whom time and the circumstances do not permit me to mention by name, that they may know that we have severed all ties and so departed. Let them assist me with their prayers[1]!"

He also addressed the following farewell letter and testament to his sons[2]:

His letter to his sons

"Salvation and greeting to my sons and dear ones, may God Almighty preserve them! Let them know that I entrust them to God, Mighty and Glorious is He: verily God doth not suffer that which is entrusted to Him to sustain loss. It was in my mind that perhaps a meeting might be possible, whereat my last wishes might be communicated orally, but my days are ended, and my business is now with the world to come. Do not fall short in the care of my children; incite them to study, and on no account suffer them to have aught to do with the service of the State; let them rather be content with that which God Most High hath assigned to them. If my son Atábek and his mother wish to return home, they have my permission so to do. Let Nawrúz, Mas'úd and their mother remain with Bulqán Khátún, and should she grant them estates, let them accept them and be content therewith. Whither can my chief wife go from Tabríz? Let her then remain there near the grave of me and my brothers. If they can, let them make their dwelling in the monastery of Shaykh Fakhru'd-Dín and repair thither. Múmina hath received little satisfaction from us: if she wishes to marry again, let her do so. Let Farrukh and his mother remain with Atábek. Let them leave Zakariyyá with the crown lands and other estates which I have given over to Amír Búqá. Let them petition [on his behalf]: if some land should be granted to him, well and good: if not, let him rest content. May the Almighty

[1] *Ta'ríkh-i-Waṣṣáf*, p. 141.

[2] The text of this is given in the *Mujmal* of Faṣíḥí of Khwáf, ff. 468^{b}–469^{a} of the MS. belonging to the Gibb Trustees.

Creator have mercy upon us, and bless all of them. At this hour my mind is fixed on the Divine Presence, and I can write no more than this. Deal kindly with all, bond and free, and forget us not on the nights when you remember the absent."

The *Ṣáḥib-Díwán* did not perish alone. Four of his sons, Yaḥyá, Faraju'lláh, Mas'úd and Atábek, were put to death soon after him, and a little later another son, Hárún. "Two brothers and seven sons," according to the *Ta'ríkh-i-Waṣṣáf*[1], constituted the sacrifice demanded by Mongol ferocity, ever ready to visit the sins of the fathers upon the children, and little disposed to leave alive potential avengers. Added to these losses were the deaths in the years immediately preceding of 'Alá'u'l-Mulk 'Aṭá Malik-i-Juwayní and Bahá'u'd-Dín, already mentioned, so that in the course of five or six years this great family of statesmen was practically effaced from the page of history.

Faṣíḥí, in his *Mujmal* (f. 469), quotes the two following quatrains composed by the *Ṣáḥib-Díwán* in his last moments:

ای دستِ اجل گرفته پای دلِ من
حکمِ تو بکشتنم رضای دلِ من
جان پیشکشت میکنم از دیده و دل
این بود همه عمر هوای دلِ من

"O Hand of Fate, which doth my heart's steps stay,
My heart submits to thy desire to slay:
With all my heart I offer thee my life;
For this throughout my life my heart did pray."

در نگر ای چراغِ جان کُشته تا ببینی دو صد جهان کُشته
کشتگان زندگانِ جاویدند خاصّه در دستِ کافران کُشته

"Look, thou who caused'st life's bright lamp to die,
Two hundred worlds thou seest extinguished lie,
Yet do the slain eternal life attain,
And those in chief who are by heathens slain."

[1] P. 142.

His death was universally lamented, even in towns like Shíráz where he was known only by his charities and good works, and which he had never visited. Amongst the verses composed on his death are the following:

از رفتنِ شمس از شفق خون بچکید ،
مه روی بکَنْد و زهره گیسو ببُرید ،
شب جامه سیه کرد دران ماتم و صُبْح ،
بر زد نفسی سرد و گریبان بدرید ،

"The Night in grief hath dyed her cloak, and Morn,
Heaving cold sighs, appears with collar torn:
The Sun's[1] departure stains the sky with gore:
The Moon is veiled, the locks of Venus shorn."

رسید الحق بتشریفِ شهادت ،
وزیری کو سر از گردون بر افراشت ،
محمّد صاحبِ دیوان که سی سال ،
جهان‌را از بسی آفت نگه داشت ،
فلك بین کآنچنان نفسی بیآزرد ،
جهان بین کآنچنان مردی نبگذاشت ،

"That minister whose head o'ertopped the skies
Hath earned, in truth, of martyrdom the prize;
The *Ṣáḥib-Díwán*, who for thirty years
Hath kept the world secure from hurts and fears.
O cruel heavens such a life to ban!
O cruel earth, to slay so great a man!"

There were, however, others who regarded the *Ṣáḥib-Díwán's* fate as well deserved, on account of the part he had played in respect to his unlucky predecessor Majdu'l-Mulk. This point of view is represented in the following verses, cited in the *Ta'ríkh-i-Guzída*:

چو مجد الملك از تقدیر ایزد ، شهادت یافت در صحرای نو شهر ،
بقصدِ صاحبِ دیوان محمّد ، که دستورِ ممالك بود در دهر ،

[1] Shamsu'd-Dín, "the Sun of Religion," was the *Ṣáḥib-Díwán's* name, to which allusion is here made.

پس از دو سال و دو ماه و دو هفته ' چشید او هم ز دوران شربتِ قهر '
تو در دنیا مشو بدرا خریدار ' که دارد در ترازو نوش با زهر '

"Since Majdu'l-Mulk, by God-sent destiny,
A martyr in Naw Shahr's plain did die,
By the *Ṣáḥib-Díwán* Muḥammad's spite,
Who ruled the land with unrestricted might,
Two years, two months, two weeks went by, and lo,
Fate bade him drain in turn the cup of woe.
Beware how in this world thou workest harm;
Fate's scales hold equal weight of bane and balm!"

A violent death was, however, the common end of those who were rash enough to act as ministers to Mongol sovereigns. Thus Jalálu'd-Dín Simnání, who succeeded the *Ṣáḥib-Díwán*, was executed in August, 1289; Sa'du'd-Dawla, who succeeded him, was put to death at the end of February, 1291; Ṣadru'd-Dín Khálidí, who acted as minister to Gaykhátú, suffered the same fate in May, 1298; and Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh, the most accomplished of all, was executed in July, 1318.

Sa'du'd-Dawla, the Jewish *wazír*

Arghún reigned over Persia for nearly seven years (August, 1284–May, 1291). The embassies which he sent to Europe, and especially that of 1287–1288, of which one of the envoys, Rabban Ṣawmá, has left us an account in Syriac[1], mark a revival of Abáqá's policy, which had been reversed by Aḥmad Takúdar. During the latter part of Arghún's reign Sa'du'd-Dawla the Jew was his all-powerful minister. This man, originally a physician, was detested by the Muslims, who ascribed to him the most sinister designs against Islám. He was originally a native of Abhar, and afterwards practised medicine at Baghdád. He was recommended to Arghún by some of his co-religionists, and, according to the *Ta'ríkh-i-Waṣṣáf*[2], gained the esteem and confidence of that prince not only by his knowledge of the Mongol and

[1] See that most interesting book *Histoire de Mar Jabalaha III...et du moine Rabban Çauma...traduit du Syriaque et annotée par J.-B. Chabot* (Paris, 1895). [2] p. 236.

Turkish languages, but also by the skilful manner in which he played on Arghún's avarice by the schemes for replenishing the treasury which he unfolded. In the realization of these schemes in Baghdád he showed such ability that he was entrusted by Arghún with the financial control of the whole kingdom. His co-religionists, hitherto despised and repressed, began to benefit by his ever-increasing power, and to fill many offices of state; so much so that a contemporary poet of Baghdád wrote as follows[1]:

يَـهُـودُ هٰذَا ٱلزَّمَانِ قَدْ بَلَغُوا ‘ مَرْتَبَةً لَا يَنَالُـهَـا فَلَكُ ‘
اَلْمُلْكُ فِيهِـم وَ ٱلْمَالُ عِنْدَهُمْ ‘ وَ مِنْهُمُ ٱلْمُسْتَشَارُ وَ ٱلْمَلِكُ ‘
يَا مَعْشَرَ ٱلنَّاسِ قَدْ نَصَحْتُ لَكُم ‘ تَهَوَّدُوا قَـدْ تَهَوَّدَ ٱلْفَلَكُ ‘
فَٱنْتَظِرُوا صَيْحَةَ ٱلْعَذَابِ لَـهُم ‘ فَعَنْ قَلِيلٍ تَرَاهُمْ هَلَكُوا ‘

"The Jews of this our time a rank attain
To which the heavens might aspire in vain.
Theirs is dominion, wealth to them doth cling,
To them belong both councillor and king.
O people, hear my words of counsel true:
Turn Jews, for heaven itself hath turned a Jew!
Yet wait, and ye shall hear their torment's cry,
And see them fall and perish presently."

Sa'du'd-Dawla's boldness and open hostility to Islám increased with his power, until he not only induced Arghún to exclude the Muslims from all high civil and military posts[2], but endeavoured to compass the destruction of their religion. To this end he sought to persuade Arghún that the prophetic function had passed from the Arabs to the Mongols, who were divinely commissioned to chastise the disobedient and degenerate followers of Muḥammad, and proposed to turn the Ka'ba into an idol-temple. He began to prepare a fleet at Baghdád to attack Mecca, and sent his co-religionist Khwája Najíbu'd-Dín Kaḥḥál into Khurásán with a black list of some two hundred notable and influential

[1] *Ta'ríkh-i-Waṣṣáf*, p. 238. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 241.

Muslims whose death he desired to compass. A similar but shorter list, containing the names of seventeen notable divines and theologians of Shíráz, was also prepared for him. "It is related," says the author of the *Ta'ríkh-i-Waṣṣáf*, "that when Arghún Khán first ascended the royal throne he greatly disliked bloodshed, so that one day, during the progress of a banquet, he looked at the number of sheep slain, and, moved by excessive compassion, said, 'Hardness of heart and a cruel disposition alone can prompt man to sacrifice so many innocent beasts for the pleasures of the table.' Yet this minister (Sa'du'd-Dawla) so constantly applauded evil and represented wrong as right, urging that to clear the garden of empire from the thorns of disaffection, and to purify the wells of endeavour from the impurity of suspects was required alike by prudence and discretion..., that finally, through his evil promptings and misleading counsels, the Íl-khán's heart became as eager to kill the innocent as are the infidel glances of the fair ones of Khutan, so that on the least suspicion or the slightest fault he would destroy a hundred souls. Such is the effect produced by intercourse with an evil companion and the society of wicked persons[1]."

But just when Sa'du'd-Dawla's influence was at its highest and his schemes were approaching maturity, Arghún fell grievously sick at Tabríz. The minister, realizing that he would certainly not long survive his master, became a prey to the most acute and overpowering distress: he was unremitting in his attendance, and also, with the view of propitiating Heaven, gave away vast sums of money in charity, thirty thousand *dínárs* being distributed in Baghdád and ten thousand amongst the poor of Shíráz. He also liberated many captives and renewed or extended many benefactions. Some of the Mongol priests declared that the execution of Qaránqay, Húlájú, Júshkab and other Mongol princes had brought this sickness on Arghún; others that he had been bewitched by one of his wives. Sulṭán Ídájí, who was alleged to have instigated

Arghún's last illness

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 242–3.

the former deed, was sacrificed in expiation, and also Júshkab's niece Túqjáq, who was suspected of the ensorcelment of the king; but naught availed to stay the progress of his malady, and towards the end of February, 1291, his condition was so critical that none were allowed to approach him save Júshí and Sa'du'd-Dawla. The latter secretly sent messengers to Gházán, bidding him be ready to claim the throne so soon as Arghún should have breathed his last, but nothing could now avail to save him from his foes, and he was put to death a few days before his master expired, on March 9, 1291[1].

Persecution of the Jews

The death of Sa'du'd-Dawla was the signal for a general persecution of the Jews, who were plundered and in many cases slain. In Baghdád alone more than a hundred of their chief men were killed. The collapse of the Jewish ascendancy was celebrated by Zaynu'd-Dín 'Alí b. Ṣá'id the preacher in the following Arabic *qaṣída*[2], composed in the same metre and rhyme as that quoted on p. 32 *supra*:

1 نَحْمَدُ مَنْ دَارَ بِٱسْمِهِ ٱلْفَلَكْ ‘ هٰذِى ٱلْيَهُودُ ٱلْقُرُودُ قَدْ هَلَكُوا ‘

2 وَ قَارَنَ ٱلنَّحْسُ سَعْدَ دَوْلَتِهِمْ ‘ وَ ٱفْتَضَحُوا فِى ٱلْبِلَادِ وَ ٱنْهَتَكُوا ‘

3 وَ شَتَّتَ ٱللَّهُ شَمْلَ مُلْكِهِمْ ‘ وَ بِٱلْحُسَامِ ٱلصَّقِيلِ قَدْ سُبِكُوا ‘

4 كَمْ حَكَمُوا فِى ٱلْبِلَادِ لَا حَكَمُوا ‘ وَ ٱرْتَكَبُوا ٱلْمُوبِقَاتِ و ٱنْتَهَكُوا ‘

5 أَبْكَاهُمُ ٱللَّهُ عَاجِلًا أَسَفًا ‘ مِنْ بَعْدِ مَا فِى زَمَانِهِمْ ضَحِكُوا ‘

6 سَقَاهُمُ ٱلْحَتْفَ سَادَةٌ خُشُنٌ ‘ فَٱمْتَلَأَتْ بِٱلْجَمَاجِمِ ٱلسِّكَكُ ‘

7 وَ ٱسْتَخْلَصُوا ٱلْمَالَ مِنْ دِيَارِهِمْ ‘ وَ ٱلْحَرِيمَ ٱلْحَرَامَ قَدْ هَتَكُوا ‘

8 يَا أُمَّةَ ٱلْكُفْرِ وَ ٱلضَّلَالِ لَقَدْ ‘ دار بكم فى حِبَالِهِ الشَّرَكُ ‘

9 يَا أَخْبَثَ الطير يا بُغَاثُ لَقَدْ ‘ صادكُمُ فى الخميلة الَشَبكُ ‘

[1] See Howorth, *op. cit.*, p. 345.

[2] Cited from the *Ta'ríkh-i-Waṣṣáf*, p. 247.

10 فَأَنْتُمْ شَرُّ أُمَّةٍ سَلَفَتْ، وَ أَنْتُمْ شَرُّ أُمَّةٍ تُرِكُوا،

11 عَبَدْتُمُ ٱلْعِجْلَ دُونَ خَالِقِكُمْ، فَضَلَّ ذَاكَ ٱلإِيَابُ وَ ٱلنُّسُكُ،

12 مهذّبٌ هذّبوا بِقَتْلَتِهِ، جَمَاعَةً فِى ٱلْبِلَادِ قد فَتَكُوا،

13 لَمَّا رأوا رأسه يُطَافُ بِهِ، وَ قَدْ عَلَاهُ القَتَامُ و الصَّهَكُ،

14 فَعَجَّلَ ٱللَّهُ رُوحَ خَيْرِهِمِ، إِلَى جَحِيمٍ ظَلَامُهَا حَلَكُ،

15 ففى العذابِ المُذابِ قد سُجِنُوا،

و فى الحديد المديد قد سُلِكُوا،

16 فَٱعْتَبِرُوا سَادَتِى بِمَصْرَعِهِمْ، ثمّ ٱتْلُ يَا ذَا ٱلْبَيَانِ كَمْ تَرَكُوا،

17 طَغَاجَرٌ هَدَّ رُكْنَ عَزْمِهِمِ، ذاك الهُمَامُ ٱلْحُلَاحِلُ ٱلْمَلِكُ،

18 أَبَادَهُمْ عَنْوَةً بِصَارِمِهِ، وَ مَا عَلَيْهِ بِذٰلِكُم دَرَكُ،

19 إِشَارَةُ ٱلشَّيْخِ فِيهِم ظَهَرَتْ، لَمَّا رآهم بِسَهْمِهِ فَتَكُوا،

20 جمال دين الإلٰهِ سَيِّدِنَا، ذاك الولىّ المؤيّد الملكُ،

21 الزاهد العابد الخضوع لِمَنْ، دَانَتْ لَهُ فى بِحَارِهَا السَّمَكُ،

22 هَجَوْتُهُم أَبْتَغِى بِهَجْوِهِمِ، جَنَانَ خُلْدٍ يَزِينُهَا ٱلْبَرَكُ،

23 رَغْمًا لِمَنْ قَالَ فِى قَصِيدَتِهِ، تَهَوَّدُوا قَدْ تَهَوَّدَ ٱلْفَلَكُ،

1 "His Name we praise who rules the firmament!
These apish Jews are done away and shent.
2 Ill luck hath whelmed the Fortune of their State[1];
Throughout the lands they're shamed and desolate.
3 God hath dispersed their dominant accord,
And they are melted by the burnished sword.
4 How long they ruled in fact, though not in name,
And, sins committing, now are put to shame.

[1] *Sa'du'd-Dawla* means the "Fortune," or "Good Luck of the State." There is an antithesis between *Sa'd*, which applies to the fortunate influence of the auspicious planets, and *Naḥs*, the maleficent influence of the unlucky planets.

5 God made them wail in woe right speedily,
After that in their days they laughed with glee.
6 Grim captains made them drink Death's cup of ill,
Until their skulls the blood-bathed streets did fill,
7 And from their dwellings seized the wealth they'd gained,
And their well-guarded women's rooms profaned.
8 O wretched dupes of error and despair,
At length the trap hath caught you in its snare !
9 Vile, carrion birds, behold, in open ground
The nets of ruin compass you around !
10 O foulest race who e'er on earth did thrive,
And hatefulest of those who still survive,
11 The Calf you served in place of God; and lo,
Vain, vain are all your goings to and fro !
12 They doomed to death your 'Cleanser[1]' and thereby
A host of sinful souls did purify,
13 What time they gathered round his head upraised
Midst dust and stench, and on its features gazed.
14 God sped the soul of him who was their chief
To hell, whose mirk is dark despair and grief.
15 In molten torments they were prisonéd,
In trailing chains they to their doom were led.
16 Take warning, from this doom without reprieve ;
Recite the verse: "*How many did they leave*[2] *!*"
17 Tughächár, prince fulfilled with strength and zeal,
Hath caused the pillars of their power to reel.
18 His flashing falchion on their flesh did feed,
And none would hold him guilty for the deed.
19 Our Shaykh's prediction found fulfilment there,
What time he saw them rob him of his share ;
20 That holy man, our lord Jamálu'd-Dín[3],
Aided by God, endowed with angel's mien,
21 Devoted, walking ever in the way
Of Him the fishes in their seas obey.
22 I penned this satire, hoping to attain
The Eternal Gardens' lake-encompassed plain,
23 And to refute that poet's words untrue
Who said, 'Turn Jews, for Heaven hath turned a Jew.'"

[1] This word *Muhadhdhib* ("Purifier") probably forms part of some such title as *Muhadhdhibu'd-Dawla* borne by one of the victims.

[2] "*How many gardens and fountains...did they leave behind them!*" Qur'án, xliv, 24.

[3] Perhaps Jamálu'd-Dín Muḥammad ibn Sulaymán an-Naqíb al-Maqdisí (d. 698/1298–9) is meant.

GAYKHÁTÚ (A.D. 1291–1295).

Arghún was succeeded by his brother Gaykhátú, whose coronation did not take place till July 22, 1291, four months and a half after his predecessor's death. During this interval, in spite of the fact that Tughächár and other chiefs of the Mongols had hastened to appoint governors in the different provinces, anarchy was rampant, and Afrásiyáb, of the House of Hazárasp, which had ruled over Luristán since the middle of the twelfth century, broke out in an abortive revolt and for a while held Iṣfahán.

Accession of Gaykhátú (A.D. 1291–1295)

Gaykhátú, whom the author of the *Ḥabíbu's-Siyar* describes as "the most generous of the children of Húlágú," chose Ṣadru'd-Dín Aḥmad Khálidí of Zanján, better known as *Ṣadr-i-Jahán*, as his prime minister. Both the monarch and his minister were disposed to extravagance and prodigality, and the former at any rate to the pleasures of the table and other less reputable enjoyments. Thus it soon happened that the treasury was empty, and, money being urgently required, *Ṣadr-i-Jahán* determined to introduce the *chao*, or paper money, which was current in the Chinese Empire. To this end establishments for manufacturing the *chao* were erected in all the principal towns, and stringent laws were enacted to restrict the use of the precious metals as far as possible. Full descriptions of the projected paper money are preserved to us in the *Ta'ríkh-i-Waṣṣáf*[1] and other histories of the period. The notes consisted of oblong rectangular pieces of paper inscribed with some words in Chinese, over which stood the Muhammadan profession of faith, "There is no god but God, Muḥammad is the Apostle of God," in Arabic. Lower down was the scribe's or designer's name, and the value of the note (which varied from half a *dirham* to ten *dínárs*) inscribed in a circle. A further inscription ran as follows: "The King

Dissolute and extravagant character of Gaykhátú

Introduction of paper money (*chao*)

[1] Pp. 272–3.

of the world issued this auspicious *chao* in the year A.H. 693 [A.D. 1294]. Anyone altering or defacing the same shall be put to death, together with his wife and children, and his property shall be forfeited to the exchequer." Proclamations were also sent to Shíráz and other towns explaining the advantages of the new currency, answering imaginary objections against it, and declaring that:

چاو اگر در جهان روان گردد ، رونقِ ملك جاودان گردد

"If in the world this *chao* gains currency,
Immortal shall the Empire's glory be,"

and that poverty and distress would entirely disappear. One ingenious provision in the laws affecting the *chao* was that notes worn and torn by circulation were to be returned to the *chao-khána*, or Mint, and new notes, less by ten per cent. than the amount thus refunded, were to be given to the person so returning them.

The issue of the *chao* in Tabríz was fixed for the month of Dhu'l-Qa'da, 693 (Sept.–Oct., 1294). In three days the bazaars of Tabríz were closed and business was practically at a standstill, for no one would accept the *chao*, and gold and silver had been withdrawn from circulation. The popular rage was largely directed against 'Izzu'd-Dín Muẓaffar, who had been instrumental in introducing the hated paper money, and such verses as the following were composed about him:

Unpopularity of the *chao*

تو عزِّ دینی و ظلِّ جهانی ، جهانرا هستیٔ تو نیست درخور
از آن گبر و مسلمان و یهودی ، پس از توحیدِ حقّ و اللّه اکبر
همی خوانند از روی تضرُّع ، بنزدِ حضرت دارای داور
خدایا بر مرادِ خویش هرگز ، مبادا در جهان یکدم مظفّر

"Pride of the Faith[1], Protection of the Land,
Would that thy being from the world were banned!

[1] This is the meaning of *'Izzu'd-Dín*.

Hence Muslim, Guebre and Jew first magnify
God, and declare His Power and Unity ;
Then, humbly praying, bow them in the dust,
And thus invoke the Judge All-wise and Just :—
'Lord, send him not victorious[1], we pray :
Cause all his schemes and plans to go astray!'"

Similar disturbances broke out at Shíráz and in other cities, and, yielding to the representations of the Mongol nobles and others, Gaykhátú finally consented to recall the obnoxious *chao* and abolish the paper currency which had intensified instead of ameliorating the financial crisis.

The *chao* is withdrawn

Shortly after this untoward experiment, Gaykhátú, in one of those drunken orgies which were habitual to him, grossly insulted his cousin Baydú, a grandson of Húlágú, and caused him to be beaten by one of his retainers. Next morning, when he came to his senses, he repented of his action, and endeavoured to conciliate Baydú by means of gifts and honours. Baydú, for reasons of expediency, concealed his resentment for the time, but soon afterwards, encouraged by certain disaffected Mongol nobles, he openly revolted against Gaykhátú, who, betrayed by his general Tugháchár, was taken prisoner and put to death at Múqán, on Thursday, 6 Jumáda II, 694 (April 23, 1295).

Gaykhátú insults his cousin Baydú

BAYDÚ (APRIL–OCTOBER, 1295).

Baydú was crowned soon after this at Hamadán, and after celebrating his accession in the usual drunken fashion of the Mongols[2], proceeded to appoint Tughá-chár commander-in-chief, dismiss the late premier *Ṣadr-i-Jahán*, and replace him by Jamálu'd-Dín Dastajirdání. He did not, however, long enjoy the high position which he had gained, for six months after his

Baydú (April–Oct., A.D. 1295)

[1] "Victorious" is the meaning of *Muẓaffar*.

[2] *Ḥabíbu's-Siyar* (Bombay lithographed ed. of 1857), vol. iii, pt. 1, p. 81.

accession he was overcome by Gházán, the son of his cousin Arghún, and, in the words of Khwándamír[1], "quaffed a full cup of that draught which he had caused Gaykhátú to taste."

GHÁZÁN (A.D. 1295–1304).

The accession of Gházán, the great-grandson of Húlágú, marks the definite triumph of Islám over Mongol heathenism, and the beginning of the reconstruction of Persian independence. He was born on December 4, 1271, and was therefore not twenty-four years of age when he assumed the reins of government. At the youthful age of seven he accompanied his grandfather Abáqá on his hunting expeditions, and at the age of ten his father Arghún made him governor of Khurásán, under the tutelage of the Amír Nawrúz, the son of Arghún Ághá, who for thirty-nine years had governed various Persian provinces for Chingíz Khán and his successors. The Amír Nawrúz had embraced Islám, and it was through him that Gházán was converted to that faith, for at the beginning of his struggle with his rival Baydú he had been persuaded by Nawrúz to promise that, if God should grant him the victory, he would accept the religion of the Arabian Prophet. This promise he faithfully fulfilled; on Sha'bán 4, 694 (June 19, 1295), he and ten thousand Mongols made their profession of faith in the presence of Shaykh Ṣadru'd-Dín Ibráhím[2], the son of the eminent doctor Sa'du'd-Din al-Ḥamawí. Nor did Gházán lack zeal for his new convictions, for four months after his conversion he permitted Nawrúz to destroy the churches, synagogues and idol-temples at Tabríz. He also caused a new coinage bearing Muhammadan inscriptions to be struck, and by an edict issued in May, 1299, prohibited usury, as contrary to the Muhammadan religion. In November, 1297, the Mon-

Gházán (A.D. 1295–1304)

Gházán's conversion to Islám

[1] *Ḥabíbu's-Siyar* (Bombay lithographed ed. of 1857), vol. iii, pt. 1, p. 81.

[2] So the *Ḥabíbu's-Siyar* and *Dawlatsháh*; but, according to the *Mujmal* of Faṣíḥí, Shaykh Ibráhím al-Juwayní.

gol *amírs* adopted the turban in place of their national head-dress.

Disaffection of the old-fashioned Mongol nobles

There was still, however, a considerable section of Mongols, princes, nobles and others, which regarded Gházán's conversion with active dislike. This led to sundry rebellions and intrigues, which, however, were sternly repressed; and in the course of one month, according to the *Ḥabíbu's-Siyar* (*loc. cit.*, p. 85), no fewer than five Princes and thirty-seven *amírs* of the Mongols were put to death by Gházán and Nawrúz. Nawrúz himself, however, in spite of all that Gházán owed him, was suspected by his master of secretly intriguing with the Sultan of Egypt, and, though he fled to Herát and sought refuge with Malik Fakhru'd-Dín Kurt, he was taken and put to death. Shortly afterwards Jamálu'd-Dín Dastajirdání, the *Ṣadr-i-Jahán*[1] and his brother *Quṭb-i-Jahán*, were also put to death, and the great historian and physician Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh was made prime minister. Gházán was a stern ruler; "his reign," as Sir Henry Howorth observes[2], "was marked by a terrible roll of executions, and, as d'Ohsson says, there is hardly a page of Rashídu'd-Dín at this time without a notice of the execution of some public functionary."

Wars with Egypt

During a considerable portion of his reign, Gházán was at war with Egypt. His first campaign, which was in the winter of 1299–1300, culminated in the Mongol victory at Majma'u'l-Murúj near Ḥimṣ (Emessa), where the Egyptians, outnumbered by three or four to one, were completely routed. The Mongols occupied Damascus and other portions of Syria for a hundred days, during which Gházán's name was inserted in the *khuṭba*. In spite of Gházán's reassuring proclamation of December 30, 1299, Syria suffered heavily from the cruelties and depredations of the Mongols[3]. In

[1] On April 30, A.D. 1298. See Howorth's *Hist. of the Mongols*, pt. 3, pp. 426–7.

[2] Howorth, *loc. cit.*, p. 421.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 444–5.

the following winter (1300–1301) Gházán again prepared to invade Syria, but was forced to retreat owing to floods and bad weather. In the following May he despatched a letter to the Sultan of Egypt, the answer to which, written in October, was delivered to him by his envoys in December, 1301[1]. Rather more than a year later, at the end of January, 1303, Gházán again marched against the Egyptians. Having crossed the Euphrates at the date above mentioned, he visited Karbalá, a spot sanctified to him by his strong Shí'ite proclivities, and bestowed on the shrine and its inmates many princely favours. At 'Ána, whither he next proceeded, Waṣṣáf, the court-historian, presented him with the first three volumes (out of five) of the history on which he was engaged, and which has been so often quoted or mentioned in these pages. Gházán accompanied his army for some distance further towards the West, and then recrossed the Euphrates to await the result of the campaign at Kashf, two days' journey westwards from Ardabíl[2]. This campaign proved as disastrous to the Mongols as the previous one had been fortunate, for they were utterly defeated by the Egyptians in March, 1303, at Marju'ṣ-Ṣuffar near Damascus. The Egyptian victory was celebrated by general rejoicings in Syria and Egypt, especially, of course, at Cairo, where every house was decorated and every point of vantage crowded to see the entry of the Sultan with his victorious troops, preceded by 1600 Mongol prisoners, each bearing, slung round his neck, the head of one of his dead comrades, while a thousand more Mongol heads were borne aloft on lances, accompanied by the great Mongol war-drums with their parchment rent[3]. Gházán's vexation was commensurate with the Egyptian Sultan's exultation, and was increased by a scornful and railing letter addressed to him by the victor[4]. Condign punishment was inflicted

The historian Waṣṣáf is presented to Gházán in A.D. 1303

Defeat of the Mongols at Marju'ṣ-Ṣuffar in A.D. 1303

[1] For the contents of these letters, see Howorth, *loc. cit.*, pp. 458–461.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 467. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 474. [4] *Ibid.*, pp. 476–8.

by him on the Mongol generals and captains who were supposed to have been responsible for this disaster. Gházán's health seems to have been undermined by the distress resulting from this reverse to his arms, which was perhaps still further increased by the abortive conspiracy to depose him and place his cousin Álafrank the son of Gaykhátú on the throne, and he died at the early age of thirty-two on May 17, 1304.

Death of Gházán in A.D. 1304

The mourning for his death throughout Persia was universal, and appears to have been sincere, for he had restored Islám to the position it occupied before the invasion of Chingíz Khán, repressed paganism, and reduced chaos to order. In spite of his severity, he was merciful compared to his predecessors, and had the reputation of disliking to shed blood save when he deemed it expedient or necessary. He was, moreover, a generous patron of science and literature and a liberal benefactor of the pious and the poor. Though ill-favoured and of mean and insignificant appearance, he was brave, assiduous in all things, and gifted with unusually wide interests and keen intelligence. He was devoted alike to arts and crafts and to the natural sciences, especially to architecture on the one hand, and to astronomy, chemistry, mineralogy, metallurgy and botany on the other. He was extraordinarily well versed in the history and genealogy of the Mongols, and, besides Mongolian, his native tongue, was more or less conversant with Persian, Arabic, Chinese, Tibetan, Kashmírí, and, it is said, Latin. Something also he knew more than his predecessors of the lands and peoples of the West, a knowledge chiefly derived from the numerous envoys of different nations who sought his capital in Ádharbayján, and reflected, as Howorth remarks (p. 487), in the work of the great historian Rashídu'd-Dín, who acted as his prime minister during the latter portion of his reign, and who was aware, for instance, that the Scotch paid tribute to the English and

Gházán's character

His interest in science

His linguistic attainments

that there were no snakes in Ireland[1]. Amongst the envoys who visited Gházán's court were represented the Chinese, the Indians, the Egyptians, the Spaniards (by Solivero of Barcelona), the English (by Geoffrey de Langley), and many other nations.

Gházán's partiality for the Shí'ite doctrine

Gházán was also well grounded in Islám, the faith of his adoption, and showed a marked predilection for the Shí'ite form of that religion[2]. How he enriched Karbalá we have already seen, and the shrine of the eighth Imám 'Alí ar-Riḍá at Mash-had also benefited by his charity. How far he was influenced in his conversion by sincere conviction and how much by political expediency is a matter open to discussion, but his conversion was in any case a blessing for Persia. A harsh government is always an evil thing for those subject to its sway; more evil if it be administered by a foreign, dominant caste; most evil if the administrators be also of an alien religion hostile to, or unsympathetic towards, the faith of their subjects. The Mongol dominion had hitherto been of this last and cruellest type; by Gházán's conversion it was ameliorated at once to the second, which again prepared the way for a return to the first. "When Gházán became a Muhammadan," says Howorth (p. 486), "he definitely broke off his allegiance to the Supreme Khán in the furthest East. Hitherto the Íl-kháns had been mere feudatories of the Kháqán of Mongolia and China. They were now to become independent, and it is natural that the formulae on the coins should accordingly be changed." Henceforth Shamans and Buddhist monks could no longer domineer over the Muslim *'ulamá*; their monasteries and temples gave place to colleges and mosques. Muslim

[1] See f. 312[a] of the India Office MS. of the *Jámi'u't-Tawáríkh* (Persian, 3524=2828 of Ethé's *Catalogue*).

[2] Sayyid Núru'lláh of Shúshtar includes him in the list of Shí'ite rulers given in the sixth *Majlis* of his *Majálisu'l-Mú'minín*. The pages of the lithographed Ṭihrán edition of this work published in 1268/1851–2 are unfortunately not numbered, so that no more exact reference can be given.

learning, enriched in some directions though impoverished in others, was once more honoured and encouraged. Nor were material improvements, tending greatly to benefit the hitherto oppressed subjects of the Íl-kháns, wanting. Gházán was at all times stern and often cruel, but he had far higher ideals of his duties towards his subjects than any of his predecessors, and he adopted practical means to give effect to these ideals. "Be sure," he says[1], "that God has elevated me to be a ruler, and has confided his people to me in order that I may rule them with equity. He has imposed on me the duty of doing justice, of punishing the guilty according to their crimes. He would have me most severe with those who hold the highest rank. A ruler ought especially to punish the faults of those most highly placed, in order to strike the multitude by example." An account of the reforms which he effected in the collection of taxes, the prevention of extortion, the repression of the idle and baneful extravagances of the dominant Mongols, the restoration of confidence and security where the lack of these had previously reduced prosperous towns to ruined and deserted hamlets, and withal the restoration of the finances of the country to a sound and healthy condition would be out of place here, especially as the matter is fully discussed by Howorth in his great history (*loc. cit.*, pp. 487–530). The institution of the new Era, called Íl-khání or Gházání, which began on Rajab 13, 701 (March 14, 1302), was also dictated, at any rate in part, by a desire to put an end to sundry irregularities which had crept into the finance. To Gházán's credit must also be set his efforts to suppress or at least minimize prostitution, and the example he himself gave of a morality far higher than that generally prevalent amongst his countrymen at that time.

Gházán's mausoleum and charitable endowments

Previous Mongol sovereigns had, in accordance with the custom of their nation, always taken measures to have the place of their burial concealed. Gházán, on the other hand, specified the place

[1] Howorth, *loc. cit.*, p. 491.

where he should be buried, and spent large sums in erecting and endowing round about his mausoleum a monastery for dervishes, colleges for the Sháfi'í and Ḥanafí sects, a hospital, a library, an observatory, a philosophical academy, a residence for *sayyids*, a fountain, and other public buildings. Annual endowments amounting to over a hundred *túmáns*, or a million pieces of money, were provided for the maintenance of these establishments, and every possible precaution was taken to secure these revenues to their original use. Round about the mausoleum and its dependent buildings grew up the suburb of Gházániyya, which soon rivalled Tabríz itself in size and surpassed it in beauty.

Úljáytú Khudá-banda (A.D. 1305–1316).

Reign of Úljáytú (A.D. 1305–1316)

Gházán was succeeded by his brother Úljáytú the son of Arghún, who was crowned on July 21, 1305, under the name of Úljáytú Muḥammad Khudá-banda, being at the time twenty-four years of age. As a child he had, at the desire of his mother Urúk Khátún, been baptised into the Christian church under the name of Nicolas, but later he was converted to Islám by his wife, to whom he was married at a very early age. In his youth he had received the curious name of Khar-banda ("ass-servant," *i.e.* ass-herd or muleteer), which was afterwards changed to Khudá-banda ("servant of God"). On the former name Rashídu'd-Dín has the following verses in the preface to vol. i of his great history:

His earlier name *Khar-banda*

دوش در نامِ شاه خربنده ' فکر می کرد ساعتی بنده '
که مگر معنئی در این اسمست ' که از آن غافل است خواننده '
اندرون حرم بگوش آمد ' که هوا خواهِ شاهِ فرخنده '
معنئی در حروفِ این لفظ است که بشاه است سخت زیبنده '
عقد کن از ره حسابِ جُمَل ' یک بیک حرفِ شاه خربنده '

تا بدانی که هست معنیٔ آن ‘ سایهٔ خاصِ آفریننده ‘
نُه حروف است آن و پانزده این ‘ که بعقدند هر دو مانند ‘
گوئی آن نُه حروف چون صدفست ‘ بده و پنج گوهر آگنده ‘
یا طلسمیست این همایون اسم ‘ بر درِ گنجِ ایزد افگنده ‘
سرِّ این اسم چون بدانستم ‘ جمع شد خاطرِ پراگنده ‘
کردم ادراك معنی و گفتم ‘ شاه خربنده باد پاینده ‘
آفتابِ جلال و سلطنتش ‘ از سپهر دوام تابنده ‘

The point of these verses, which are hardly worth translating in their entirety, is that the sum of the numerical values of the nine letters constituting the words *Sháh Khar-banda* (شاه خربنده) is equivalent to that of the fifteen letters in the words *Sáya-i-Kháṣ-i-Áfarínanda* (سایهٔ خاصّ آفریننده), for the first gives 300 + 1 + 5 + 600 + 200 + 2 + 50 + 4 + 5 = 1167, and the second 60 + 1 + 10 + 5 + 600 + 1 + 90 + 1 + 80 + 200 + 10 + 50 + 50 + 4 + 5 = 1167. Since in the Muhammadan, as in the Jewish view, words giving the same numerical equivalent are in some sense identical, the King's name, *Khar-banda*, is shown to be equivalent to *Sáya-i-Kháṣ-i-Áfarínanda*, the "Special Shadow (*i.e.* Protection) of the Creator." According to Dawlatsháh[1] (an author on whose uncritical statements no reliance whatever can be placed), "when, on the death of Arghún Khán, Gházán Khán became king, Úljáytú Khán fled from him, and for some years wandered with the ass-herds in the district of Kirmán and Hurmuz, on which account he was called *Khar-banda*, 'the Ass-herd.' But others say that this is not so, but that the parents of a very beautiful child give him an ugly name, so that the evil eye may not affect him, and that on this account he was called *Khar-banda*[2]."

[1] P. 217 of my edition.

[2] For another explanation see the Travels of Ibn Baṭúṭa (ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti), vol. ii, p. 115.

Even before Úljáytú was crowned, it was deemed expedient to get rid of his cousin Álafrank as a possible claimant to the throne, and he, as well as the general Harqadáq, was accordingly assassinated by three Mongol officers. Úljáytú's first act was to confirm the laws of his predecessor Gházán, and to ordain the strict observance of the *Sharí'at*, or Canon Law of Islám; and he appointed Rashídu'd-Dín the historian and physician, and Sa'du'd-Dín of Sáwa as joint Chancellors of the Exchequer, with absolute authority over his Persian as opposed to his Mongolian subjects. He visited the celebrated observatory of Maráǵha, and installed Aṣílu'd-Dín, the son of the eminent Naṣíru'd-Dín of Ṭús (who, as already mentioned, had died in 1272–3), as Astronomer-royal[1]. Abú Sa'íd, the son and successor of Úljáytú, was born in the year of the latter's accession, and in the same year was deposed Sháh Jahán, the last sovereign of the Qará-Khitá'í dynasty of Kirmán. In the same year was founded the royal city of Sulṭániyya[2], near Zanján, which soon assumed the most majestic proportions. Now it is an almost uninhabited ruin, conspicuous only for its magnificent though dilapidated mosque; but the name of the royal founder is still remembered in the following doggerel, which I heard from an old man who accompanied me round the mosque when I visited it in November, 1887:

Álafrank is put to death

Sulṭániyya founded

ای شاه خدا بنده ، ظلم کننده ، ایکی طاوق بر کنده

"O Sháh Khudá-banda, worker of injustice, two fowls for one village!"

The last line is Turkish, but I have never been able to ascertain to what it alludes.

[1] The death of Aṣílu'd-Dín is recorded in the *Mujmal* of Faṣíḥí under the year A.H. 714 (A.D. 1314–15). Abu'l-Faraj Bar-Hebraeus gives the date of Naṣíru'd-Dín's death as 675/1276–7 (Beyrout ed. of 1890, pp. 500–501).

[2] *Ta'ríkh-i-Waṣṣáf*, pp. 477–8. The author gives a long poem by himself on this event, at the end of which he mentions "the day of Anírán in the month of Farwardín in the year A.H. 710" as the date when his poem was completed (March–April, A.D. 1311).

Two months after Úljáytú's succession he received embassies from three of the Mongol rulers (of whom Tímúr Qá'án, Emperor of China, was the most important) to announce the truce which had just been concluded between them. Three months later arrived an embassy from Túqtáy, and shortly afterwards Úljáytú despatched ambassadors to Egypt, to assure Sulṭán Náṣir of his friendly disposition. He was also in correspondence with Philip le Bel, Edward the Second, and Pope Clement V. The bearer of the Ílkhán's letters to and from these potentates was Thomas Ildouchi[1], who, as d'Ohsson observes (vol. iv, pp. 590–8), evidently concealed from the European courts to which he was accredited the fact that his master Úljáytú had embraced Islám; for the letters on both sides are extant, and both Edward II (in a letter dated Nov. 30, 1307) and Pope Clement V (in a letter dated March 1, 1308) assume explicitly that Úljáytú would help them in extirpating what they describe as "the abominable sect of Mahomet." Úljáytú, meanwhile, was preoccupied with devising some test whereby he might prove the sincerity of the numerous Jews who at this time desired to profess Islám. This was finally effected by the learning of Rashídu'd-Dín, who, as his history shows, was thoroughly conversant with Jewish tradition and doctrine, and was even accused by his enemies of being a Jew, or of regarding Judaism with undue favour. The intending proselyte was bidden to partake of camel's flesh seethed in milk, and the sincerity of his conversion was judged by his readiness to eat this doubly-unlawful food. It was about this time also (April 14, 1306) that the aforesaid Rashídu'd-Dín presented the finished portion of his great historical work, the *Jámi'u't-Tawáríkh* to Úljáytú.

Ambassadors received and despatched by Úljáytú

The chief wars of Úljáytú's reign were the conquest of Gílán in the early summer of 1307 and the capture of Herát in the latter part of the same

Wars

[1] Cf. p. 11 *supra*, and n. 2 *ad calc.*

year. In both campaigns a gallant resistance was made, and success was not achieved by the Mongols without serious losses. In the defence of Herát especially the most conspicuous courage and resource were shown by the Ghúrí captain, Muḥammad Sám, to whose charge the city had been entrusted by Fakhru'd-Dín Kurt. He was, however, ultimately taken by treachery and put to death. Amongst other notable persons who suffered death in Úljáytú's reign were Músá the Kurd, who claimed to be the Mahdí or appointed Saviour of Islám; Sa'du'd-Dín, the associate and later the rival of Rashídu'd-Dín, who was executed on a charge of peculation from the treasury; and Táju'd-Dín Áwají, an extreme Shí'ite, who had tried to convert Úljáytú to his doctrines. But what the unfortunate Táju'd-Dín failed to accomplish nevertheless was brought about by other means. Úljáytú belonged to the Ḥanafí sect, the doctors of which, relying on the royal favour, waxed arrogant, until the King was induced by his minister Rashídu'd-Dín to incline to the Sháfi'í doctrine. Thereupon violent disputes took place in Úljáytú's presence between the representatives of these two Sunní schools, who, in the heat of controversy, brought against each other such abominable accusations that Úljáytú was greatly annoyed with both, and even the Mongol nobles, who were by no means squeamish, professed disgust, and began to ask whether it was for this that they had abandoned the faith of their ancestors, to which they now called on Úljáytú to return. The Íl-khán was further alarmed by a violent thunder-storm by which he was overtaken about this time, and which, according to the Mongols and their *bakshís* or priests (who, expelled by Gházán, would appear to have returned to Persia under his successor, unless, as d'Ohsson implies, they were brought back *ad hoc*) was a signal of the Divine displeasure[1]. For some time he was distracted with doubt, until at length he was persuaded by the Amír Taramtáz to follow Gházán's

Executions

Úljáytú's religious views

[1] D'Ohsson, vol. iv, pp. 536–541.

example and adopt the Shí'ite creed. This he ultimately did[1], after he had visited 'Alí's tomb and there seen a vision which convinced him that the homage of the faithful was due, after the Prophet, to 'Alí ibn Abí Ṭálib and his descendants.

Úljáytú conducted one campaign against Syria, of which the chief event was the siege of Raḥbat, which, however, the Mongols were obliged to raise when the town was reduced to the last extremity on account of the heat and the scarcity of provisions. As the result of dissensions between the brothers of the house of Qatáda who ruled Mecca alternately according to the fortune of war, Úljáytú's name was for a while substituted in public prayer in the Holy City for that of the Egyptian Sultan Náṣir.

Campaign against Syria

Úljáytú died at Sulṭániyya from the sequelae of an attack of gout on December 16, 1316, at the comparatively early age of thirty-five. He is described as "virtuous, liberal, not readily influenced by calumny; but, like all Mongol princes, addicted to spirituous drinks, and chiefly occupied with his pleasures." His funeral obsequies were celebrated with great pomp, and he was mourned by his subjects for eight days. He had twelve wives, who bore him six sons and three daughters, but five of the former and one of the latter died in childhood. His surviving son, Abú Sa'íd, succeeded him; his two surviving daughters were married to the Amír Chúbán, and one of them, Sátí Beg, subsequently held for a short time the position of queen in the year 1339.

Death of Úljáytú in A.D. 1316

ABÚ SA'ÍD (A.D. 1317–1334).

Abú Sa'íd, who was in Mázandarán at the time of his father's death, was crowned in April, 1317, being then under thirteen years of age. The Amír Chúbán was made *Amíru'l-Umará*, while 'Alí-sháh was associated with Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh in the

Reign of Abú Sa'íd (A.D. 1317–1334)

[1] The inscription on one of his coins affords proof of this. See d'Ohsson, vol. iv, p. 541 *ad calc.*

wazírate. Between these two ministers there existed a great rivalry, and it soon became evident that one or other must succumb. The victim was Rashídu'd-Dín, whose greater scrupulousness and honour placed him at a disadvantage. By the intrigues of his rival he was deposed in October, 1317, and the death of the powerful Amír Savinj in January, 1318, deprived him of his chief protector. The Amír Chúbán was anxious to reinstate him in office, but though he pleaded his advanced age and desired only to be allowed to live out the remainder of his life in peace and retirement, his rival 'Alí-sháh took alarm, renewed his intrigues, and succeeded in persuading Abú Sa'íd that Rashídu 'd-Dín and his youthful and comely son Khwája Ibráhím were guilty of poisoning the late ruler Úljáytú. Both were condemned to death and executed on July 18, 1318, Rashídu'd-Dín being then over seventy years of age. His body was outraged, his houses and possessions plundered, and his relatives and connections subjected to all sorts of persecution. More will presently be said of his character, learning, charity and literary achievements.

Execution of Rashídu'd-Dín and his son in A.D. 1318

About a month after this sad event (August, 1318) began the rebellion of Yasáwur, whose ambition led him to covet the province of Khurásán. He succeeded in compassing the death of Yasá'úl, and, having made himself master of Khurásán, invaded and ravaged Mázandarán, but retired before Abú Sa'íd's general, Amír Ḥusayn into the Garm-sír, or hot region bordering on the Persian Gulf. About the same time a formidable conspiracy of Mongol captains, such as Iranchin[1], Túqmáq and Isenbúqá was formed against Chúbán, but the latter, supported by Abú Sa'íd, utterly defeated them near Úján in June, 1319, and those of the rebel leaders who did not perish in the battle were put to death with every circumstance of

Rebellions

[1] Or Irinjin, the nephew of Doquz Khátún. See Chabot's *Hist. de Mar Jabalaha III*, p. 141 *ad calc.*

ignominy and cruelty at Sulṭániyya. Amongst the victims was Kinjik (or Kikhshik, or Kichik), the grand-daughter of Abáqá and wife of Iranchin, who had fought with conspicuous bravery in the battle to avenge the death of her son Shaykh 'Alí, and was now, according to Nuwayrí's account[1], trampled to death by horses at the command of Abú Sa'íd. Two months later Chúbán was rewarded by being given in marriage Sátí Beg, the king's sister, while the king, to commemorate his valour in this battle, took the title of *Bahádur Khán*.

Famine and hail-storms

The years 1318–1319 were remarkable for grievous famines in Asia Minor and elsewhere, followed in 1320 by terrific hail-storms. Abú Sa'íd, much alarmed, consulted the theologians as to the cause of these calamities. They ascribed them to the laxity which prevailed about wine-drinking and prostitution, taverns and brothels being in many cases situated close to mosques and colleges. Abú Sa'íd thereupon closed all disorderly houses, and caused an enormous quantity of wine to be destroyed, but he allowed one wine-shop to remain for the use of travellers in each district. These measures produced a very good impression in Egypt, and facilitated the conclusion of a treaty between Abú Sa'íd and Sulṭán Náṣir, the Egyptian ruler, who had recently carried his hostility against the Mongols so far as to send thirty assassins of the Isma'ílí sect from Syria to attempt the life of Qará Sunqur. Although this attempt miscarried, it greatly alarmed the Mongols, and both sides were thus prepared to come to terms and to set aside their ancient feuds. A treaty was ultimately concluded in 1323 between the two states, after a Mongol princess[2] (a grand-

Suppression of taverns

Assassins employed against Mongols

[1] D'Ohsson, vol. iv, pp. 636 and 641 *ad calc.* According to another account she perished in the battle, while Waṣṣáf (p. 645) says she was stoned to death, and her body cast naked into the street.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 655–6. The princess's journey from Saráy to Alexandria, where she arrived in April, 1320, occupied nearly six months.

daughter of Bátú) had been given in marriage to Sulṭán Náṣir in 1320.

Revolt of Tímúr-Tásh

In 1322 Tímúr-Tásh the son of Chúbán revolted in Asia Minor and declared himself to be the expected Mahdí or Messiah, but he was overcome by his father, pardoned, and ultimately reinstated in his government by Abú Sa'íd. About the same time Armenia was devastated by the Egyptians, and Pope John XXII endeavoured to stir up the European powers on their behalf; to which end he wrote a letter (dated July 12, 1322)[1] to Abú Sa'íd asking him to aid them, and exhorting him at the same time to embrace the Christian faith. He also appointed[2] a Dominican named François de Peruse archbishop of Sulṭániyya.

Armenia devastated

Early in 1324 died the prime minister 'Alí-sháh, who was chiefly remarkable as the first Mongol *wazír* to die a natural death. He was succeeded by Ruknu'd-Dín Ṣá'in, who enjoyed the support of the great Amír Chúbán. The power of this Amír, however, began to arouse the jealousy of Abú Sa'íd, now about twenty-one years of age, and an open rupture was precipitated by Abú Sa'íḍ's passion for Baghdád Khátún, the daughter of Chúbán and wife of Shaykh Ḥasan Jalá'ir, and by the intrigues of the ungrateful Ruknu'd-Dín against his benefactor. A threatened invasion of Khurásán by the Mongols of Transoxiana obliged Chúbán and his son Ḥusayn to be present in the eastern portion of the empire, while another son named Dimashq Khwája, against whom Abú Sa'íd was already incensed, remained at the court, which returned from its winter quarters at Baghdád to Sulṭániyya in the spring of 1327. Abú Sa'íd, growing daily more impatient of Dimashq Khwája's arrogance and immorality, only awaited a reasonable excuse to destroy him.

Abú Sa'íd becomes impatient of Chúbán's power

[1] A translation of this letter is given by d'Ohsson, vol. iv, pp. 662–3.

[2] D'Ohsson, vol. iv, p. 664. This appointment was made on May 1, 1318. The first archbishop resigned in 1323, and was succeeded by Guillaume d'Ada.

Nor had he to wait long, for about this time it was discovered that Dimashq was engaged in an intrigue with one of Úljáytú's former concubines. Finding himself detected, he endeavoured to escape, but was overtaken and put to death, and his head was exhibited over one of the gates of Sulṭániyya. This took place on August 25, 1327[1]. He left four daughters, of whom the most notable was Dilshád Khátún. She was married first to Abú Sa'íd, to whom she bore a posthumous daughter who died in infancy, and afterwards to Shaykh Ḥasan Íl-khání, to whom she bore Sulṭán Uways and another son. This Sulṭán Uways reigned at Baghdád from 1356–1374, and was, as we shall see, a notable patron of poets and men of letters and learning.

Dimashq Khwája put to death in August, 1327

Abú Sa'íd, having taken this decisive step, resolved to exterminate Chúbán and his whole family. Chúbán, warned of the king's intention, first put to death the *wazír*, Ruknu'd-Dín Ṣá'in, and then collected his troops, to the number of seventy thousand, and marched westwards, first to Mashhad and then to Simnán, whence he sent the venerable Shaykh 'Alá'd-Dín to intercede for him with Abú Sa'íd. The Íl-khán was not to be moved, and Chúbán continued his advance westwards until he arrived within a day's march of Abú Sa'íd. All seemed to be in Chúbán's favour, until some of his most important *amírs* deserted to the king, taking with them some thirty thousand men. Thereupon Chúbán retreated, first to Sáwa, where he left his wives Kardúchín and Sátí Beg, and then to Ṭabas. His followers continued to desert him until he was finally left with only seventeen persons. He then decided to take refuge at Herát with Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Kurt, who, however, betrayed him, and caused him and his chief officers to be strangled. His body was, by the Íl-khán's order, conveyed to al-Madína with great pomp,

Death of Chúbán

[1] Ibn Baṭúṭa gives a full account of the death of Dimashq Khwája. See vol. ii, pp. 117–119.

and there buried in the tomb which he had prepared for himself[1].

Fate of Chúbán's son Tímúr-Tásh, Aug. 1328

Abú Sa'íd was now free to marry Baghdád Khátún, but, though she soon acquired a great influence over him, he did not cease persecuting her family. Another of Chúbán's sons, Tímúr-Tásh, who was governor of Asia Minor, took refuge at the Egyptian court, where he arrived on January 21, 1328. He was at first well received, sumptuously entertained, and given an allowance of 1500 *dínárs* a day; but the urgent demands of Abú Sa'íd for his extradition, combined with the intrigues of the Egyptian Sultan's courtiers, soon decided the latter to get rid of him. For a while he hesitated between the extradition and the execution of his once powerful guest, but finally he decided to kill him, fearing lest, if he were sent to Abú Sa'íd, the intercession of his sister Baghdád Khátún and his old friend Ghiyáthu'd-Dín, the son of the great Rashídu'd-Dín, now himself prime minister, might induce the Íl-khán to forgive him, and that, should this happen, he would certainly seek to revenge himself on the Egyptians. Tímúr-Tásh was therefore put to death in prison on the night of Thursday, August 22, 1328, and his head, embalmed and placed in a casket, was sent to Abú Sa'íd.

Ministry of Ghiyáthu'd-Dín b. Rashídu'd-Dín

Of the *wazír* Ghiyáthu'd-Dín b. Rashídu'd-Dín the contemporary historian Ḥamdu'lláh Mustawfí of Qazwín speaks in enthusiastic terms in his *Ta'ríkh-i-Guzída*, or "Select History," which is dedicated to him. "That minister of good repute," he says, "like his illustrious father, made the most admirable efforts to secure the order of the world; and inasmuch as to pardon when one has power to injure is the extreme of human perfection, and all the greatest of former ages have followed this path, and thus obtained, by their virtuous conduct, the highest honour and an enduring name, so this minister of angelic temperament, inspired by the certainty of his convictions, did even more than this, for, instead of punishing

[1] See Ibn Baṭúṭa, vol. ii, pp. 119–121.

those who had wrought towards his noble family ill deeds whereof the recapitulation would disgust the hearts of my hearers, he drew the pen of forgiveness through the record of their crimes, recompensed their evil actions with good, and made each one of them an exemplar of the prosperity of this Empire, raising them to the highest ranks, and entrusting to them the most important functions, so that each now beholds with his own eyes that which he did most ardently desire[1]."

This complaisance of Ghiyáthu'd-Dín nearly caused his destruction when the rebellious Amír Nárín Búqá sought his intercession with Abú Sa'íd at the very moment when he was plotting the minister's assassination. On this occasion, however, the king, prompted by his wife Baghdád Khátún, who hated Nárín Búqá as the destroyer of her father and brothers, intervened, and caused the rebel and his confederate Tásh-Tímúr to be executed on October 5, 1327.

The last years of Abú Sa'íd's reign saw numerous changes in the Kurt kings of Herát. Ghiyáthu'd-Dín died in October, 1329, and was succeeded by his eldest son Shamsu'd-Dín, who was so much addicted to drink that it was said that during a reign of ten months he was only sober for ten days. He was succeeded by his younger brother Ḥáfiẓ, a gentle scholar, who was assassinated in 1332, and replaced by his infant brother Mu'izzu'd-Dín, whose election was approved by Abú Sa'íd. He enjoyed a long reign of forty years, and was followed by his son, Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Pír 'Alí, in whose time the dynasty, which had endured since 1245, was extinguished by Tamerlane.

Kurt rulers of Herát

In August, 1335, Abú Sa'íd, having learned that Úzbek, the Khán of the Golden Horde, intended an invasion of his dominions, was preparing to take the field against him when he fell ill, and died at Qará-bágh near Arrán on Nov. 30 of that year. He

Death of Abú Sa'íd (A.D. 1335)

[1] See p. 611 of the *fac-simile* edition of the *Ta'ríkh-i-Guzída* published in the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series, vol. xiv, 1.

is described by Ibn Taghribardí as "a brave and brilliant prince of majestic appearance, generous and witty." He was a good calligraphist, composer and musician, and is praised by this historian not only for his good moral character and for his suppression of the drink traffic, but also for his destruction of the Christian churches. It is suggested by Mírkhwánd and positively asserted by Ibn Baṭúṭa[1] that Abú Sa'íd was poisoned by Baghdád Khátún, who was jealous of the ascendancy obtained by her younger rival Dilshád Khátún over the Íl-khán[2]. At any rate, whether guilty or not, Baghdád Khátún was put to death[3].

With Abú Sa'íd's death the dynasty of the Íl-kháns of Persia, founded by Húlágú Khán, practically came to an end, and a period of anarchy ensued which lasted until another great wave of conquest from the land of Túrán swept over Persia and Asia Minor thirty-five years later, led by the ruthless and irresistible conqueror Tímúr-i-Lang ("Limping Tímúr"), or, as he is commonly called in Europe, Tamerlane. By a strange coincidence, noticed in the *Maṭla'u's-Sa'dayn*[4], the year of Tímúr's birth was the same as that of Abú Sa'íd's death, and the chronogram *lawdh* (لوذ = "refuge!")[5] has been devised for it, since this word gives the date (A.H. 736) according to the Muhammadan computation, and men might well seek refuge with God from this double calamity—the death of Abú Sa'íd and the birth of Tímúr—which this year brought.

Accession of Arpa

On the death of Abú Sa'íd, who left no sons, Arpa, or Arpagá'ún, a descendant of Arik-búqá, the brother of Húlágú, was, at the instance of the minister Ghiyáthu'd-Dín b. Rashídu'd-Dín,

[1] Ibn Baṭúṭa, vol. ii, p. 123.

[2] See Howorth's *History of the Mongols*, pt. 3, p. 624. In the first line of this page, Nov. 30, 1334, is given as the date of Abú Sa'íd's death. This error is apparently due to a careless perusal of the last paragraph in d'Ohsson's *Hist. des Mongols*, vol. iv, p. 716.

[3] The manner of her death is related by Ibn Baṭúṭa, vol. ii, p. 123.

[4] See Rieu's *Persian Catalogue*, p. 182.

[5] See Howorth's *History of the Mongols*, pt. 3, p. 634.

chosen as his successor. To strengthen his position, he married Sátí Beg, the widow of Chúbán and sister of Abú Sa'íd. He then marched against Úzbek and defeated him. But meanwhile Amír 'Alí Pádisháh and other *amírs*, disapproving of Arpa's election, set up a rival Íl-khán in the person of Músá, a descendant of Húlágú. A battle took place between the two rivals near Maráǵha on April 29, 1336. Arpa was defeated, and both he and the *wazír* Ghiyáthu'd-Dín were put to death shortly afterwards. Músá, however, was not suffered to enjoy the fruits of victory for long: another rival, Muḥammad Sháh, also descended from Húlágú, was set up against him by Shaykh Ḥasan the Jalá'ir (called *Buzurg*, "the Great"). Another battle was fought at Ala-Tágh near the town of Naw-Shahr, in which, by the treachery of Shaykh Ḥasan Buzurg, Músá was routed and 'Alí Pádisháh killed. Yet another claimant was set up in the person of Túgháy-Tímúr, who joined forces with Músá, and fought another battle with Shaykh Ḥasan Buzurg near Maráǵha in June, 1337, in which Músá was taken prisoner and put to death (July, 1337), while Túgháy-Tímúr fled to Bisṭám. Shaykh Ḥasan, the son of Tímúr-Tásh, the son of Chúbán, now added to the confusion by producing a pretender whom he asserted to be his father Tímúr-Tásh, whose execution by the Sultan of Egypt has been already mentioned. A battle finally took place at Nakhjuwán on July 10, 1338, between the two Ḥasans, in which Ḥasan "the Greater" was defeated, while his *protégé* Muḥammad Sháh was taken prisoner and put to death. Shaykh Ḥasan "the Less" (the grandson of Chúbán) now quarrelled with the pretended Tímúr-Tásh, and espoused the cause of the princess Sátí Beg, the sister of the late king Abú Sa'íd and widow of his grandfather Chúbán. She was proclaimed queen in 739 (1338–9), and a reconciliation was effected between the two Ḥasans.

Músá set up as a rival claimant

It is hardly worth following these intrigues further. Those who desire fuller information about them, and about the tortuous policy of Shaykh Ḥasan "the Less," will find

it in the pages of d'Ohsson and Howorth. Suffice it to say that Tugháy-Tímúr was betrayed by the astute Shaykh Ḥasan "the Less," who then set up another puppet, Sulaymán Khán, a descendant of Húlágú, and gave him Sátí Beg in marriage, while Ḥasan "the Greater" set up as a rival a descendant of Abáqá named Sháh Jahán Tímúr. A battle took place between the two factions near Maráǵha in 1340. Ḥasan "the Greater" was defeated, retired to Baghdád, deposed his puppet Sháh Jahán Tímúr, and, proclaiming himself king, founded the dynasty—more important in literary than in political history—of the Jalá'irs, who reigned until 1411 over Western Persia and Mesopotamia, with Baghdád as their capital. As for Ḥasan "the Less," the grandson of Chúbán, he was murdered in 1343, while marching to attack his rival, by his wife 'Izzat Malik, who expiated her crime by a most cruel and ignominious death. On this event the contemporary poet Salmán of Sáwa (who, being a *protégé* of the rival Shaykh Ḥasan, was delighted at the death of Chúbán's grandson) has the following verses[1], which hardly bear translation:

ز هجرتِ نَبَوی رفته هفصد و چل و چار'
در آخر رجب اُفتاد اتّفاقِ حَسَن'
زنی چگونه زنی خیرِ خیّراتِ جهان'
بزورِ بازوی خود خُصْیَتَیْنِ شیخ حَسَن'
گرفت محکم و میداشت تا بمُرد و برفت'
زهی خجسته زنی خایه‌دارِ مرد افگن'

The Mongol ascendancy in Persia was now at an end, and, until Tímúr's hordes swept over the country (1384–1393), it was divided into at least four kingdoms, those of the Jalá'irs, the Muẓaffarís, the Kurts and the Sar-ba-dárs, whose history will be considered in another chapter.

[1] *Ḥabíbu's-Siyar*, vol. iii, p. 131 (Bombay lithographed ed. of A.D. 1857). I cannot find these lines in the Bombay lithographed edition of Salmán's poems, but they are given in the *Maṭla'n's-Sa'dayn*.

Besides the travels of Ibn Baṭúṭa, repeatedly cited in the notes, much light is thrown on this period by the travels in Persia of Friar Odoric of Pordenone about A.D. 1318[1]; the particulars given about "Bousaet" or "Boussay" (*i.e.* Abú Sa'íd) and his kingdom by the Archbishop of Sulṭániyya in a tract written about A.D. 1330; and the narratives of the consuls who represented Venetian interests in Tabríz and other Persian towns between the years A.D. 1305 and 1332[2].

[1] A fine edition of this work, edited by M. Henri Cordier, was published by Leroux of Paris in 1891.

[2] See Howorth, *op. cit.*, pt. 3, 628–633.

CHAPTER II.

THE HISTORIANS OF THE ÍL-KHÁNÍ PERIOD.

This period pre-eminently that of the great historians

The period of about seventy years which we are now considering is chiefly remarkable, from the literary point of view, for the large number of eminent Persian historians which it produced. At least eight of these deserve somewhat detailed notices, besides a rather larger number of notable poets, whose number might easily be increased if those of the second rank were included. Before considering these Persian writers, however, a few words must be said about the Arabic literature of this period of which it behoves even students whose primary interest is in Persian letters to have at least some general idea.

Arabic literature in this period

So long as the Caliphate endured and Baghdád remained, in theory at least, the metropolis of all orthodox Muslims, the Arabic language held throughout those wide domains a position analogous to that of Latin in Europe during the Middle Ages; that is to say it was not only (what it still remains) the language of theology, philosophy and science, but also to a large extent of diplomacy, polite society and *belles lettres*. The overthrow of the Caliphate by the Mongols greatly impaired its position and diminished its prestige, but this decline did not become very conspicuous so long as those survived whose education had been completed before Islám suffered this great disaster, that is to say for some fifty or sixty years after the fall of Baghdád. In the later periods which we have to consider a knowledge of contemporary Arabic literature, though always important, becomes less essential to the student of Persian history and letters, but at this

period it is still vital, especially in the domains of history, biography and travel, not to mention theology, philosophy and science, where it continues to be indispensable.

The Arabic literature with which we are here concerned falls into three classes. *First*, the Arabic works of bilingual Persians whose Persian writings entitle them to mention in the literary history of their country. Of this class the Qáḍi'l-Quḍát (Chief Justice) Náṣiru'd-Dín al-Bayḍáwí may be taken as an example. Al-Bayḍá ("the White"), from which he derived his cognomen, is the Arabic name of a place in Fárs so called on account of a white tomb (*turbat-i-safíd*)[1] which renders it conspicuous. Al-Bayḍáwí is best known as the author of the famous commentary on the *Qur'án* entitled *Asráru't-Tanzíl*, which is written in Arabic[2]; but he also wrote in Persian a history of Persia entitled *Niẓámu't-Tawáríkh*, whereof mention will be made in the course of this chapter. To speak of him merely as a historian of the second rank and to ignore his far more important work as a commentator would be to do him a great injustice. *Secondly*, Arabic works by non-Persians which have profoundly influenced Persian thought, such as the *Fuṣúṣu'l-Ḥikam* and other writings of Shaykh Muḥiyyu'd-Dín ibnu'l-'Arabí, and the writings of Shaykh Ṣadru'd-Dín of Qonya (Iconium), which were the sources whence such mystical poets as Fakhru'd-Dín 'Iráqí derived their inspiration. *Thirdly*, and most important, Arabic historical, geographical and biographical works which throw light on the persons, places, circumstances and ideas which we shall meet with in the course of our investigations. Amongst these special mention must be made of the lives of physicians (*Ṭabaqátu'l-Aṭibbá*)

Three classes of Arabic literature important to the student of Persian

(1) Arabic works of bilingual writers who deserve mention on account of their contributions to Persian literature

(2) Arabic works which profoundly influenced Persian thought

(3) Arabic historical, geographical and biographical works

[1] See *Nuzhatu'l-Qulúb* (ed. G. le Strange), vol. xxiii, 1 of the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series, p. 122, ll. 21 *et seqq.*

[2] See Brockelmann's *Gesch. d. Arab. Litt.*, vol. i, pp. 416–418.

by Ibn Abí Uṣaybi'a[1] (d. 668/1270); the great biographical work of Ibn Khallikán (d. 681/1282) entitled *Wafayátu'l-A'yán*[2]; the *Áthāru'l-Bilád* ("Monuments of the Lands") of Zakariyyá b. Muḥammad al-Qazwíní[3] (d. 682/1283); the general history, especially important for the Mongol period, entitled *Mukhtaṣaru'd-Duwal* of Abu'l-Faraj Bar-Hebraeus (d. July 30, 1289)[4]; the well-known history of Abu'l-Fidá, Prince of Ḥamát (d. 732/1331), entitled *Al-Mukhtaṣar fí Ta'ríkhi'l-Bashar*[5]; and the illuminating travels of Ibn Baṭúṭa[6] (d. 779/1377), which extended over a period of 24 years (1325–1349) and included not only Persia but the greater part of Asia from Constantinople to India and China, and from Arabia to Afghánistán and Transoxiana.

Value of the *Áthāru'l-Bilád*

The student of Persian history and literature who ignores these books is cut off from some of the richest sources of trustworthy information, yet they are constantly neglected even by experts who write authoritatively on the Persian poets and other kindred topics. Take only the "Monuments of the Lands" of al-Qazwíní above mentioned, consider the following list of eminent Persian poets to whom reference is made under the towns wherein they were born or where they spent their lives, and see how much information about them is given which is vainly sought in the Persian *tadhkiras* or "Memoirs" commonly consulted on such matters[7]:—Anwarí (p. 242),

[1] Brockelmann's *Gesch. d. Arab. Litt.*, vol. i, pp. 325–6. The text was printed at Cairo in 2 vols., 1299/1882.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. i, pp. 326–8. This work is accessible to the English reader in the excellent translation of the Baron McGuckin de Slane, 4 vols., London and Paris, 1843–1871.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. i, pp. 481–2; published by Wüstenfeld together with the better known but less valuable *'Ajá'ibu'l-Makhlúqát*, or "Wonders of Creation" of the same author at Göttingen in 1818.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. i, pp. 349–350. I have not used Pococke's edition (Oxford, 1663), but the text printed at Beyrout in 1890.

[5] *Ibid.*, vol. ii, pp. 44–46.

[6] *Ibid.*, vol. ii, pp. 256–7; edited with a French translation by Defrémery and Sanguinetti in 4 vols. (Paris, 1853–1858, and 1869–1879).

[7] The references are to the pages of Wüstenfeld's edition, which is

'Asjadí (p. 278), Awḥadu'd-Dín Kirmání (p. 164), Fakhrí of Jurján (p. 351), Farrukhí (p. 278), Firdawsí (pp. 278–9 and a verse from the *Sháhnáma* quoted on p. 135), Jalál-i-Ṭabíb (p. 257), Jalál-i-Khwárí (p. 243), Kháqání (pp. 272–3, where 3 *bayts* of his poetry are cited, and p. 404), Abú Ṭáhir al-Khátúní (p. 259), Mujír of Baylaqán (p. 345), Niẓámí (pp. 351–2), Náṣir-i-Khusraw (pp. 328–9), Abú Sa'íd ibn Abi'l-Khayr (pp. 241–2), Saná'í (p. 287), Shams-i-Ṭabasí (pp. 272–3), 'Umar-i-Khayyám (p. 318), 'Unṣurí (p. 278)and Rashídu'd-Dín Waṭwáṭ (pp. 223–4). Here, then, we have notices, some fairly full and containing matter not to be found elsewhere, of 19 important Persian poets who flourished before or during the thirteenth century, these being in many cases the oldest notices extant[1], since the *Lubábu'l-Albáb* of 'Awfí and the *Chahár Maqála*, "Four Discourses," of Niẓámí-i-'Arúḍí of Samarqand are almost the only Persian works of greater antiquity which treat more or less systematically of the lives of Persian poets. And this is only one subject out of many interesting to the student of Persian dealt with in this most entertaining work.

We must now pass to the historians, who, as I have already said, are by far the most important writers of this period, for, while other periods, both earlier and later, have produced poets alike more numerous and more celebrated, none have produced historians comparable in merit to these.

Of 'Aṭá Malik-i-Juwayní's *Ta'ríkh-i-Jahán-gushá* or "History of the World-Conqueror" (*i.e.* Chingíz Khán), repeated mention was made in a preceding volume[2], but something more must be added here. It was completed in 658/1260, but con-

The *Ta'ríkh-i-Jahán-gushá*

the standard one. The work has not been translated, so far as I know, into any European language.

[1] On p. 334 of the *Áthāru'l-Bilád* the author tells us that he met Shaykh Muḥiyyu'd-Dín ibnu'l-'Arabí in 630/1232–3, while the author's autograph copy of the book is dated 674/1275–6, so that its composition lies between these limits.

[2] *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, vol. ii, where the chief references are pp. 434, 435, 443 and 473.

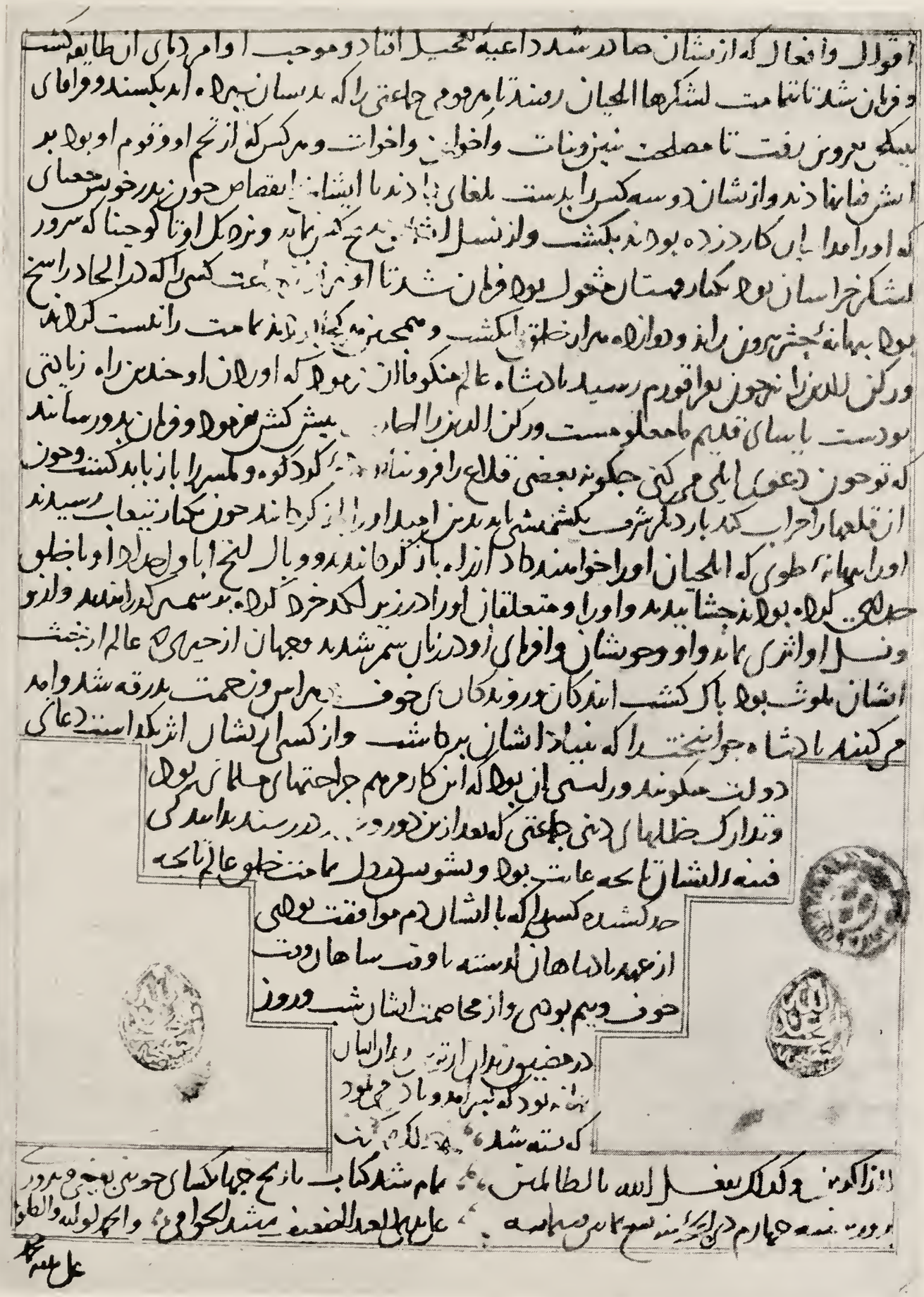
cludes with the events of the year 655/1257, notably the destruction of the Assassins by the author's master and patron Húlágú Khán. Some few MSS. contain an Appendix describing the sack of Baghdád, which took place in the following year, but this is probably an addition by a later hand. The work comprises three parts, of which the *first* deals with the history of Chingíz Khán and his ancestors, and his successors down to Chaghatáy ; the *second* relates the history of the Khwárazm-sháhs, especially of the two last rulers of this dynasty, Quṭbu'd-Dín Muḥammad and his son Jalálu'd-Dín ; while the *third* treats of the Isma'ílí sect and especially of Ḥaṣan-i-Ṣabbáḥ and his successors, the Assassins of Alamút. The work is therefore not a general history, but a historical monograph on Chingíz Khán and his predecessors and successors, to which are added accounts of the two chief dynasties with which he came in conflict in Persia and Mesopotamia. Further particulars about this most valuable and original history are given in an article which I contributed to the *J.R.A.S.* for January, 1904, pp. 1–17, and the first and second of the three volumes which it comprises have already appeared (in 1912 and 1916 respectively) in the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series (xvi, 1 and xvi, 2), edited by my learned friend Mírzá Muḥammad ibn 'Abdu'l-Wahháb of Qazwín, who has prefixed to the first volume[1] a full and critical account of the work and its author, and of the family of statesmen to which he belonged, He died in March 1283. His brother Shamsu'd-Dín the *Ṣáḥib-Díwán* wrote this verse on his death :

گوئی من و او دو شمع بودیم بهم

یك شمع بمُرْد و دیگری می سوزد

"He and I, thou wouldst say, were two lamps which in unison shone ;
One lamp burneth still, but alas ! for the other is gone !"

[1] English Introduction, pp. xv–xcii ; Persian ditto, ج—قکح.



Colophon of the oldest MS. of the *Ta'ríkh-i-Jahán-gushá* in the Bibliothèque Nationale, dated A.H. 689 (A.D. 1290)

To face p. 66

The following chronogram on his death was composed by Ṣadru'd-Dín 'Alí, the son of Naṣíru'd-Dín of Ṭús[1]:

آصفِ عهد علاء حق و دین زُبدهٔ کَوْن ‘

کرد بدرود جهان‌را چو سر آمدش زمان ‘

در شبِ شنبه چهارم ز مهِ ذی حجّه ‘

سال بر ششصد و هشتاد و یکی در اوّان ‘

Ta'ríkh-i-Waṣṣáf

The *Ta'ríkh-i-Waṣṣáf* was intended, as its author informs us, to be a continuation of the above-mentioned history, and may therefore most conveniently be mentioned next, although it is of slightly later date than the *Jámi'u't-Tawáríkh*, of which we shall next speak. Its proper title is *Tajziyatu'l-Amṣár wa Tazjiyatu'l-A'ṣár* (the "Allotment of Lands and Propulsion of Ages"), and its author, though commonly known simply as *Waṣṣáf* (the "Panegyrist") or *Waṣṣáf-i-Ḥaḍrat* (the "Court Panegyrist"), was properly named 'Abdu'lláh ibn Faḍlu'lláh of Shíráz. He was employed in the collection of revenue for the Mongol Government, and was a *protégé* of the great minister Rashídu'd-Dín, who presented him and his book to Úljáytú, as he himself relates[2], at Sulṭániyya on June 1, A.D. 1312. His history, as Rieu well says[3], "contains an authentic contemporary record of an important period, but its undoubted value is in some degree diminished by the want of method in its arrangement, and still more by the highly artificial character and tedious redundance of its style. It was unfortunately set up as a model, and has exercised a baneful influence on the later historical compositions in Persia." That these criticisms are fully justified will be denied by no one who has occasion to use the work, and indeed the author himself

Dr Rieu's estimate of its merits and defects

[1] Both these verses are taken from the *Mujmal* of Faṣíḥí, f. 466 of the Raverty MS., *sub anno* 681.

[2] Pp. 544 *et seqq.* of the fine Bombay lithograph of 1269/1852–3.

[3] *Cat. of Pers. MSS. in Brit. Mus.*, p. 162.

declares that to write in the grand style was his primary object, and that the historical events which he records served merely as the material on which he might embroider the fine flowers of his exuberant rhetoric. Úljáytú, we are told, was unable to understand the passages read aloud to him by the author on the occasion of his audience; and the reader who is not a Persian scholar may form some idea of his pompous, florid and inflated style from the German translation of the first volume published with the text by Hammer in 1856. We could forgive the author more readily if his work were less valuable as an original authority on the period (1257–1328) of which it treats, but in fact it is as important as it is unreadable. It comprises five volumes, of which the contents are summarily stated by Rieu (*op. cit.*, pp. 162–3), and there is, besides the partial edition of Hammer mentioned above, an excellent lithographed edition of the whole, published at Bombay in Rajab, 1269 (April, 1853).

Mu'jam fí Áthári Mulúki'l-'Ajam

Here, perhaps, mention should be made of a quasi-historical work similar in style but far inferior in value to that just mentioned, I mean the *Mu'jam fí Áthári Mulúki'l-'Ajam*, a highly rhetorical account of the ancient Kings of Persia down to Sásánian times, written by Faḍlu'lláh al-Ḥusayní and dedicated to Nuṣratu'd-Dín Aḥmad b. Yúsuf-sháh, Atábek of Lur-i-Buzurg, who reigned from 1296 to about 1330. This book, which is vastly inferior to the other histories mentioned in this chapter, has been lithographed at Ṭihrán, and manuscripts of it are to be found in most large Oriental libraries[1].

The *Jámi'u't-Tawáríkh*

We now come to the great *Jámi'u't-Tawáríkh*, or "Compendium of Histories," of which incidental mention has been made in the last chapter in connection with its illustrious author Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh, equally eminent as a physician, a

[1] See Rieu's *Pers. Cat.*, p. 811; Ethé's *Bodleian Cat.*, No. 285; Ethé's *India Office Cat.*, Nos. 534–5.

statesman, a historian, and a public benefactor. Of his public career and tragic fate we have already spoken, but something more must be said not only of the scope and contents of his history, but of his private life and literary activity. His history, unfortunately, has never yet been published in its entirety, and manuscripts of it are comparatively rare, but amongst the published portions is his life of Húlágú Khán, edited by Quatremère at Paris in 1836, with a French translation and many valuable notes, under the title of *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse, écrite en persan par Raschid-eldin, publiée, traduite en français, accompagnée de notes et d'un mémoire sur la vie et les ouvrages de l'auteur.* From this excellent memoir, to which those who desire fuller and more detailed information are referred, the following salient facts of Rashídu'd-Dín's life and works are chiefly taken. He was born at Hamadán about A.D. 1247, and was asserted by his enemies to have been of Jewish origin. His grandfather Muwaffaqu'd-Dawla 'Alí was, with the astronomer Naṣíru'd-Dín Ṭúsí and Ra'ísu'd-Dawla, an unwilling guest of the Assassins of Alamút when that place was taken by Húlágú in the very year of our author's birth, and was at once received into Húlágú's service. As court-physician Rashídu'd-Dín enjoyed considerable influence and honour during the reign of Abáqá, but it was in the reign of Gházán, whose accession took place in A.D. 1295, that his many merits were first fully recognized, and three years later, on the dismissal and execution of the prime minister Ṣadru'd-Dín Zanjání, called *Ṣadr-i-Jahán*, he was chosen by Gházán, conjointly with Sa'du'd-Dín, to succeed him. In A.D. 1303 Rashídu'd-Din accompanied Gházán as Arabic secretary in the campaign against the Syrians, and it was during this period, while the Mongol court was established at 'Ána on the Euphrates, that he presented to Gházán the author of the *Ta'ríkh-i-Waṣṣáf*, as has been already mentioned (p. 42), on March 3, 1303.

Quatremère's critical account of the author

His birth in 1247

He becomes Prime Minister to Gházán in 1298

During the reign of Úljáytú (or Khudá-banda) Rashídu'd-Dín enjoyed the same high position as under his predecessor, and received from the new king several singular marks of favour and confidence. He also built in Sulṭániyya, the new capital, a fine suburb, named after him Rashídiyya, containing a magnificent mosque, a college, a hospital and other public buildings, and some thousand houses. In December, 1307, he was instrumental in establishing the innocence of two Sháfi'ite doctors of Baghdád, Shihábu'd-Dín Suhrawardí and Jamálu'd-Dín, who had been accused of carrying on a treasonable correspondence with Egypt[1]. Some two years later he built another beautiful little suburb, near Gházániyya, the town which had grown up round Gházán's mausoleum, to the East of Tabríz, and, at great expense, brought thither the river Saráw-rúd through channels hewn in the solid rock[2]. Immense sums of money were required for these and other admirable works of piety and public utility, but Rashídu'd-Dín, as he himself declares, had received from the generous Úljáytú such sums as no previous sovereign had ever bestowed on minister or courtier. On the transcription, binding, maps and illustrations of his numerous literary works he had, according to the *Ta'ríkh-i-Waṣṣáf*, expended no less a sum than 60,000 *dínárs* (£36,000).

Continued power and increased honour under Khudá-banda

He founds and endows the suburb called *Rab'-i-Rashídí*

Early in the year 1312 Rashídu'd-Dín's colleague Sa'du'd-Dín of Sáwa fell from power and was put to death, the prime mover in the intrigue of which he was the victim being the clever and unscrupulous 'Alí-sháh, who at once succeeded the dead minister in his office. Soon afterwards a dangerous intrigue was directed against Rashídu'd-Dín, but happily it recoiled on its authors and left him unscathed. Whether he, on the other hand, was responsible for the barbarous execution of Sayyid Táju'd-

Rivalries and intrigues

[1] Quatremère, *Hist. des Mongols*, pp. xvi–xvii. The Shihábu'd-Dín here mentioned is not, of course, Sa'dí's teacher, who died 632/1234–5.

[2] See G. le Strange's *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, pp. 162–3.

Dín, the *Naqíbu'l-Ashráf*, or "Dean of the Sharífs" (*i.e.* the descendants of 'Alí) is a doubtful question, which Quatremère answers in the negative.

Fall and death of Rashídu'd-Dín in A.D. 1318

In 1315 such acrimonious disputes broke out between Rashídu'd-Dín and 'Alí-sháh, as to who was responsible for the lack of money to pay the troops, that Úljáytú assigned to the management of each one different provinces of Persia and Asia Minor. Nevertheless 'Alí-sháh continued his campaign of calumny against his colleague, who succeeded only with the greatest difficulty in saving himself from disaster. The same rivalry and intrigue continued after the death of Úljáytú and the accession of Abú Sa'íd, until finally Rashídu'd-Dín, having succumbed to the attacks of his traducers, was deprived of his office in October, 1317, and ultimately, on July 18, 1318, at the age of over seventy years, was put to death with his son Ibráhím, a lad of sixteen years of age, on a charge of having poisoned the late king. His property was confiscated, his relatives were persecuted and despoiled, his pious foundations were robbed of their endowments, and the Rab'-i-Rashídí, the suburb which he had founded, was given over to rapine. He was buried in the mausoleum which he had prepared for his last resting-place, but his body was not suffered to rest there in peace, for about a century later Míránsháh the son of Tímúr-i-Lang, in one of his fits of insane brutality, caused it to be exhumed and buried in the Jews' cemetery. 'Alí-sháh, in order to testify his joy at his rival's fall, presented magnificent presents to the Sanctuary at Mecca, and, escaping the retribution which overtook most of his accomplices, died peaceably in his bed six years later (in 1324), being, as already remarked, the first minister of the Mongol Íl-kháns who had the good fortune to die a natural death. Of Rashídu'd-Dín's son Ghiyáthu'd-Dín, who resembled him in virtue and learning, as well as in his public career and his sad end (for he too was ultimately put to death in the spring of 1336) mention has been already made in the preceding chapter.

Destruction of his foundations and desecration of his tomb

For the conception of the *Jámi'u't-Tawáríkh* the credit, in Quatremère's opinion[1], belongs to Gházán Khán, who, foreseeing that the Mongols in Persia, in spite of their actual supremacy, would in course of time inevitably be absorbed by the Persians, desired to leave to posterity a monument of their achievements, in the shape of a faithful record of their history and conquests, in the Persian language. For the accomplishment of this great task he chose (and no better choice could have been made) Rashídu'd-Dín, at whose disposal were placed all the state archives, and the services of all those who were most learned in the history and antiquities of the Mongols. The minister, though engrossed by the state affairs of a vast empire, yet succeeded in finding time to prosecute his researches and commit them to writing, though, according to Dawlat-sháh[2], the only time at his disposal for this purpose was that which intervened between the morning prayer and sunrise.

General plan and execution of the *Jámi'u't-Tawáríkh*

Before Rashídu'd-Dín's history of the Mongols was completed, Gházán died (May 17, 1304), but his successor Úljáytú ordered it to be finished and dedicated, as originally intended, to Gházán; whence this portion of the work, generally called the first volume, is sometimes entitled *Ta'ríkh-i-Gházáni*, the "Gházánian History." Úljáytú also ordered the author to write a companion volume containing a general history of the world and especially of the lands of Islám, and a third volume dealing with geography. This last has either perished, or was never actually written, but only projected, so that the work as we now know it comprises only two volumes, the first on the history of the Mongols, written for Gházán, the second on general history. The whole work was completed in 710/1310–11, though two years later the author was still engaged on his supplementary account of Úljáytu's reign.

Analysis of the contents of the *Jámi'u't-Tawáríkh*

[1] *Hist. des Mongols*, p. lxviii.

[2] P. 217 of my edition.

The contents of this great history are briefly as follows:

VOL. I, *ch. i.* History of the different Turkish and Mongol tribes, their divisions, genealogies, pedigrees, legends, etc., in a Preface and four sections.

„ *ch. ii.* History of Chingíz Khán, his ancestors and successors, down to Gházán Khán.

VOL. II, *Preface.* On Adam and the Patriarchs and Hebrew Prophets.

Part 1. History of the ancient kings of Persia before Islám, in four sections.

Part 2. History of the Prophet Muḥammad and of the Caliphate, down to its extinction by the Mongols in 1258; of the post-Muhammadan Persian dynasties of Persia, *viz.* the Sultans of Ghazna, the Seljúqs, the Khwárazmsháhs, the Salgharid Atábeks of Fárs, and the Isma'ílís of the West and of the East; of Oghuz and his descendants, the Turks; of the Chinese; of the Jews; of the Franks and their Emperors and Popes; and of the Indians, with a long and full account of Sakyamuni (Buddha) and of the religion which he founded.

The above is the arrangement actually adopted in the manuscripts of the India Office and the British Museum, but the divisions proposed by the author in his Introduction are slightly different, for he intended to begin the second volume with the history of the reigning king Úljáytú from his birth until 706/1306–7, and to add a supplement at the end of the same volume continuing the history of this monarch year by year. This confusing arrangement is not actually observed in most manuscripts, which, if they contain Úljáytú's reign at all, put it in its natural place, at the end of vol. i, after Gházán. Few if any of the extant manuscripts are, however, complete, though every part of the history is contained in one or other of them. In the *J.R.A.S.* for January, 1908 (pp. 17–37) I have given a fuller analysis of the contents, together with a scheme for the complete edition which is so much needed.

Intended arrangement of the *Jámi'u't-Tawáríkh*

Ignoring the complicated and confusing divisions made by the author, I proposed to publish the whole book in seven volumes, of which the first three, containing the history of the Turks and Mongols, would correspond to vol. i of the original, and the last four to vol. ii, as follows :

Scheme for a complete edition of the *Jámi'u't-Tawáríkh* in seven volumes

Series I. Special history of the Mongols and Turks.

VOL. I, from the beginning to the death of Chingíz Khán.

VOL. II, from the accession of Ogotáy to the death of Tímúr (Úljáytú), the grandson of Qúbiláy Khán[1].

VOL. III, from the accession of Húlágú[2] to the death of Gházán, including the continuation of the history of the later Íl-kháns down to Abú Sa'íd compiled as a supplement to this portion of Rashídu'd-Dín's work in the reign of Sháh Rukh and by his command.

Series II. General history.

VOL. IV. The Introduction, the history of the ancient kings of Persia down to the fall of the Sásánian dynasty, and the biography of the Prophet Muḥammad.

VOL. V. The entire history of the Caliphate, from Abú Bakr to al-Musta'ṣim.

VOL. VI. The history of the post-Muḥammadan dynasties of Persia (Ghaznawís, Seljúqs, Khwárazmsháhs, Salgharís and Isma'ílís).

VOL. VII. The remainder of the work, comprising the history (from their own traditions and statements) of the Turks, Chinese, Israelites, Franks and Indians.

The *Jámi'u't-Tawáríkh* is remarkable not only for the extensive field which it covers and the care with which it has been compiled from all available sources, both written

[1] This is the portion which M. Blochet has published in the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series, vol. xviii.

[2] The portion of this volume dealing with Húlágú was, as already stated, published by Quatremère under the title of *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse*, vol. i (Paris, 1836).

Enthronement of Ogotáy, the son and successor of Chingíz, from an old MS. of the *Jámi'u't-Tawárikh* in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

To face p. 74

and oral, but for its originality. It is doubtful whether any Persian prose work can be compared to it in value, at any rate in the domain of history, and it is the more to be regretted that it remains unpublished and almost inaccessible. "I will dwell no longer," says Quatremère[1], "on the proofs of the extreme importance of Rashídu'd-Dín's compilation; this excellent work, undertaken in the most favourable circumstances, and with means of performing it never before possessed by any single writer, offered for the first time to the peoples of Asia a complete course of universal history and geography." The same writer illustrates the thoroughness of Rashídu'd-Dín's work by indicating the extent to which he drew on Chinese sources, written and oral, in writing that portion of his history which bore reference to Khaṭá (Cathay)[2], and expresses a regret, which all must share, that the geographical portion of his work is lost, or at least still undiscovered. Perhaps, as Quatremère conjectures[3], it perished in the destruction and looting of the Rab'-i-Rashídí which immediately followed Rashídu'd-Dín's death.

Rashídu'd-Dín composed numerous other works besides the *Jámi'u't-Tawáríkh*, and of these and their contents a detailed account is given by Quatremère[4]. Amongst them is the *Kitábu'l-Aḥyá wa'l-Áthár* (the "Book of Animals and Monuments"), which comprised twenty-four chapters treating of a variety of matters connected with meteorology, agriculture, arboriculture, apiculture, the destruction of noxious insects and reptiles, farming and stock-breeding, architecture, fortification, ship-building, mining and metallurgy. This work is unhappily lost.

Other works by Rashídu'd-Dín

Kitábu'l-Aḥyá wa'l-Áthár

Another of Rashídu'd-Dín's works was the *Tawḍíḥát*, or "Explanations," a theological and mystical work, of which the contents are arranged under a preface and nineteen letters. It was written at the

Tawḍíḥát

[1] *Op. laud.*, p. lxxiv.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. lxxviii.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. lxxxi.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. cxii–cxlvi.

request of Úljáytú, and is described by Quatremère from a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

This was followed by another theological work entitled *Miftáḥu't-Tafásír*, the "Key of Commentaries," treating of the divine eloquence of the *Qur'án*, its commentators and their methods, Good and Evil, rewards and punishments, length of life, Providence, Predestination and the Resurrection of the Body. To these topics are added a refutation of the doctrine of Metempsychosis, and a definition of sundry technical terms.

Miftáḥu't-Tafásír

"The Royal Treatise" (*ar-Risálatu's-Sulṭániyya*) is another similar work, undertaken on Ramaḍán 9, 706 (March 14, 1307), as the result of a discussion on theological matters which had taken place in the presence of Úljáytú.

ar-Risálatu's-Sulṭániyya

The *Laṭá'ifu'l-Ḥaqá'iq*, or "Subtle Truths," comprises fourteen letters, and begins with an account of a vision in which the author, on the night preceding Ramaḍán 26, 705 (April 11, 1306), dreamed that he was presented to the Prophet. Its contents also are theological. This and the three preceding works are all written in Arabic, and together form what is known as the *Majmú'a-i-Rashídiyya*, or "Collection of the works of Rashídu'd-Dín," of which a beautiful manuscript, dated 710/1310–11, exists at Paris. Another manuscript of the same library[1] contains a Persian translation of the *Laṭá'ifu'l-Ḥaqá'iq*, and there are also preserved there two copies of an attestation of the orthodoxy of Rashídu'd-Dín's theological views, signed by seventy leading doctors of Muslim theology. This attestation was drawn up in consequence of accusations of heterodoxy made against Rashíd by a malicious fellow whose enmity had been aroused by the frustration of his endeavours to appropriate an emolument from a benefaction for scholars and men of learning made by Gházán Khán on his death.

Laṭá'ifu'l-Ḥaqá'iq

Another of Rashíd's works, of which, unhappily, only

[1] Ancien Fonds Persan, No. 107, ff. 1–70.

the general nature of the contents is known, is the *Bayánu'l-Ḥaqá'iq*, or "Explanation of Verities," comprising seventeen letters, dealing mostly with theological topics, though other subjects, such as the small-pox and the nature and varieties of heat, are discussed.

Bayánu'l-Ḥaqá'iq

The elaborate precautions (precautions which, alas! in the event proved inadequate) taken by Rashídu'd-Dín to preserve and transmit to posterity the fruits of his literary labours are very fully detailed by Quatremère, and can only be briefly recapitulated in this place. First, he caused several copies of each of his works to be made for lending to his friends and to men of letters, who were freely permitted to transcribe them for their own use. Then he caused Arabic translations of all his Persian, and Persian translations of all his Arabic works to be prepared, and of both versions he caused numerous copies to be deposited, for the use of anyone who might desire to read or copy them, in the mosque-library of the quarter called after him Rab'-i-Rashídí. He also caused one large volume, containing all of his treatises with the necessary maps and illustrations, to be prepared and deposited in the above-mentioned public library, giving it the title of *Jámi'u't-taṣánífi'r-Rashídí*[1], or "Complete collection of the works of Rashídu'd-Dín." Of four more works treating of Medicine and the Mongol system of government he caused trilingual versions, in Chinese, Arabic and Persian, to be prepared. He further accorded the fullest liberty to anyone who desired to copy any or all of these books, and, not content with this, assigned a certain yearly sum from the revenues with which he had endowed his mosque in order to have two complete transcripts of his

Precautions taken by Rashídu'd-Dín for the preservation of his books

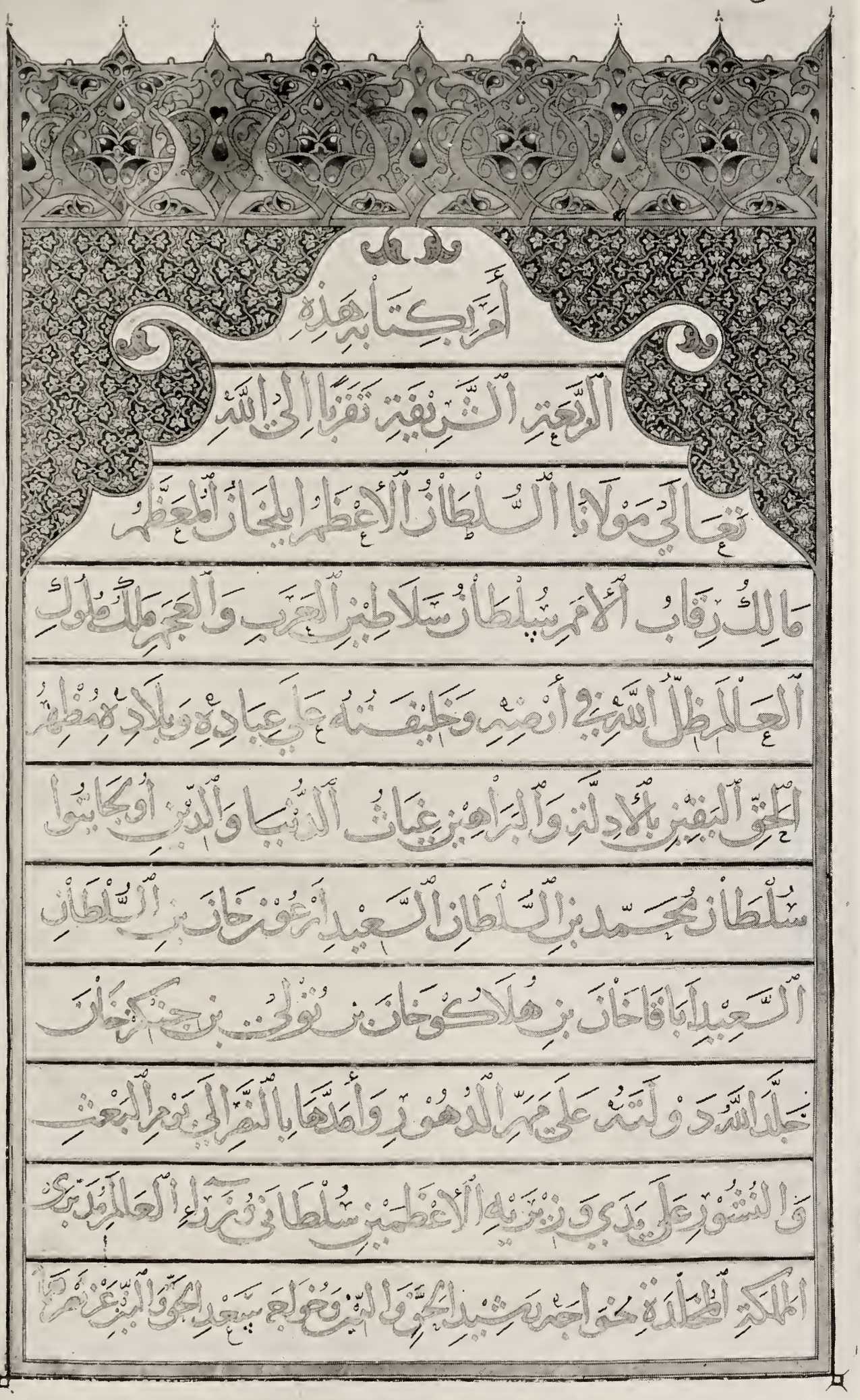
[1] That this is the correct title appears from the text of this document, published by Quatremère together with the translation. See his *Hist. des Mongols*, p. cxlix, l. 3. The *Majmú'a* contained four treatises only (see the preceding page), while the *Jámi'* contained everything Rashíd had written.

works, one in Arabic and one in Persian, made every year, and presented to one of the chief towns of the Muhammadan world. These copies were to be made on the best Baghdád paper and in the finest and most legible writing, and to be carefully collated with the originals. The copyists were to be carefully chosen, having regard both to the excellence and the speed of their work, and were to be lodged in the precincts of the mosque, as the administrators of the bequest might direct. Each copy, when finished, bound and ornamented, was to be carried into the mosque and placed on a book-rest between the pulpit and the *miḥráb*, and over it was to be repeated a prayer for the author, composed by himself, and conceived in the following terms[1]:

Rashídu'd-Dín's prayer

"O God, who revealest the most hidden secrets, and givest knowledge of history and traditions! As Thou hast graciously guided thy servant Rashíd the Physician, who standeth in need of Thine Abundant Mercy, in the composition of these works, which comprise investigations supporting the fundamental dogmas of Islám, and minute researches tending to elucidate philosophical truths and natural laws, profitable to those who meditate on the inventions of Art, and advantageous to such as reflect on the wonders of Creation, even so hast Thou enabled him to consecrate a portion of his estates to pious foundations, on condition that from these revenues should be provided sundry copies of these books, so that the Muslims of all lands and of all times may derive profit therefrom. Accept, O God, all this from him with a favourable acceptance, and cause his efforts to be remembered with thanks, and grant forgiveness for all sins, and pardon all those who shall help to accomplish this good work, and those who shall read or consult these works and put in practice the lessons which they contain. And bestow

[1] The original of this prayer is given by Quatremère on p. clxx of his *Hist. des Mongols*, and the translation, which is more elegant than literal, on pp. cxl–cxli. The translation here given is from the Arabic original.



Colophon of *Qur'án* transcribed for Úljáytú, Rashídu'd-Dín and Sa'du'd-Dín in A.H. 710 (A.D. 1310–11)

Or. 4945 (Brit. Mus.), f. 1[a]

To face p. 78

on him a good recompense, both in this world and the next! Verily Thou art worthy of fear, yet swift to forgive!"

This prayer was also to be inscribed at the end of each copy so completed, and was to be followed by a brief doxology, also formulated by Rashídu'd-Dín, and a colophon penned by the administrator of the bequest, stating at what epoch and for what town each copy had been made, and giving his own name and genealogy, so that he also might be remembered in the prayers of the faithful. Finally the completed copy was to be submitted to the *qáḍís*, or judges, of Tabríz, who should certify that all the formalities prescribed by the author had been duly carried out; and it was then to be sent to the town for which it was destined, and deposited in a public library where it could be freely used by all students, and even borrowed against a bond for such sum as the librarian might deem suitable. A copy of the Arabic version of the *Majmú'a-i-Rashídiyya*, together with the *Bayánu'l-Ḥaqá'iq* and the *Kitábu'l-Aḥyá wa'l-Áthár*, was also to be made for one of the Professors on the foundation, who was daily to read and expound to the students some portion of the contents. Besides this, each lecturer on the foundation was obliged to make a copy of one of these works, either in Arabic or Persian, during the period occupied by his course of lectures, failing which he was to be dismissed and replaced by one more diligent than himself. The copy, when made, was to be his own, to sell, give away, or keep as he pleased. All facilities were to be accorded to persons desirous of copying any of these works in the library, but they were not allowed to be removed from its walls. In conclusion the successive administrators of the funds were exhorted to carry out zealously and literally the wishes of the benefactor, and curses were invoked on any administrator who should fail to do so.

Yet, as Quatremère observes[1], in spite of all these elaborate precautions, "we have lost the greater part of the works of this learned historian, and all the measures which he took

[1] *Op. laud.*, p. cxlv.

have not had a more fortunate success than the precautions devised by the Emperor Tacitus to secure the preservation of his illustrious relative's writings. The action of time and the vandalism of man, those two scourges which have robbed us of so many masterpieces of antiquity, have also destroyed numerous other productions, less brilliant without doubt, but not less useful; and while worthless compilations are spread abroad in all directions and load the shelves of our libraries, we are left to lament bitterly a number of important works, of which the loss is irreparable."

A MS. collection of Rashídu'd-Dín's letters

Of one such work, however, not apparently known to Quatremère, I am the fortunate possessor. This is a collection of Rashídu'd-Dín's letters, mostly on political and financial matters, addressed to his sons and others who held various offices under the Mongol government, and collected, arranged and edited by his secretary Muḥammad of Abarqúh. For two manuscripts of this work, one old, the other a modern copy of the first, made, apparently, for Prince Bahman Mírzá *Bahá'u'd-Dawla*, I am indebted to the generosity of my friend Mr G. le Strange, who obtained them from the late Sir Albert Houtum-Schindler[1]. A third manuscript volume, in English, is entitled in Mr le Strange's hand: *Summary of the Contents of the Persian MS. Despatches of Rashídu'd-Dín: copied from notes supplied by Sir A. H. Schindler, and afterwards corrected by him: Dec.* 1913. In view of the extreme rarity of this work and the interest of its contents, a list of the 53 despatches and letters which it contains and the persons to whom they are addressed is here appended.

1. Preface of the editor Muḥammad of Abarqúh, defective at beginning.

2. Letter from Rashídu'd-Dín to Majdu'd-Dín Isma'íl Fálí.

3. Answer to the above.

4. From Rashídu'd-Dín to his son Amír 'Alí, Governor

[1] See my article on the *Persian Manuscripts of the late Sir Albert Houtum-Schindler, K.C.I.E.*, in the *J.R.A.S.* for Oct. 1917, pp. 693–4.

of 'Iráq-i-'Arab, ordering him to punish the people of Baṣra for rebellious conduct.

5. From the same to his son Amír Maḥmúd, Governor of Kirmán, reprimanding him for oppressing the people of Bam.

6. From the same to his servant Sunqur Báwarchí, Governor of Baṣra, instructing him as to the policy he should pursue.

7. From the same to his sister's son Khwája Ma'rúf, Governor of 'Ána, Ḥadítha, Hít, Jibba, Ná'úsa, 'Ashára (?), Raḥba, Shafáthá (?) and Baladu'l-'Ayn, appointing him Governor of Rúm. Written from Sulṭániyya in 690/1291 (or possibly 696/1296–7).

8. From the same to the Ná'ibs of Káshán concerning the pension of 2000 *dínárs* assigned to Sayyid Afḍalu'd-Dín Mas'úd out of the revenues of Káshán.

9. From the same to his son Amír Maḥmúd (see No. 5 *supra*) ordering the distribution of food to the poor of Bam, Khabíṣ, *etc.*

10. From the same to his son Khwája Sa'du'd-Dín, Governor of Antioch, Tarsus, Sús, Qinnasrín, the 'Awáṣim and the shores of the Euphrates, giving him fatherly advice as to the methods of administration he should adopt, and warning him against sloth, wine-drinking, and over-fondness for music and dissipation.

11. From the same to his son 'Abdu'l-Mú'min, Governor of Simnán, Dámghán and Khwár, ordering him to appoint the Qáḍí Shamsu'd-Dín Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'l-Karím of Simnán Chief Judge of that district.

12. From the same to Shaykh Ṣadru'd-Dín b. Shaykh Bahá'u'd-Dín Zakariyyá condoling with him on the death of a son.

13. From the same to Mawláná Ṣadru'd-Dín Muḥammad Turka'í concerning a revised and emended scale of taxation to be applied to the people of Iṣfahán and other places.

14. Proclamation from the same to his son Amír 'Alí, Governor of Baghdád, and to the people of that city, small and great, concerning the appointment of Shaykh Majdu'd-Dín as Shaykhu'l-Islám and the provision to be made for the professors, officers and students of the *khánqáh* of the late Gházán Khán.

15. From the same to Amír Nuṣratu'd-Dín Sitáy, Governor of Mawṣil, and Sinjár, concerning Sharafu'd-Dín Ḥasan Mustawfí.

16. Answers from the same to philosophical and religious questions propounded by Mawláná Ṣadr-i-Jahán of Bukhárá.

17. Letter from the same to his son Khwája Jalál, asking for 40 young men and maidens of Rúm to be sent to him at Tabríz to form the nucleus of a population for one of the five villages he has included in his park in the Rab'-i-Rashídí.

18. From the same to Khwája 'Alá'u'd-Dín Hindú requesting him to obtain and send various medicinal oils for the hospital in the Rab'-i-Rashídí.

19. From the same to his son Amír 'Alí, Governor of Baghdád, concerning allowances and presents to various theologians.

20. From the same to his son Khwája 'Abdu'l-Laṭíf, Governor of Iṣfahán, giving him good advice.

21. From the same to his son Khwája Jalálu'd-Dín, Governor of Rúm, also giving good advice, and ordering various quantities of different herbs and drugs for his hospital at Tabríz.

22. From the same to his son Amír Shihábu'd-Dín, then Governor of Baghdád, giving him good advice, and summarizing the revenues of Khúzistán.

23. From the same to Mawláná Majdu'd-Dín Isma'íl Fálí, inviting him to be present at the marriages which he has arranged for nine of his sons with various noble ladies.

24. From the same to Qará-Búqá, Governor of Kayfí and Pálú.

25. From the same to Mawláná 'Afífu'd-Dín Baghdádí.

26. From the same in answer to a letter from the *Mawlás* of Qayṣariyya (Caesarea) in Rúm.

27. From the same to his son Amír Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Muḥammad on his appointment as Inspector of Khurásán by Khudá-banda Úljáytú.

28. From the same to the people of Síwás concerning the Alms-house for Sayyids founded there by Gházán (*Dáru's-Siyádat-i-Gházání*) and the necessity of its proper maintenance.

29. From the same from Multán in Sind to Mawláná Quṭbu'd-Dín Mas'úd of Shíráz, giving an account of the journey to India which he undertook at the Íl-khán's command to greet the Indian kings and bring back various drugs and spices not obtainable in Persia.

30. From the same to Takhtákh Injú as to complaints of his tyranny made by the people of Fárs, concerning which he is sending his son Ibráhím to report.

31. From the same concerning Mawláná Muḥammad Rúmí, and the teaching in the college at Arzanján, of which he has been appointed Master.

32. From the same to Shirwán Sháh, ruler of Shábarán and Shamákhí, inviting him to visit the Garden of Fatḥ-ábád which he has made.

33. From the same to the revenue officers of Khúzistán, concerning various financial and administrative matters, and the sending of Khwája Siráju'd-Dín of Dizful to audit the accounts, make investigations, and report.

34. From the same to his son Khwája Majdu'd-Dín, ordering him to collect stores for the army destined for the occupation of India.

35. From the Seljúq ruler of Arzanján, Malik Jalálu'd-Dín Kay-Qubád b. 'Alá'u'd-Dín Kay-Qubád, asking advice on sundry matters; with Rashídu'd-Dín's replies.

36. Rashídu'd-Dín's reply to a letter from Mawláná Ṣadru'd-Dín Muḥammad Turka'í, written during a dangerous illness and containing his last will and testament as to the division

amongst his children of his numerous and extensive estates and other property. To the Rab'-i-Rashídí he bequeaths a library of 60,000 volumes of science, history and poetry, including 1000 *Qur'áns* by various excellent calligraphers, of which 10 were copied by Yáqút al-Musta'ṣimí, 10 by Ibn Muqla and 200 by Aḥmad Suhrawardí. He enumerates by name his 14 sons, *viz.* (1) Sa'du'd-Dín, (2) Jalálu'd-Dín, (3) Majdu'd-Dín, (4) 'Abdu'l-Laṭíf, (5) Ibráhím, (6) Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Muḥammad, (7) Aḥmad, (8) 'Alí, (9) Shaykhí, (10) Pír Sulṭán, (11) Maḥmúd, (12) Humám, (13) Shihábu 'd-Dín, (14) 'Alí-sháh; and his 4 daughters, *viz.* (1) Farmán-Khánd, (2) Áy Khátún, (3) Sháhí Khátún, (4) Hadiyya Malik.

37. Rashídu'd-Dín to the same, concerning a book which he had written and dedicated to him, and sending him a present of money, choice garments, a horse and various food-stuffs.

38. From the same to the people of Diyár Bakr concerning the digging of a new canal to be called after himself, and the establishment and population of 14 villages on both sides of it, with names and plan of the new villages, which are for the most part named after his 14 sons.

39. From the same to his son Jalálu'd-Dín, Governor of Rúm, concerning the digging of a new canal from the Euphrates to be called after his late lord Gházán Khán, and the foundation of 10 villages, of which the plan and names are again given.

40. From the same to his agent Khwája Kamálu'd-Dín Síwásí, Mustawfí of Rúm, ordering him to send, by means of a merchant named Khwája Aḥmad, certain presents in cash and in kind to ten learned men in Tunis and the Maghrib (names given) in return for ten books (titles given) in 36 volumes which they had sent to the Minister, of whose generosity they had heard.

41. From the same to the authorities at Shíráz ordering them to make certain specified presents in cash and in kind to Mawláná Maḥmúd b. Ilyás who had written a

book entitled *Laṭá'if-i-Rashídiyya* and dedicated it to Rashídu'd-Dín.

42. From the same to the authorities at Hamadán concerning the maintenance of the Pharmacy (*Dárú-khána*) and Hospital (*Dáru'sh-Shifá*) which he had founded there, and which he is sending a physician named Ibn Mahdí to inspect and report on. Written from Caesarea (Qayṣariyya) in 690/1291.

43. From the same to his son Amír Maḥmúd, Governor of Kirmán, recommending to his care and assistance Khwája Maḥmúd of Sáwa, whom he is sending on a mission to India, to Sulṭán 'Alá'u'd-Dín, and also to collect money due to Rashídu'd-Dín from his estates there.

44. From the same to his son Pír Sulṭán, Governor of Georgia, concerning the King's projected expedition to Syria and Egypt, and an intended punitive expedition of 120,000 men under ten Mongol *amírs* (names given) which is to pass through Georgia to chastise the rebellious people of Abkház and Trebizonde, and which Pír Sulṭán is to accompany, leaving the government of Georgia in the hands of his deputy Khwája Mu'ínu'd-Dín.

45. From the same to Shaykh Ṣafiyyu'd-Dín of Ardabíl giving, after many compliments, a list of the supplies of meat, fowls, rice, wheat, butter, honey, *mást*, perfumes and money which he proposes to supply to the aforesaid Shaykh's monastery (*khánqáh*) for the festival to be held there in commemoration of the Prophet's birthday.

46. Letter from Malik Mu'ínu'd-Dín, Parwána of Rúm, to Rashídu'd-Dín, complaining of Turkmán depredations in his province.

47. Letter from Malik 'Alá'u'd-Dín accompanying the presents of precious stuffs, aromatic drugs, animals, conserves, spices, dried fruits, carpets, oils, plate, rare timber, ivory, *etc.*, which he is sending from India by way of Baṣra to Rashídu'd-Dín.

48. Letter from Rashídu'd-Dín to his son Amír Maḥmúd, then engaged in studying Ṣúfíism in Kirmán.

49. Letter from the same to his son Amír Aḥmad, at that time Governor of Ardabíl, containing seven recommendations (*waṣiyyat*), and expressing regret that he is occupying himself with Astrology.

50. Letter of condolence from the same to Mawláná Sharafu'd-Dín Ṭabasí on the death of his son, and ordering Shamsu'd-Dín Muḥammad of Abarqúh to supply him yearly with certain specified provisions.

51. Letter from the same to his son Sa'du'd-Dín, Governor of Qinnasrín, describing the completion of the Rab'-i-Rashídí at Tabríz, with its 24 caravansarays, 1500 shops and 30,000 houses; its gardens, baths, stores, mills, workshops, paper-mills and mint; its workmen and artisans, brought from every town and country, its *Qur'án*-readers, *mu'adhdhins* and doctors of theology, domiciled in the *Kúcha-i-'Ulamá* ("Rue des Savants"); its 6000 or 7000 students; its 50 physicians from India, China, Egypt and Syria, each of whom is bound to give instruction to ten pupils; the hospital (*Dáru'sh-Shifá*) with its oculists, surgeons and bone-setters, to each of whom are assigned as pupils five of the writer's servants; and the allowances in kind and in money made to all of them.

52. Letter from the same to his son Khwája Ibráhím, Governor of Shíráz, describing the campaign against Kábul and Sístán, and demanding various arms and munitions of war in specified quantities.

53. Letter from the same to several of his sons concerning the attributes of learning, clemency, reason and generosity. The MS. breaks off abruptly in the middle of this letter.

These letters, which ought to be published, are of extraordinary interest on account of the light they throw on the character and manifold activities of this most remarkable man, at once statesman, physician, historian and patron of art, letters and science. We have already noticed the tragic fate which overtook him and to a large extent brought to naught his careful and elaborate plans for the preserva-

tion of his books and the beneficent institutions which he founded for the promotion of learning and charity; and the least we can do in pious memory of a truly great scholar is to perpetuate what is left of his writings.

But if Rashídu'd-Dín failed to secure the immortality of all his works, he set a fruitful example to other historians, so that it is largely due to him that this period is so conspicuous for merit in this field of knowledge. We have seen how he helped Waṣṣáf and brought him to the Íl-khán's notice. We shall now consider the work of his most illustrious follower, Ḥamdu'lláh Mustawfí of Qazwín. Of his life little is known save what he tells us incidentally in his works. He professed to be of Arab origin, tracing his pedigree to Ḥurr b. Yazíd ar-Riyáḥí, but his family had long been settled in Qazwín. His great-grandfather, Amínu'd-Dín Naṣr, was Mustawfí of 'Iráq, but later adopted the ascetic life, and was finally slain by the Mongols. His brother, Zaynu'd-Dín Muḥammad, held office under Rashídu'd-Dín, and he himself was appointed by the same minister, about 1311, superintendent of the finances of Qazwín, Abhar, Zanján and Ṭárumayn. For the rest, he tells us that he had from his youth upwards eagerly cultivated the society of men of learning, especially that of Rashídu'd-Dín himself, and had frequented many learned discussions, especially on history; so that, though not by training a historian, he resolved to employ his leisure in compiling a compendious universal history. Three of his works, the *Ta'ríkh-i-Guzída*, or "Select History," the *Ẓafar-náma*, or "Book of Victory," and the *Nuz-hatu'l-Qulúb*, or "Heart's Delight," have come down to us. Of these, the first two are historical, the third geographical.

Ḥamdu'lláh Mustawfí of Qazwín

The *Ta'ríkh-i-Guzída* was composed in 730/1330, and is dedicated to Rashídu'd-Dín's son Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Muḥammad, who was made Prime Minister in May, 1328, and, as we have seen, was put to death in May, 1336. The author enumerates about two dozen of his sources, which include (1) the

Ta'ríkh-i-Guzída

Sources of the *Ta'ríkh-i-Guzída*

Síratu'n-Nabí, or Biography of the Prophet (probably Ibn Hishám's[1]); (2) the *Qiṣaṣu'l-Anbiyá* (probably ath-Tha'labí's[2]); (3) the *Risála-i-Qushayriyya*[3]; (4) the *Tadhkiratu'l-Awliyá* (probably Farídu'd-Dín 'Aṭṭár's[4]); (5) the *Tadwín* of Imámu'd-Dín al-Yáfi'í[5]; (6) the *Tajáribu'l-Umam*[6] (probably of Ibn Miskawayhi); (7) the *Mashárib u't-Tajárib*; (8) the *Díwánu'n-Nasab*[7]; (9) the Chronicle of Muḥammad Jarír aṭ-Ṭabarí[8]; (10) the history of Ḥamza of Iṣfahán[9]; (11) the *Ta'ríkhu'l-Kámil* of Ibnu'l-Athír[10]; (12) the *Zubdatu't-Tawáríkh* of Jamálu'd-Dín Abu'l-Qásim of Káshán; (13) the *Niẓámu't-Tawáríkh* of the Qáḍí Náṣiru'd-Dín al-Bayḍáwí[11]; (14) the *'Uyúnu't-Tawáríkh* of Abú Ṭálib 'Alí al-Kházin al-Baghdádí; (15) the *Kitábu'l-Ma'árif* of Ibn Qutayba[12]; (16) the *Ta'ríkh-i-Jahán-gushá* of 'Aṭá Malik-i-Juwayní[13]; (17) Abú Sharaf Jarbádhaqání's Persian translation of al-'Utbí's *Kitábu'l-Yamíní*[14]; (18) the *Siyásat-*

[1] Edited by Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1858–1860; German translation by Weil, Stuttgart, 1864.

[2] Printed at Cairo in 1312/1894–5, with the Abridgement of al-Yáfi'í's *Rawḍu'r-Rayáḥín* in the margins.

[3] Printed at Buláq, 1284/1867–8.

[4] Edited by Dr R. A. Nicholson in my *Persian Hist. Text Series*, vols. iii and v.

[5] See Ḥájji Khalífa (ed. Flügel), vol. ii, p. 254, No. 2773, where 623/1226 is given as the date of the author's death.

[6] Vols. 1, 5 and 6 have been published in *fac-simile* in the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series, (vii, 1; vii, 5; vii, 6).

[7] Probably one of the works on Genealogy entitled *Kitábu'l-Ansáb*.

[8] Published at Leyden in 15 vols. (1879–1901) by an international group of eminent Arabic scholars presided over by the late Professor de Goeje.

[9] Edited with Latin translation by Gottwaldt, Leipzig, 1844–1848.

[10] Ed. Tornberg, 14 vols., Leyden, 1851–1876; Cairo, 12 vols., 1290–1303/1873–1886.

[11] This work and its author will be discussed further on in this chapter.

[12] Ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1850.

[13] The first two of the three vols. constituting this work, edited by Mírzá Muḥammad of Qazwín, have appeared in the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series, xvi, 1 and xvi, 2.

[14] The Arabic original was lithographed at Dihlí in 1847, and printed

náma (here called *Siyaru'l-Mulúk*) of Niẓámu'l-Mulk[1]; (19) the *Sháhnáma* of Firdawsí[2]; (20) the *Saljúq-náma* of Ẓahírí of Níshápúr; (21) the *Majma'u Arbábi'l-Maslak* of Qáḍí Ruknu'd-Dín Juwaynì; (22) the *Istiẓháru'l-Akhbár* of Qáḍí Aḥmad Dámghání; and lastly (23) the *Jámi'u't-Tawáríkh*[3] of the author's late martyred master and patron Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh.

Different eras used in computing time

After the enumeration of his sources, most of which, as will appear from the foot-notes, are directly accessible to us, the author describes the different eras used by different peoples, some of whom date from Adam, others from the Deluge, others from Abraham or Moses, others from the destruction of Pharaoh, others from the building of the Ka'ba or the Abyssinian invasion of Yaman, while the Greeks date from Alexander, the Copts from Nebuchadnezzar, and the pre-Islamic Quraysh from the year of the Elephant. He then discusses the confusion in chronology arising from these differences as to the *terminus a quo*, which is increased by the fact that the philosophers deny that the world had a beginning, while the theologians assert that it had a beginning and will have an end, but decline to define or specify either. The learned men of India, China and Europe assert that Adam lived about a million years ago, and that there were several Adams, each of whom, with his descendants, spoke a special language, but that the posterity of all save one (*viz.* the Adam of the Hebrews) died out. Most of the Muslim doctors of Persia, on the other hand, reckon the period between Adam and Muḥammad as six thousand years, though some say more and some less. Astronomers reckon from the Deluge, since which, at the time of writing (*viz.* in the year 698 of

in Cairo with al-Maníní's commentary in 1286/1869-70. Jarbádhaqání's Persian translation was lithographed in Ṭihrán in 1272/1855-6.

[1] Edited and translated by Schefer (Paris, 1891, 1893).

[2] The three printed editions are Turner Macan's (Calcutta, 1829), Jules Mohl's (Paris, 1838–1878) and Vüllers and Landauer's (Strassburg, 1877–1884, 3 vols., ending with Alexander the Great).

[3] See above, pp. 68–9, 72–5.

the Era of Yazdigird, *i.e.* about A.D. 1330) 4432 years are considered to have elapsed.

Contents of the *Ta'ríkh-i-Guzída*

The *Ta'ríkh-i-Guzída* comprises an Introduction (*Fátiḥa*), six chapters (*Báb*), each of which is divided into numerous sections (*Faṣl*), and a conclusion (*Khátima*), as follows:

Introduction. On the Creation of the Universe and of Man.

Chapter I, in two sections. (1) Major Prophets, and (2) Minor Prophets, and Sages, who, not being Prophets, yet worked for the cause of true religion.

Chapter II. The Pre-Islamic Kings of Persia, in four sections, *viz.*:

(1) Píshdádiyán, eleven Kings, who ruled 2450 years.
(2) Kayániyán, ten Kings, who ruled 734 years.
(3) *Mulúku't-Ṭawá'if* (Parthians), twenty-two Kings, who ruled 318 years[1].
(4) Sásániyán, thirty-one Kings, who reigned 527 years[2].

Chapter III. The Prophet Muḥammad and his Companions and Descendants, in an introduction and six sections, *viz.*:

Introduction, on the pedigree, genealogy and kin of the Prophet.
(1) Life of the Prophet, his wars, his wives, secretaries, relations and descendants.
(2) The Orthodox Caliphs, who are reckoned as five, al-Ḥasan being included. Duration, from 10 Rabí' I, A.H. 11 to 13 Rabí' I, A.H. 41 (June 6, 632–July 17, 661), when al-Ḥasan resigned the supreme power to Mu'áwiya the Umayyad.

[1] The period between Alexander the Great and the fall of the Parthians (really about 550 years) is always under-estimated by Muhammadan writers, with the one exception (so far as I know) of Mas'údí, who, in his *Kitábu't-Tanbíh wa'l-Ishráf* (pp. 97–9), explains the political and religious motives which led the founder of the Sásánian Dynasty, Ardashír-i-Bábakán, to reduce it deliberately by about one half.

[2] This period is over-estimated by more than a century. The duration of the dynasty was from A.D. 226 to 652.

(3) The remainder of the twelve Imáms, excluding 'Alí and his son al-Ḥasan, who was poisoned in 49/669–70. Duration, 215 years and 7 months, from 4 Ṣafar, A.H. 49 to Ramaḍán, A.H. 264 (March 14, 669–May, 878).

(4) Notices of some of the chief "Companions" (*Aṣḥáb*) and "Followers" (*Tábi'ún*) of the Prophet.

(5) The Umayyad "Kings" (not regarded by the author as Caliphs), fourteen in number. Duration, 91 years, from 13 Rabí' I, A.H. 41 to 13 Rabí' I, A.H. 132 (July 17, 661–Oct. 30, 749).

(6) The 'Abbasid Caliphs, thirty-seven in number. Duration, 523 years, 2 months and 23 days, from 13 Rabí' I, A.H. 132 to 6 Ṣafar, A.H. 656 (Oct. 30, 749–Feb. 12, 1258).

Chapter IV. Post-Islamic Kings of Persia, in twelve sections, *viz.*:

(1) Ṣaffárids, three Kings, who reigned 35 years, from 253/867 to 287/900, after which date their posterity continued for some time to rule over Sístán.

(2) Sámánids, nine Kings, who reigned 102 years and 6 months, from Rabí' II, A.H. 287 to Dhu'l-Qa'da, A.H. 389 (April, 900 to Oct.–Nov. 999).

(3) Ghaznawís, fourteen Kings, who reigned 155 years (30 years over most of Persia, and the remaining years in Ghazna), from 390/1000 to 545/1150–1.

(4) Ghúrís, five Kings, who reigned for 64 years, from 545/1150–1 to 609/1212–13.

(5) Daylamís (or House of Buwayh), seventeen Kings, who reigned for 127 years, from 321/933 to 448/1056–7.

(6) Seljúqs, in three groups, *viz.*:

(*a*) Of Persia, fourteen Kings, who reigned for 161 years, from 429/1037–8 to 590/1194.

(*b*) Of Kirmán, eleven Kings, who reigned for 150 years, from 433/1041–2 to 583/1187–8.

(*c*) Of Asia Minor, eleven Kings, who reigned for 220 years, from 480/1087–8 to 700/1300–1.

(7) Khwárazmsháhs, nine Kings, who reigned for 137 years, from 491/1098 to 628/1230–1.

(8) Atábeks, in two groups, *viz.*:

(*a*) Of Diyár Bakr and Syria, nine Kings, who reigned for 120 years, from 481/1088–9 to 601/1204–5.

(*b*) Of Fárs (also called Salgharids), eleven Kings, who reigned for 120 years, from 543/1148–9 to 663/1264–5.

(9) Isma'ílís, in two groups, *viz.*:

(*a*) Of North Africa and Egypt (the Fáṭimid Caliphs), fourteen anti-Caliphs, who reigned for 260 years, from 296/908–9 to 556/1160.

(*b*) Of Persia (the Assassins of Alamút), eight pontiffs, who ruled for 171 years, from 483/1090–1 to 654/1256.

(10) Qará-Khitá'ís of Kirmán, ten Kings, who reigned for 85 years, from 621/1224 to 706/1306–7.

(11) Atábeks of Luristán, in two groups, *viz.*:

(*a*) Of Lur-i-Buzurg, seven rulers, who reigned for 180 years, from 550/1155–6 to 730/1329–30.

(*b*) Of Lur-i-Kúchak, eleven rulers, who reigned 150 years, from 580/1184–5 to 730/1329–30.

(12) Mongol Íl-kháns of Persia, thirteen Kings, who had reigned at the time of writing 131 years, from 599/1202–3 to 730/1329–30. "Hereafter," adds the author, "let him who will write the continuation of their history."

Chapter V. Account of men notable for their piety or learning, in six sections, *viz.*:

(1) Imáms and Mujtahids (12 are mentioned).

(2) "Readers" of the *Qur'án* (9 are mentioned).

(3) Traditionists (7 are mentioned).

(4) Shaykhs and Ṣúfís (about 300 are mentioned).

(5) Doctors of Divinity, Law and Medicine (about 70 are mentioned).

(6) Poets, of whom about 5 Arabic and 87 Persian poets are mentioned. The biographies of the latter have been translated and published by me in the *J.R.A.S.* for October 1900 and January 1901, and as a separate reprint.

Chapter VI. Account of Qazwín, the author's native town, in seven sections, *viz.*:

(1) Traditions concerning Qazwín. Some 40 are given, of which 36 are said to be from an autograph copy of the *Tadwín* of ar-Ráfi'í[1]. Nearly all these agree in describing Qazwín as one of the "Gates of Paradise."

(2) Etymology of the name of Qazwín.

(3) Notable buildings of Qazwín; its nine quarters and architectural history from the time of Shápúr I, who was its original founder; its conquest by the Arabs, and conversion to Islám.

(4) Its environs, rivers, aqueducts (*qanáts*), mosques, and tombs. Some of its inhabitants are said still to profess secretly the religion of Mazdak.

(5) Notable men who have visited Qazwín, including "Companions" and "Followers" of the Prophet, Imáms and Caliphs, Shaykhs and *'ulamá*, Kings and *wazírs*, *kháqáns* and *amírs*.

(6) Governors of Qazwín.

(7) Tribes and leading families of Qazwín, including Sayyids; *'ulamá*; Iftikhárís (of whom the actual representative, Malik Sa'íd Iftikháru'd-Dín Muḥammad b. Abú Naṣr, had learned the Mongol and Turkí languages and writing, and had translated

[1] See G. le Strange's ed. and translation of our author's *Nuzhatu'l-Qulúb* ("E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series, vols. xxiii, 1, pp. 56–8 and xxiii, 2, pp. 62–3), where many of these traditions are given on the same authority. See also p. 88 *supra*, n. 5 *ad calc.*

Kalíla and Dimna into the first, and the *Sindibád-náma* into the second); Bázdárís or Muẓaffarís; Bisháris; Burhánís; Ḥanafís; Ḥulwánís; Khálidís; Khalílís; Dabírán; Ráfi'ís; Zákánís; Zubayrís; Zádánís; Shírzáds; Ṭá'úsís; 'Abbásís; Ghaffárís; Fílwágúshán; Qaḍawís; Qaráwuls; Tamímís; Karajís or Dulafís (one of whom was the cosmographer and geographer Zakariyyá b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmúd); Kiyás or Kaysís; Mákánís; Mustawfís (the author's own family, said to be descended from Ḥurr b. Yazíd ar-Riyáḥí); Mú'minán; Mukhtárán; Mu'áfiyán or Mu'áfániyán; Marzubánán; Níshápúriyán; and Búlá-Tímúrís or Ṭábábakán.

Conclusion. A tree of dynasties, or genealogical tree, based on that devised by Rashídu'd-Dín, but improved. This tree is, however, omitted in all the manuscripts which I have seen.

Having regard to the extent of the field covered by the *Ta'ríkh-i-Guzída*, and its comparatively modest size (some 170,000 words), it is evident that it is of the nature of a compendium, and that no great detail can be expected from it. It is, however, a useful manual, and contains many interesting particulars not to be found elsewhere, while for contemporary history it is of first-rate importance, so that the need for a complete edition of the text had long been felt. Until the year 1910 the only portions accessible in print were:

(1) The whole of chapter iv, on the Post-Islamic dynasties of Persia, edited in the original, with French translation, by M. Jules Gantin (Paris, 1903). Pp. ix + 623.

(2) The whole of chapter vi, except the first section on the Traditions, containing the account of Qazwín, translated into French by M. Barbier de Meynard, and published in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1857 (Sér. v, vol. 10, pp. 257 *et seqq.*).

(3) Section 6 of chapter v, the account of the Persian poets, translated by myself in the *J.R.A.S.* for October 1900 and January 1901.

In 1910, however, a *fac-simile* of a fairly accurate and ancient MS. (transcribed in 857/1453) was published in the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series (vol. xiv, 1), and this was followed in 1913 by an abridged English translation, with full Indices, by myself and Dr R. A. Nicholson (vol. xiv, 2), so that the whole work is now accessible to scholars, who can form their own opinion of its value.

The *Ẓafar-náma*

In the preface of the *Ta'ríkh-i-Guzída*, Ḥamdu'lláh Mustawfí speaks of a great historical poem on which he was then engaged, and of which he had at that time (730/1330) completed fifty and odd thousand couplets out of a total of 75,000. This poem, entitled *Ẓafar-náma*, the "Book of Victory," was actually completed five years later. It is essentially a continuation of Firdawsí's *Sháh-náma*, and the only known manuscript (**Or. 2833** of the British Museum, a huge volume of 779 folios, transcribed in Shíráz in 807/1405, and bought in Persia by Mr Sidney Churchill for the Museum about 1885[1]) contains besides the *Ẓafar-náma* the revised text of the *Sháh-náma* on which the author had spent six years. The *Ẓafar-náma* begins with the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, and comes down to the author's own time, *viz.* to the year 732/1331–2, when Abú Sa'íd was still reigning. It comprises, as already said, 75,000 couplets, 10,000 couplets being assigned by the author to each of the seven and a half centuries of which he treats, or, according to the main chronological divisions of the work, 25,000 couplets to the Arabs, 20,000 to the Persians, and 30,000 to the Mongols. The author was forty years of age when he began it, and spent fifteen years on its composition, so that he must have been born about 680/1281–2. From

[1] For full description of this precious MS. see Rieu's *Persian Supplement*, No. 263, pp. 172–174, and also the *Athenaeum* for 1885, p. 314.

Dr Rieu's description, it is evident that the historical value of this work is by no means to be neglected: "the author," he says (*loc. cit.*, p. 173), "is very precise as to facts and dates, and his third book will be found valuable for the history of the Mongol period. He gives, for instance, on f. 512[a], a very vivid description of the wholesale slaughter wrought by the Mongols in his native place, Qazwín. His information was partly derived from his great-grandsire, Amín Naṣr Mustawfí, who was ninety-three years old at the time." The following extract from this portion may serve as a specimen:

وزین رو بقزوین سُبتای بجنگ ' در آمد بکردارِ غرّان پلنگ '
بدانگه که شد شهر دریای خون ' ده و هفت بودی ز ششصد فزون '
ز شعبان گذر کرده بد هفت روز '
کی پیدا شد آن محنت و درد و سوز '
در آن وقت بُد حاکمِ این دیار ' مظفّر لقب مهتری نامدار '

واقعهٔ شهر قزوین

بحکم خلیفه درین شهره شهر ' ز کارِ حکومت ورا بود بهر '
چو لشکر درین مرز آمد بجنگ ' ببستند دروازه‌ها همچو سنگ '
بر آمد ببارو بسی جنگجو ' بسوی مُغل کرد در جنگ رو '
سه روز اندرین کس ندیدند راه ' چهارم بشهر اندر آمد سپاه '
مُغل اندر آمد بقزوین دلیر ' سرِ همکنان آوریدند زیر '
ندادند کس‌را بقزوین امان ' سر آمد سران‌را سراسر زمان '
هر آنکس که بود اندر آن شهر پاك ' همه کشته افگنده بُد در مغاك '
ز خُرد و بزرگ و ز پیر و جوان ' نماندند کس‌را بتن در روان '
زن و مرد هرجا بسی کشته شد ' همه شهررا بخت بر گشته شد '
بسی خوب رویان ز بیم سپاه ' بکردند خودرا بخیره تباه '
ز تخم نبی بی گران دختران ' فروزنده چون بر فلك اختران '

VI

Mongol siege of a Chinese town, from an old MS. of the *Jámi'u't-Tawáríkh* in the Bibliothèque Nationale

To face p. 96

ز بیم بد لشکر رزمخواه ' نگون در فگندند خودرا بچاه '
همه شافعی مذهب اند آن دیار ' حنیفی نباشد یکی از هزار '
در آن قتل بود از حنیفی شمار ' کی بودند کشته ده و دو هزار '
بهم بر فگنده بهر جایگاه ' تنِ کُشتگان‌را ببی راه و راه '
نماند اندر آن شهر جای گذر ' ز بس کُشته افگنده بی حدّ و مر '
ز بیمِ سپاهِ مُغل هر کسی ' گریزان برفتند هرجا بسی '
برفتند چندی بجامع درون ' پُر اندوه جان و بدل پُر ز خون '
چو بودند از آن دشمن اندیشناك ' فرازِ مقرنس نهان گشت پاك '
بمسجد مغل اندر آتش فگند ' زبانه بر آمد بچرخِ بلند '
بآتش سقوف و مقرنس بسوخت ' وزان کار کُفْر و ستم بر فروخت '

"Thence[1] to the town of Qazwín, Subutáy[2]
Like raging tiger came right speedily.
The tale of years at six, one, seven stood
When that fair town became a lake of blood,
And Sha'bán's month had counted seven days[3]
When it was filled with woe and sore amaze.
The governor who held the ill-starred town
Muẓaffar named, a ruler of renown,
Was, by the Caliph's most august command,
Set to control the fortunes of the land.

When came the hosts of war and direful fate
Firm as a rock they closed the city gate.
Upon the wall the warriors took their place,
And each towards the Mongols set his face.
Three days they kept the ruthless foe at bay,
But on the fourth they forced a blood-stained way.

[1] *I.e.* from Zanján.

[2] The MS. has سنتای (*n* for *b*), but see the *Ta'ríkh-i-Jahán-gushá* ("E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series, xvi, 1), p. 115, l. 17.

[3] Sha'bán 7, A.H. 617 = October 7, A.D. 1220.

Fiercely the Mongols entered Qazwín Town
And heads held high before were now brought down.
No quarter in that place the Mongols gave:
The days were ended of each chieftain brave.
Nothing could save the townsmen from their doom,
And all were gathered in one common tomb.
Alike of great and small, of old and young,
The lifeless bodies in the dust they flung:
Both men and women shared a common fate:
The luck-forsaken land lay desolate.
Many a fair one in that fearful hour
Sought death to save her from th' invaders' power:
Chaste maidens of the Prophet's progeny
Who shone like asteroids in Virtue's sky,
Fearing the lust of that ferocious host
Did cast them down, and so gave up the ghost.
Much in that land prevails the Sháfi'ite;
One in a thousand is a Ḥanafite[1];
And yet they counted on that gory plain
Twelve thousand Ḥanafites amongst the slain!
In heaps on every side the corpses lay,
Alike on lonely path and broad high-way.
Uncounted bodies cumbered every street:
Scarce might one find a place to set one's feet.

In terror of the Mongol soldiery
Hither and thither did the people fly,
Some seeking refuge to the Mosque did go,
Hearts filled with anguish, souls surcharged with woe.
From that fierce foe so sore their straits and plight
That climbing forms the arches hid from sight.
The ruthless Mongols burning brands did ply
Till tongues of flame leapt upwards to the sky.
Roof, vault and arch in burning ruin fell,
A heathen holocaust of Death and Hell!"

Yet a third work produced by this industrious writer is the well-known geographical and cosmographical treatise entitled the *Nuz-hatu'l-Qulúb*, or "Heart's Delight." Manuscripts of it are fairly common, but until 1915 the text was only generally accessible in the indifferent lithographed edition published

Nuz-hatu'l-Qulúb

[1] Cf. *Nuz-hatu'l-Qulúb* (Gibb Series, xxiii, 1), p. 59, last line.

at Bombay in 1311/1893–4. In 1915, however, a critical edition of the text was brought out by Mr G. le Strange in the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series (vol. xxiii, 1), and the English translation (vol. xxiii, 2), which is now in the Press, will shortly follow.

The *Nuz-hatu'l-Qulúb* was composed five years later than the *Ẓafar-náma*, during the period of anarchy which succeeded Abú Sa'íd's death, to which the author alludes with feeling. He was persuaded, he says, to undertake the work at the request of certain friends, who felt the want of a Persian work on geography, most of the works on that subject being in Arabic. He enumerates amongst his sources the following works, which he has supplemented from his own observations during his travels through Persia: the *Ṣuwaru'l-Aqálím* of Abú Zayd Aḥmad b. Sahl al-Balkhí[1]; the *Tibyán* of Aḥmad b. Abí 'Abdi'lláh; the Road-book (*Masálik wa'l-Mamálik*) of Abu'l-Qásim 'Abdu'lláh ibn Khurdádhbih[2]; and a work entitled the *Jahán-náma*; besides nineteen other works, of which the enumeration will be found in Rieu's *Persian Catalogue*, pp. 418–419. The work is primarily divided into an Introduction (*Fátiḥa*), three Discourses (*Maqála*), and an Appendix (*Khátima*). The third *Maqála* is the important part of the work: all that precedes this deals with cosmography, the heavens, the earth, the three kingdoms, and man. This third *Maqála*, which contains the geographical portion of the work, deals first with the geography of the two holy cities of Arabia and of Jerusalem; then with the geography of Persia, Mesopotamia and Asia Minor, with an appendix on the physical geography of Persia; then with the countries bordering on Persia, and some other lands never included in the Persian Empire.

Sources of the *Nuz-hatu'l-Qulúb*

[1] This author is perhaps identical with the "Ibnu'l-Balkhí" whose *Fárs-náma* Mr G. le Strange intends to publish in the Gibb Series.

[2] He wrote about 230–4/844–8. See Brockelmann, vol. i, pp. 225–6. The text is included in de Goeje's valuable *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*.

The Conclusion treats of the wonders of the world, especially of Persia. The book is of considerable value for a knowledge of the geography and condition of mediaeval Persia, and was largely used by Mr G. le Strange in the compilation of his *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* before he published the edition mentioned on the preceding page.

Al-Baydáwí's *Nizámu't-Tawáríkh*

Mention has been already made at the beginning of this chapter (p. 63 *supra*) of a small historical manual entitled *Nizámu't-Tawáríkh* (the "Order of Histories" or "Dates") by the well-known judge and *Qur'án*-commentator Náṣiru'd-Dín al-Bayḍáwí, whose father held the same office under the Atábek Abú Bakr b. Sa'd-i-Zangí, the patron of the great poet Sa'dí. This dull and jejune little book, compiled in the year 674/1275, with a continuation, apparently added by the author, down to 683/1284–5, and a further continuation, probably by another hand, to 694/1294–5, contains an outline of general history from the time of Adam to the date last mentioned. It has not been published, and is probably not worth publishing, since it is doubtful whether it contains anything new or valuable, and whether it is calculated to add to the fame which its author enjoys as a jurisconsult, theologian and commentator[1].

The *Ta'ríkh-i-Banákatí*

Another still unpublished historical manual of this period is that properly entitled *Rawḍatu Úli'l-Albáb fí tawáríkhi'l-Akábir wa'l-Ansáb* (the "Garden of the Intelligent, on the histories of the great, and on genealogies") compiled in 717/1317 by Abú Sulaymán Dá'úd of Banákat (or Fanákat) in Transoxiana[2]. It is better known as the *Ta'ríkh-i-Banákatí*, is obviously and indeed admittedly inspired by Rashídu'd-Dín's great work,

[1] For further particulars see Rieu's *Persian Cat.*, pp. 832–4.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 79–80. The only copy to which I have access is a MS. (unfortunately defective at beginning and end) from the Library of the late Sir A. Houtum-Schindler. It formerly belonged to that great bibliophile Prince Bahman Mírzá *Bahá'u'd-Dawla*.

and comprises nine sections, called *qism*, as follows: (1) Prophets and Patriarchs; (2) ancient Kings of Persia; (3) the Prophet Muḥammad and the Caliphs; (4) Persian dynasties contemporary with the 'Abbásid Caliphs; (5) the Jews; (6) the Christians and Franks; (7) the Indians; (8) the Chinese; (9) the Mongols. In one respect it shows very clearly the influence of Rashídu'd-Dín's wider conception of history, for more than half the book is devoted to the non-Muslim peoples mentioned in the headings of the last five *qisms*, to wit the Jews, the European nations, including the Roman Emperors and the Popes, the Indians, the Chinese and the Mongols. The accounts given of these nations, though for the most part brief and dry, show some real knowledge of the chief facts, while the statements of non-Muslim religious doctrines are fair and devoid of acrimony or fanaticism. Baydáwí, on the other hand, like most Persian historians not directly inspired by Rashídu'd-Dín, practically ignores all history except that which is connected with Islám and the Muhammadan peoples, the ancient Kings of Persia, and the Hebrew Prophets and Patriarchs. This contrast between these two historical manuals is probably in large measure due to the fact that Baydáwí lived in Fárs, which, as we have seen, lay outside the great stream of communicatíon between East and West set in motion by the Mongol dominion, while the author of the *Ta'ríkh-i-Banákatí* was from Transoxiana, and, as poet-laureate of Gházán Khán (701/1301–2), was doubtless familiar with the Mongol court and the many foreigners from distant lands who frequented it. His information about the Jews, Christians, Indians, Chinese and Mongols, though largely directly borrowed, often in the same words, from the pages of Rashídu'd-Dín, was nevertheless undoubtedly supplemented by what the author learned orally from representatives of the peoples in question. In no Persian history before the Mongol period and in few after it do we find so many

Contrast between the histories of Baydáwí and Banákatí, and its cause

Wider range of Banákatí's knowledge and interests

references to places, people, and historical events beyond the ken of most Muslim writers; places like Portugal, Poland, Bohemia, England, Scotland, Ireland, Catalonia, Lombardy, Paris and Cologne; people like the Roman Emperors from Romulus downwards, and the Popes from St Peter to the Pope contemporary with the author, who is said to be the two hundred and second in succession; and events like the different Church Councils, the Conversion of Britain to Christianity in the time of Pope Eleutherius, the Nestorian heresy, and the like. As a specimen of one of the more interesting passages the following account of printing from wood blocks in China is worthy of attention. Having described the care with which the Chinese transcribe historical and other passages from their ancient books, he says:

Account of Chinese printing from the *Ta'ríkh-i-Banákatí*

"Then, according to a custom which they have, they were wont and still continue to make copies from that book in such wise that no change or alteration can find its way into the text. And therefore when they desire that any book containing matter of value to them should be well written and should remain correct, authentic and unaltered, they order a skilful calligraphist to copy a page of that book on a tablet in a fair hand. Then all the men of learning carefully correct it, and inscribe their names on the back of the tablet. Then skilled and expert engravers are ordered to cut out the letters. And when they have thus taken a copy of all the pages of the book, numbering all [the blocks] consecutively, they place these tablets in sealed bags, like the dies in a mint, and entrust them to reliable persons appointed for this purpose, keeping them securely in offices specially set apart to this end on which they set a particular and definite seal. Then when anyone wants a copy of this book he goes before this committee and pays the dues and charges fixed by the Government. Then they bring out these tablets, impose them on leaves of paper like the dies used in minting gold, and deliver the sheets to him. Thus it is

impossible that there should be any addition or omission in any of their books, on which, therefore, they place complete reliance; and thus is the transmission of their histories effected."

The *Majma'u'l-Ansáb*

A third minor history of this period is the *Majma'u'l-Ansáb* ("Collection of Genealogies") of Muḥammad ibn 'Alí of Shabánkára, who, like Fakhr-i-Banákatí, was a poet as well as a historian. Of this book there seem to have been two editions, the first issued in 733/1332–3, the second three years later and one year after the death of Abú Sa'íd. This work contains a summary of general history from the Creation to the time of writing, but I have unfortunately been unable to obtain or read a copy, and am indebted for these meagre particulars to Rieu's admirable *Persian Catalogue*, pp. 83–4. According to Ethé[1] the original edition perished when the house of Rashídu'd-Dín's son Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Muḥammad was pillaged, and the author rewrote the book from memory, completing this second edition, according to Ethé, in 743/1342–3.

Two rhymed chronicles of this period also deserve notice, the *Sháhinsháh-náma* ("Book of the King of Kings"), or *Chingíz-náma* ("Book of Chingíz"), of Aḥmad of Tabríz, containing the history of the Mongols down to 738/1337–8 in about 18,000 verses, and dedicated to Abú Sa'íd; and the *Gházán-náma* of Núru'd-Dín ibn Shamsu'd-Dín Muḥammad, composed in 763/1361–2. Both works are very rare. Rieu has described a MS. of the first, copied in 800/1397–8, acquired by the British Museum at the sale of the Comte de Gobineau's library in 1885[2]; and I possess a fine MS. of the latter, copied at Tabríz in 873/1468–9 for the Royal Library of Abu'n-Naṣr Ḥasan Beg Bahádur Khán, and given to me in August, 1909, by Dr Riḍá Tawfíq, then

[1] *India Office Pers. Cat.*, cols. 10—11, Nos. 21 and 22.

[2] *Persian Suppl. Cat.*, No. 201, p. 135.

Deputy for Adrianople in the Turkish Parliament. Both works are written in the same metre (the *mutaqárib*) as the *Sháh-náma* of Firdawsí, of which they are imitations, but the second is only about half the length of the first (something between 9000 and 10,000 couplets)[1]. Neither of these two works appears to be of any exceptional merit either as history or poetry, though useful information about the period of which they treat could no doubt be extracted from them by patient examination.

[1] In the short prose preface describing how the poem came to be written for Sulṭán Uways, who had restored the pension enjoyed by the author, then fifty years of age, under Gházán Khán, the number of verses is stated as 10,000.

CHAPTER III.

THE POETS AND MYSTICS OF THE ÍL-KHÁNÍ PERIOD.

Poetry in the Mongol period

From the literary point of view the period which we are now considering is, as we have seen, chiefly remarkable for the quality and quantity of historical writers which it produced. That it was also rich in poetical talent cannot be disputed, but this is less remarkable, since at hardly any period was there a dearth of poets in Persia. Almost every well-educated Persian can produce moderately good verses on occasion, and it would be a hopeless and useless task even to mention all of those who, transcending the rank of mere versifiers, can fairly claim to be poets. Severe selection is necessary but not easy, for on the one hand due regard must be paid to the judgement of the poet's own countrymen, even when it does not entirely accord with our own ; and on the other hand care must be taken not to overlook any poet of originality and talent merely because he has not found favour with the Persian biographers, who, especially in their treatment of contemporaries, are apt to be swayed by personal, political, and even religious prejudices and predilections.

The two greatest poets who survived into this period, Jalálu'd-Dín Rúmí and Sa'dí, discussed in a previous volume

In the period with which we are now dealing there lived at least a score of poets whose claims to consideration cannot be denied. The two greatest by far were Jalálu'd-Dín Rúmí and Sa'dí of Shíráz, of whom the former died in 672/1273 at the age of 66, and the latter about 690/1291 at the very advanced age, as is generally asserted, of 110 lunar years. Both these poets, therefore, belong rather to the period preceding this, and have accordingly

been already discussed in a previous volume[1], to which the reader is referred. They might with equal justice have been included in this volume, which is the poorer for their omission, since their literary activity extended into the period which it covers, and both poets came into relations with some of its leading personages, Sa'dí with the *Ṣáḥib-Díwán* and his brother 'Alá'u'd-Dín of the great Juwayní family, and even with Abáqá Khán himself[2], and Jalálu'd-Dín Rúmí with the unfortunate Parwána of Rúm, Mu'ínu'd-Dín, who was put to death by Abáqá for suspected complicity with the Egyptians in 675/1276–7[3]. It would be easy to devote many pages to each of them in this place without repeating anything that has been said before, but the difficulty is to limit rather than to extend the scope of this chapter, and, in spite of all temptations to the contrary, they must therefore be omitted here.

Omission of poets who, though they wrote in Persian, were not of Persian race or residence

For similar reasons I shall content myself with a very brief mention of three other poets of this time whom many Persian students, especially such as have pursued their studies in India, would place next to the two great poets mentioned above; I mean Amír Khusraw and Ḥasan of Dihlí and Badr-i-Chách, all of whom are highly esteemed in India, but none of whom, so far as is known, ever visited, much less resided in Persia. To reduce the subject-matter of this book within any reasonable limits, it becomes more and more necessary to exclude the great and increasing number of Indian writers of Persian. Two considerations besides that of space seems to me to justify this procedure. The first is that, owing to the greater interest in India which naturally prevails in

Grounds for excluding Indian-Persian literature

[1] *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, vol. ii, pp. 515–539.

[2] See the English Introduction to vol. xvi, 1, of the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series (the *Jahán-gushá* of Juwayní, edited by Mírzá Muḥammad), pp. lii–liv.

[3] See Bar-Hebraeus' *Mukhtaṣaru'd-Duwal* (Beyrout ed. of 1890), pp. 501–3.

England, far more has been written about these Indian-Persian authors, whether poets or historians, than about the purely Persian men of letters. The second is that, so far as a foreign student may be permitted to express an opinion on matters of literary taste, this Persian literature produced in India, has not, as a rule, the real Persian flavour, the blas as the Irish call it, which belongs to the indigenous product. Without making any invidious comparisons, it will hardly be contested that there is just as good reason for treating the abundant Persian literature produced in India from the middle of the thirteenth to the middle of the nineteenth century as a separate subject as for a similar procedure in the case of the English literature produced in England and that produced in America; and that therefore the omission of Amír Khusraw from this chapter is as justifiable as the omission of Walt Whitman from a modern English literary history, especially as a very long notice of the former is given in Elliot's *History of India*[1]. The same observation applies in lesser degree to the Persian writings produced in Afghánistán and Turkey respectively, though Persian still remains the natural speech of a large number of Afghans, and Turkish Sultans (notably the great Salím "the Grim[2]") have not disdained, even when at war with the Persians, to make use of their language for literary purposes. Exceptions will be made, however, especially in the period succeeding that included in this volume, in the case of native-born Persians who, attracted by the munificence of the Moghul Emperor of Dihlí, emigrated to India in the hopes of disposing of their intellectual wares more profitably than was possible in their own country.

The attention of those who read Urdú should be called

[1] Vol. iii, pp. 524–566.

[2] A most sumptuous edition of this Persian *Díwán* of Sulṭán Salím, edited by the late Dr Paul Horn of Strassburg, was printed by command of the German Emperor for presentation to the late Sulṭán 'Abdu'l-Ḥamíd in 1904. Of this rare and beautiful work I am fortunate enough to possess a copy.

to a very excellent modern book entitled *Shi'ru'l-'Ajam* ("Poetry of the Persians") by the late Shiblí Nu-'mání, lithographed at 'Alí-garh in two volumes in or about 1325/1907, and containing critical studies of about a score of the classical poets of Persia from Firdawsí and his predecessors to Ḥáfiẓ. Amongst these a long notice[1] is devoted to Amír Khusraw of Dihlí, which contains incidentally a good deal of information about his friend, contemporary and fellow-poet Ḥasan of Dihlí. Those who do not read Urdú may be referred to another excellent and scholarly work produced by Indian scholarship under the auspices of my friend Sir Edward Denison Ross, the *Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore*, of which the first volume, containing the Persian poets from Firdawsí to Ḥáfiẓ, was published at Calcutta in 1908. Twenty pages of this volume (pp. 176–195) are devoted to Amír Khusraw and his various works, and the four following pages to his friend Amír Ḥasan. Both were disciples of the great Saint Niẓámu'd-Dín Awliyá, who died in 725/1324, only seven months before Amír Khusraw, who was buried beside him. Amír Ḥasan only survived them a few (probably two) years.

Note on a good modern Urdú work containing critical studies of Persian poets

Amír Khusraw, not less notable as a musician than as a poet, was of Turkish race, his father Amír Sayfu'd-Dín Maḥmúd having fled before the Mongols from the region of Balkh to India, where he finally settled at Patyálí. There the poet was born in 651/1253. He was therefore seventy-one years old when he died, and "lived to enjoy the favour of five successive kings of Dihlí." He was enormously productive; Dawlat-sháh credits him with nearly half a million verses. Of these "Mírzá Báysunqur, after ceaseless efforts, succeeded in collecting 120,000," but having subsequently discovered 2000 more from his *ghazals*, he "concluded that it would be

Brief account of Amír Khusraw

[1] *Op. laud.*, vol. ii, pp. 107–195.

very difficult for him to collect the complete work of the poet, and gave up the idea for ever[1]."

Although, for the reasons given above, I do not propose to speak at length of Amír Khusraw, yet, in accordance with the well-known Arabic saying[2] of which the gist is that what cannot be fully included need not therefore be wholly omitted, I shall give here "for good luck and a blessing" (*tayammun*^{an} *wa tabarruk*^{an}) one short extract from his *Laylá wa Majnún* in which he mourns, with a remarkable touch of feeling, the death of his mother and younger brother, both of whom died in 698/1298–9. The poet's love for his mother, which is in strong contrast with his lack of appreciation of his daughter, is one of the most attractive features of his character[3].

امسال دو نور ز اخترم رفت ، هم مادر و هم برادرم رفت ،
یك هفته ز بختِ خفتهٔ من ، گم شد دو مهِ دو هفتهٔ من ،
بخت از دو شکنجه داد پیچم ، چرخ از دو طپانچه کرد هیچم ،
ماتم دو شد و غمم دو افتاد ، فریاد که ماتمم دو افتاد ،
حیف است دو داغ چون منی‌را ، یك شعله بس است خرمنی‌را ،
یك سینه دو بار بر نگیرد ، یك سر دو خمار بر نگیرد ،
چون مادرِ من بزیر خاکست ، گر خاك بسر کنم چه باکست ،
ای مادرِ من کجائی آخر ، روی از چه نمی نمائی آخر ،
خندان ز دلِ زمین برون آی ، بر گریهٔ زار من ببخشای ،
هرجا که ز پای تو غباریست ، مارا ز بهشت یادگاریست ،
ذاتِ تو که حفظِ جانِ من بود ، پشتِ من و پشتبانِ من بود ،

[1] See the *Bankipore Catalogue* mentioned above, vol. i, pp. 176–7, and my edition of Dawlat-sháh, p. 240.

[2] ما لا یُدْرَك کلّه لا یترك کلّه ،

[3] The five verses addressed to his daughter, who appears to have been called 'Afífa, will be found on p. 125 of vol. ii of the *Shi'ru'l-'Ajam*, and the verses to his mother on pp. 126–7.

روزی که لبِ تو در سخن بود ' پندِ تو صلاحِ کارِ من بود '
امروز منم بمهر پیوند ' خاموشی تو همی دهد پند '

Amír Khusraw's lament on his mother's death

"A double radiance left my star this year :
Gone are my brother and my mother dear.
My two full moons have set and ceased to shine
In one short week through this ill luck of mine.
By double torture I am racked of Fate,
By double blow doth Heaven me prostrate.
Double my mourning, double my despair ;
Alas that I this double grief must bear !
Two brands for one like me is't not a shame ?
One fire's enough to set the stack aflame.
One breast a double burden should not bear,
One head of headaches cannot hold a pair.
Beneath the dust my mother lieth dead ;
Is't strange if I cast dust upon my head ?
Where art thou mother mine, in what strange place ?
Canst thou not, mother, show me thy dear face ?
From heart of earth come smiling forth once more,
And take compassion on my weeping sore !
Where'er in days gone by thy feet did fall
That place to me doth Paradise recall.
Thy being was the guardian of my soul,
The strong support which kept me safe and whole.
Whene'er those lips of thine to speed were stirred
Ever to my advantage was thy word.
To-day thy silence makes its dumb appeal,
And lo, my lips are closed as with a seal !"

Badr-i-Chách

Badr-i-Chách, another poet of Transoxiana, has a considerable reputation in India but is practically unknown in Persia. The town of Chách or Shásh of which he claimed to be the "Full Moon" (*Badr*) is the modern Táshkand. His poetry, which I have never read, but of which Sir H. Elliot has translated specimens in his *History of India*[1], is reputed very difficult, a common characteristic of the Persian poetry produced by men of Turkish race or writing under Turkish influence and patronage, but not in itself, from our point of view, a reason for including him in this survey.

[1] Vol. iii, pp. 567–573.

Qáni'í

Mention may here be made of a little-known poet called Qáni'í, who fled from his native town of Ṭús in Khurásán before the terrible Mongol invasion, escaped to India, and thence made his way westwards by Aden, Mecca, Medina and Baghdád to Asia Minor, where he attached himself to the court of the Seljúq rulers of Qonya (Iconium), for whom he composed an immense versified history of the dynasty on the model of the *Sháh-náma*, and a metrical rendering of the celebrated *Book of Kalíla and Dimna*, of which a manuscript (**Add. 7766**) belonging to the British Museum is described by Rieu[1], from whom these particulars are taken. In virtue of these and other poetical productions, of which he boasted that they filled thirty volumes and amounted to 300,000 *bayts*, he received the title of *Maliku'sh-Shu'ará* ("King of Poets" or Poet Laureate), and he lived long enough to compose an elegy on the death of the great Jalálu'd-Dín Rúmí, who died, as already mentioned, in 672/1273.

Púr-i-Bahá-yi-Jámí'

Another early but little-known poet of this period is Púr-i-Bahá-yi-Jámí, to whom Dawlat-sháh[2] devotes an article containing but few facts about his life, to which other biographical works, such as the *Haft Iqlím*, *Átash-kada*, *Majma'u'sh-Shu'ará*, etc. add but little. His original patron was Khwája Wajíhu'd-Dín Zangí (Dawlat-sháh) or Ṭáhir-i-Faryúmadí (*Haft Iqlím*), but he afterwards enjoyed the patronage of the great *Ṣáḥib Díwán*. He seems to have been fond of quaint conceits and *tours de force*, and Dawlat-sháh cites an ingenious poem of his, containing 28 *bayts*, in which he made use of as many Mongol and Turkish words and technical terms as possible, as when he says[3]:

قامان طرّه‌های تو چون کلكِ بخشیان ‘
کردند مشق بر رخِ تو خطّ اُیغوری ‘

[1] Rieu's *Brit. Mus. Pers. Cat.*, pp. 582–4. [2] Pp. 181–5 of my edition.
[3] *Loc. cit.*, p. 182, lines 22–3.

"The wizards of thy tresses, like the pens of the *bakhshís*,
Have practised on thy cheek the Uyghúr writing[1]."

The following quatrain, addressed to a friend who had lost a tooth, is also rather neat.

گر شد گُهری ز درج نوشینت کم،
در حسن نگشت هیچ تمکینت کم،
صد ماه ز اطرافِ رخت می تابد،
گو باش ستارهٔ ز پروینت کم،

"If a pearl is missing from thy sweet casket
Thy dignity is in no wise diminished in the matter of beauty.
A hundred moons shine from the corners of thy cheek
What matter if one star be missing from thy Pleiades?"

The two following poems by Púr-i-Bahá, written in the grand style cultivated by court poets, and filled with elaborate word-plays and far-fetched metaphors, are chiefly interesting because they can be exactly dated. The first refers to the destruction of Níshápúr by an earthquake in 666/1267–8, and the second to its restoration in 669/1270–1 by order of Abáqá. Both are taken from that rare work the *Mujmal* of Faṣíḥí of Khwáf[2].

ز زخمِ زلزله زیر و زبر شُدست چنانك،
سماك زیرِ سمك شد سمك فرازِ سما،
بجور و قهر بر انداختش ز بُن بُنیاد،
بکُلّ و جزء فرو ریختش ز هم اجزا،

[1] See d'Ohsson, vol. i, p. 17, who defines "les Cames" (*Qámán*) as "ministres de leur culte grossier, qui étaient à la fois magiciens, interprètes des songes, augures, aruspices, astrologues et médecins." The *bakhshís* were the scribes who wrote the old Uyghúr character, which continued to be used in Turkistán until the fifteenth century of our era.

[2] Only four MSS. of this work are known to exist, two in Petrograd and two in Cambridge. See my article on this rare book in the number of the *Muséon* published at the Cambridge University Press for the exiled Belgian professors in 1915, pp. 48–78.

نهاده سر بزمین بی سجود مقصوره ،
مناره قامتِ خود بی رکوع کرده دوتا ،
کتابخانه نگون رسمِ مدرسه مدروس ،
خراب مسجدِ آدینه منبر اندر وا ،
گمان مبر که زنقصان او بُد این نکبت ،
زمن بپرس اگر نیست باورت که چرا ،
چو حق عنایتِ بسیار داشت در حقِ او ،
نظر فگند بر احوالِ او بچشمِ رضا ،
چو هیبتِ نظر و پرتوِ تجلّی او ،
بر اوفتاد ز هیبت در اوفتاد ز پا ،
نه از تجلّی او کوهِ طور پاره شدست ،
کلیم چون بدعا خواست از خدای لقا ،

"Through the shakes and knocks of the earthquake shocks it is upside down and awry,
So that 'neath the Fish is Arcturus[1] sunk, while the Fish is raised to the sky.
That fury and force have run their course, and its buildings are overthrown,
And riven and ruined are whole and part, and the parts asunder strown.
Not in worship, I ween, are its chapels seen with spires on the ground low lying,
While the minarets stoop or bend in a loop, but not at the bedesmen's crying.
The libraries all are upside down, and the colleges all forsaken,
And the Friday Mosque in ruins is laid, and the pulpits are shattered and shaken.
Yet do not suppose that this ruin arose from the town's ill destiny,
But ask of me if thou fain wouldst see the wherefore of this and the why.

[1] Arcturus (*Simák*) is accounted one of the highest stars in heaven. In the popular cosmogony of the less educated Muslims, the earth is supposed to be supported by a great fish (*Samak* in Arabic, *Máhí* in Persian) which swims in a vast ocean contained by banks of cloud. Hence the Arabic expression *mina's-Samak ila's-Simák* ("from the Fish to Arcturus"), corresponding to the Persian *az máh tá bi-máhí* ("from the Moon to the Fish"), meaning from the highest to the lowest.

'Twas because the Lord had such high regard for this old and famous place
That He turned His gaze on its fashions and ways with the eyes of favour and grace,
And such was the awe which His glance inspired, and His Light's effulgent rays
That with shaking feet to earth it fell for fear of that awful blaze.
For did not the Mountain of Sinai once fall down and crumble away
Where Moses stood, and the Face of God to behold with his eyes did pray?"

چو کهنه بود و قدیمی بناء نیشاپور،
نهاد روی سوی او خرابی از هر جا،
خدای خواست که بازش ز نو بنا سازند،
بعهد دولت نوشیروانِ عهد ابقا،
خدایگان جهان پادشاه روی زمین،
جهالکشای عدوبند شاه شهر کشا،
بسال ششصد و شصت و نُه اتّفاق اُفتاد،
بنا نهادن این شهرِ شُهْرهٔ زیبا،
اواخر رمضان آفتاب و زُهْره بشور،
قمر بحوت و عطارد نشسته در جوزا،
بنا نهادن شهرِ نَوَت مبارك باد،
بعهد دولت تو شهر باد هر صحرا،
بدولت تو نشاپور کهنه نو شد باز،
بسان پیر خرف گشته کو شود برنا،
سه چیز باد و بماناد هر سه تا بأبد،
بقاء خواجه دگر شهر و شعر پورِ بها،

"The buildings of Nishápúr Time had striven to displace
And Ruin wide from every side had thither turned its face.
God willed that men should once again its buildings strive to raise
In the reign of just Abáqá, the Núshirwán of our days.
Of all the world the lord is he, of all the earth the king,
Foe-binder, world-subduer he, all kingdoms conquering.
It happened in the year six-hundred and three-score and nine
That from its ruins rose again this city famed and fine.

Venus and Sol in Taurus, Ramaḍán was ending soon ;
In Gemini stood Mercury, in Pisces stood the Moon.
May this new town's foundation to thee a blessing bring,
And every desert in thy reign bear towns as flourishing!
By thy good luck Nishápúr old is now grown young again,
Like to some agéd dotard who his boyhood doth regain.
Three things, I pray, may last for aye, while earth doth roll along :
The Khwája's[1] life, the city's luck, and Púr-i-Bahá's song!"

Imámí of Herát

Not very much need be said, or indeed, is known, about Imámí of Herát, whose full name, according to the author of the *Ta'ríkh-i-Guzída*, was Abú 'Abdi'lláh Muḥammad b. Abú Bakr b. 'Uthmán. He was the panegyrist of the rulers and ministers of Kirmán, and died, according to the *Majma'u'l-Fuṣaḥá*[2] in 667/1268–9. An extraordinarily complicated acrostic on his own name, composed by him according to the terminology of the state accountants, will be found in the *Guzída*[3]. The highest compliment which he ever received was probably that paid him by his contemporary Majdu'd-Dín Hamgar, in reply to a versified question addressed to the latter poet by Mu'ínu'd-Dín the Parwána, Malik Iftikháru'd-Dín, Núru'd-Dín Raṣadí, and the *Ṣáḥib-Díwán* Shamsu'd-Dín, enquiring his opinion as to the respective merits of himself, Sa'dí and Imámí[4]. His reply was as follows:

ما گرچه بنطق طوطئ خوش نفسیم،
بر شکّرِ گفته‌های سعدی مگسیم،
در شیوهٔ شاعری باجماعِ اُمَم،
هرگز من و سعدی بامامی نرسیم،

"Though I in song am like the tuneful birds,
Fly-like I sip the sweets of Sa'dí's words ;
Yet all agree that in the arts of speech
Sa'dí and I can ne'er Imámí reach."

[1] Probably the *Ṣáḥib-Díwán* is meant. [2] Vol. i, p. 98.

[3] See my translation of this section of the work (ch. v, § 6) in the *J.R.A.S.* for Oct. 1900 and Jan. 1901, pp. 13–15 of the separate reprint.

[4] These verses are given by Dawlatsháh, p. 166, l. 24—p. 167, ll. 1–9 of my edition.

To this Imámí replied in the following complimentary quatrain[1]:

در صدر بلاغت ارچه با دست رسم ‘ در عالمِ نظم ارچه مسیحا نفسم ‘
دانم که بخاكِ درِ دستورِ جهان ‘ سَحْبَانِ زمانه مجدِ همگر نرسم ‘

"Though throned in power in eloquence's fane,
And, Christ-like, raising song to life again,
Ne'er to the dust of Majd-i-Hamgar's door,
That Saḥbán of the Age[2], can I attain."

Sa'dí, on the other hand, vented his spleen in the following verse:

هر کس که بپایگاه سامی نرسد ‘ از بخت بد و سیاه کامی نرسد ‘
همگر چو بعمر خود نکردست نماز ‘ آری چه عجب گر بامامی نرسد ‘

"Whoe'er attaineth not position high
His hopes are foiled by evil destiny.
Since Hamgar flees from all who pray or preach,
No wonder he 'can ne'er Imámí reach[3].'"

The poems of Imámí, so far as I am aware, have never been published, nor are manuscripts of them common. In my necessarily limited investigations I have made use of the British Museum manuscript **Or. 2847**. One of the prettiest of his poems which I have met with occurs on f. 98[a] of that manuscript, and runs as follows:

یك روز بود عید بیك سال بیك بار ‘
همواره مرا عید ز دیدار تو هموار ‘
یك روز بشاخ اندر پُر بار بُوَد گل ‘
روی تو مرا هست همیشه گُلِ پُر بار ‘
یك روز بنفشه برم[4] از باغ بدسته ‘
زلفینِ تو پیوسته بنفشه است بخروار ‘

[1] *British Museum* MS. Or. 3713, f. 179[b].

[2] Saḥbán ibn Wá'il, an ancient Arab, whose eloquence is proverbial.

[3] There is an untranslateable pun here, for *Ímámí* means the position of an Imám, or leader in prayer, as well as being the poet's *nom de guerre*.

[4] MS. چینم, which I have emended on account of the metre.

یك هفته پدیدار بود نرگسِ دشتی،
آن نرگسِ چشمِ تو همه ساله پدیدار،
نرگس نبود تازه که بیدار نباشد،
تازه است سیه نرگسِ تو خُفته و بیدار،
باشند سمن زاران بهنگامِ بهاران،
بر سنبلِ تو هست شب و روز سمن زار،
از جعدِ سیاهِ تو رسد فیض بسنبل،
کین مایهٔ جان آمد و آن مایهٔ عطّار،
این‌را وطن از سیم شد آنرا وطن از سنگ،
این از بر سَرْوِ سهی آن از برِ کُهسار،
سرو است که در باغ همه ساله بود سبز،
با قدِ تو آن سرو بود کوژ و نگونسار،

"We celebrate the New Year's Feast but once in all the year;
A Feast perpetual to me affords thy presence dear.
One day the roses hang in clusters thick upon the tree;
A never-failing crop of roses yield thy cheeks to me.
One day I gather violets by the bunch in gardens fair,
But violets by the sheaf are yielded by thy fragrant hair.
The wild narcissus for a single week the field adorns;
The bright narcissus of thine eye outlasts three hundred morns.
The wild narcissus must its freshness lose or vigil keep[1]:
To thy narcissus-eyes no difference waking makes or sleep.
Fragrant and fair the garden jasmine is in days of Spring,
But round thy hyacinths[2] the jasmine-scent doth ever cling.
Nay, surely from thy curls the hyacinths their perfume stole,
These are the druggist's stock-in-trade and those food for the soul.
Those from a ground of silver[3] spring, and these from heaps of stone;
Those crown a cypress-form, while these adorn some upland lone.
There is a garden-cypress which remains for ever green,
Yet by thy cypress-stature it appears uncouth and mean."

Imámí was for some time patronized by Fakhru'l-Mulk

[1] A flower "keeps vigil" when it is fully open.
[2] "Hyacinth" (*sunbul*) is a common poetical metaphor for hair.
[3] Meaning the fair, silver-like skin.

of Khurásán[1], who on one occasion submitted to him the following versified enquiry[2]:

"What says that master of the Law, chief scholar of our land,
Our guide in doctrine and belief, to this which we demand:
Suppose a cat at dead of night feloniously should steal
A cage of pigeons or of doves, and make therefrom a meal,
Would Retribution's Law revealed the owner justify
If he in vengeance for the birds should doom the cat to die?"

To this enquiry, Imámí answered as follows:

"A subtle question this indeed! The palate of the mind
Therein thy nature's fragrance fair and reason rare doth find!
No vengeance falls upon the cat, for nowhere hath implied
Our Prophet in his Holy Law that such is justified.
Have cats which hunt for birds less right than catkins[3] on the tree?
Their claws upon the branch they spread whene'er a bird they see.
So, if his own white arm he seeks to keep secure from pain,
Let him avoid with Pussy's blood his hand and arm to stain.
If he the pigeon seeks to save, the dove to keep alive,
To hang their cages out of reach he surely could contrive!"

Poetical interrogations of this sort seem to have been the fashion at this time, for certain people of Káshán addressed a similar versified question as to the respective merits of the poets Anwarí and Ẓahír of Fáryáb to Majdu'd-Dín Hamgar, and to this same question Imámí also thought good to reply in verse. The text and translation of this correspondence, including the question and the two answers, all in verse, are given in the *Ta'ríkh-i-Guzída*[4], to which the curious reader is referred. Majdu'd-Dín Hamgar's reply contains the date when it was written, *viz.* the end of Rajab, 674 (Jan. 19, 1276), and both he and Imámí agree in preferring Anwarí to Ẓahír, a judgement in which nearly all competent critics will concur.

[1] Apparently that same minister Fakhru'l-Mulk Shamsu 'd-Dawla, to whom several of Imámí's poems are dedicated.

[2] For the original verses, which it would be superfluous to reprint here, see my edition of Dawlatsháh, p. 169.

[3] Catkins are called *gurba-i-bíd*, "willow-cats," in Persian.

[4] See pp. 60–64 of the separate reprint of my translation of this portion (ch. v, § 6) published in the *J.R.A.S.* for Oct. 1900 and Jan. 1901.

Majdu'd-Dín's claim to prefer Imámí's poetry not only to his own but to Sa'dí's, on the other hand, cannot be taken seriously, and must have been prompted by some personal motive, such as a desire to please Imámí or to annoy Sa'dí. All Persian writers who have noticed this matter at all have expressed amazement at the view which Majdu'd-Dín Hamgar saw fit to advance; for in truth Imámí's poetry, so far as we can judge from the specimens given by Dawlatsháh[1] and in the *Átash-Kada*[2] and the *Majma'u'l-Fuṣaḥá*[3], has no special distinction or originality, while Sa'dí's claim to be reckoned among the half-dozen greatest poets of his country has never been disputed.

Majdu'd-Dín Hamgar

Majdu'd-Dín Hamgar was, according to the *Ta'ríkh-i-Guzída*, a native of Yazd, and a *protégé* of Bahá'u'd-Dín Juwayní, the high-handed governor of Fárs, who died in 678/1279[4]. When the poet came from Yazd to Iṣfahán, he left his elderly wife behind him, but she soon followed him. News of her arrival was brought to the poet by one of his pupils, who said, "Good news! Your lady has alighted in the house." "Good news," replied Majdu'd-Dín, "would rather be that the house had alighted on her!" The lady, to whom this speech was reported, reproached her husband for his unkind words, quoting the quatrain of 'Umar Khayyám beginning:

پیش از من و تو لیل و نهاری بودست

"Days changed to nights ere thou wert born, or I[5]."

"Before me, perhaps," replied Majdu'd-Dín, "but Heaven forbid that day and night should have existed before thee!"

According to Dawlatsháh[6], Majdu'd-Dín Hamgar boasted descent from Núshírwán the Sásánian, and was on this

[1] Pp. 167–170 of my edition.

[2] P. 137 of the lithographed edition of 1277/1860–1.

[3] Vol. i, pp. 98–101.

[4] See p. 21 *supra*.

[5] See E. H. Whinfield's text and translation in *Trübner's Oriental Series* (1883), No. 33 (pp. 24–5).

[6] P. 176 of my edition.

account a somewhat privileged person at the courts which he frequented. To this alleged genealogy the poet alludes in the following verses[1]:

بر من زمانه کرد هنرها همه وبال،
وز غم بریخت خونِ جوانیم چرخ زال،
کلکم ز دست بستد تیرِ حسود شکل،
بر من کمان کشید سپهرِ کمان مثال،
چرخا چه خواهی از منِ عورِ برهنه پای،
دهرا چه خواهی از منِ زارِ شکسته بال،
از چشمِ باز توخته کن لقمهای بوم،
وز رانِ شیر ساخته کن طعمهٔ شغال،
از زخمِ او چو طبل ننالم بهیچ روی،
ور خود ز پشتِ من بمَثَل برکشد دوال،
ای پای پیل فتنه مرا نرمتر بکوب،
ای دستِ چرخ سفله مرا سخت‌تر بمال،
از مالشی که یافت دلم روشنی گرفت،
روشن شود هر آینه آئینه از صقال،
وقتی چنین که شاخِ گُل از خاك بردمید،
طالع نگر که بختِ مرا خشك شد نهال،
عیبم همین که نیستم از نطفهٔ حرام،
جُرْمم همین که زاده‌ام از نسبتِ حلال،
هستم ز نسلِ ساسان نز تخمهٔ تکین،
هستم ز صلب کِسْرَی نز دودهٔ ینال،
شعری بخوش مذاقی چون چاشنیِ وصل،
کلکی بنقشبندی چون صورت خیال،
زفتی ندیده چشمِ کس از من بوقت جود،
لا نا شنوده گوشِ کس از من گهِ سؤال،

دلرا نشاطِ لهو نباشد پس از شباب
خورشیدرا فروغ نباشد پس از زوال،

[1] Cited in the *Majma'u'l-Fuṣaḥá*, vol. i, p. 596.

" My virtues all a cruel age hath made for me a bane ;
My youthful blood the aged Sphere hath shed in grief and pain.
The envious Mercury[1] hath plucked the pen from out my hand,
The arching Heaven hath drawn a bow to smite me where I stand.
O Sphere, what would'st thou of me, a poor, bare-footed thing ?
O Time, what seek'st thou from me, a bird with broken wing ?
Make of the falcon's eyes a dish to satisfy the owl :
Make of the lion's thighs the food for which the jackals prowl.
In no wise like the noisy drum will I his blows bewail,
Although his lashes on my back descend as falls the flail.
O foot of trouble's elephant, prithee more gently press !
O hand of this ignoble Sphere, increase my dire distress !
Through tribulations bravely borne my heart hath grown more bright,
As mirrors gain by polishing in radiancy and light.
What time the rose-bush from the dust doth raise its flowering head,
The sapling of my luck (what luck !) hath withered and is dead.
My fault is this, that I am not from some base seed upgrown :
My crime is this, that noble is the pedigree I own.
The sons of Sásán, not Tigín, my ancestors I call ;
I'm of the race of Kisrá, not the household of Inál[2].
My verse is sweet and exquisite as union with the fair :
My pen in picture-painting hath the gifts of fancy rare.
No eye hath seen an impulse mean impede my bounty's flow :
The ear of no petitioner hath heard the answer 'No !'
When youth is gone, from out the heart all love of play is cast :
And lustre fadeth from the sun which hath the zenith passed."

Majdu'd-Dín Hamgar wrote poems in praise of Shamsu'd-Dín Muḥammad the *Ṣáḥib-Díwán* as well as of the Atábek Sa'd b. Abú Bakr. Manuscripts of his poems are rare, but a fine old manuscript (Or. 3713) in the British Museum, transcribed in the years A.D. 1293–8 by the poet's grandson, contains a number of his quatrains. Unlike the quatrains of 'Umar Khayyám, Abú Sa'íd b. Abi'l-Khayr, and other masters of this style of verse, Majdu'd-Dín's quatrains deal less with

Quatrains of Majd-i-Hamgar

[1] Mercury is the planet which presides over the destinies of authors, scribes and poets.

[2] *Tigín* or *Tagín* is a suffix of Turkish names (*e.g.* Subuk-tigín, Alp-tigín, *etc.*) and *Inál* is another common Turkish name or title. *Kisrá* is the Arabic form of Khusraw (" Chosroes "), the proper name of Núshírwán and Parwiz, and the generic name for all the kings of the Royal House of Sásán.

mystical and philosophical ideas than with concrete things and persons. Some are merely abusive epigrams, such as the following:

آن مادرِ شوم فرج چون زاد ترا،
از گنجه بابخاز فرستاد ترا،
و آن دایهٔ خوك خوار سگبان بغذا،
شیرِ سگ و خونِ خوك می داد ترا،

"Born of a mother of accurséd womb
From Ganja's town to Abkház thou didst come,
Where that dog-training swineherd nurse of thine
Fed thee on dog's milk and the blood of swine."

The following, expressing the poet's love of travel, is too ingenious in its word-plays to admit of adequate translation:

ای چرخ عنانم از سفر هیچ متاب،
نانم ز سرندیب ده آبم ز سراب،
هر شام ز بامیان دهم قرصی نان،
هر بام ز شام ده مرا شربتی آب،

"O heaven, never turn aside my reins from wandering:
Give me my bread from Sarandíb (Ceylon), my water from Saráb:
Grant me each evening (*shám*) a loaf of bread from Bámiyán,
And every morning (*bám*) give me a draught of water from *Shám* (Damascus)[1]."

In the two following quatrains he laments his advancing age:

آن شد که دلم ز طبع چون آتش و آب،
می ریخت بدیهه‌های چون دُرِّ خوشاب،
عشقی و جوانئی و کامِ دل بود،
وین هر سه دگر باره نبینیم بخواب،

[1] *Sarandíb*, from the Sanskrit *Swarna-dípa*, is the name given by the Arab geographers to Ceylon, and *Saráb* is a town in Ádharbáyján. There is a kind of word-play between these two names, but a much more complete one in the second half of the quatrain between *bám* (morning) and *Bámiyán* (north-west of Afghánistán) on the one hand, and *shám* (evening) and *Shám* (Damascus) on the other. The last is an example of the "complete word-play."

"Fiery and fluent, once my heart did hurl
Spontaneous verses forth, each verse a pearl:
Then Love, Desire and Youth were mine. These three
Not e'en in dreams I now can hope to see!"

این پای مرا که نیست پروای رکاب ،
نه روی رکوب ماند و نه رای رکاب ،
زین سان که بتنگ آمدم از پیری و ضعف ،
نه دستِ عنان دارم و نه پای رکاب ،

"This foot of mine no more the stirrup suits;
For me no more are spurs and riding-boots.
Oppressed by aches and age, there now remains
No foot for stirrup and no hand for reins."

Here is another very insulting quatrain, but again no record remains of the person to whom it was addressed:

ای دیدنِ خوك پیشِ دیدار تو خوب ،
با چهرهٔ تو بوزنه معشوقِ قلوب ،
از روی تو خوی تو بسی زشت‌تر است ،
با زشتی خوی تو زهی روی تو خوب ،

"Compared to thee a pig's a pretty sight:
Beside thy face an ape's the heart's delight.
Thy temper's uglier than e'en thy face,
Compared to it thy face is fair and bright."

Some of the quatrains are acrostics on names, as, for example, the following:

اعدادِ حروفِ نام آن دلبرِ چُست ،
چون بخشِ فلك سیصد و شصتست دُرُست ،
حرفِ سومش نُه یكِ چارم حرفست ،
وز ثانی حرف شش یکی حرف نُخُست ،

"The [sum of the] numbers of the letters in that graceful charmer's name
Is exactly three hundred and sixty, like the divisions of the heavens.
The third letter is one-ninth of the fourth letter,
While the first letter is one-sixth of the second letter."

The name appears to be *Nashát* (نشاط), for ن = 50, ش = 300, ا = 1, and ط = 9, which yields a total of 360 and fulfils the two other conditions.

The following is addressed to his sweetheart:

نه برگ که خیمهٔ زنم پهلویت
نه سیم که خانهٔ خرم در کویت
من دیده وگوش‌را بدان میخواهم
تا بشنوم آواز و ببینم رویت

"No means have I by thee to pitch my tent,
Nor money in thy street a house to rent:
My ears and eyes serve only to this end,
To hear thy voice and on thee gaze intent."

That Majdu'd-Dín Hamgar reached an advanced age is suggested by some of the quatrains just cited, while in another he describes himself as over eighty, but I have not been able to ascertain the precise dates of his birth and death.

'Iráqí

Mention must now be made of a poet of far greater talent and originality than those of whom we have spoken above, namely Fakhru'd-Dín Ibráhím of Hamadán, better known by his poetical *nom de guerre*, or *takhallus*, of 'Iráqí. Notices of his life are found in most of the later biographies of mystics and poets, notably in the *Nafaḥátu'l-Uns* of Jámí[1] and in the *Majálisu'l-'Ushsháq* of Ḥusayn Mírzá Bayqará; but in the absence of contemporary testimony the particulars there given must be received with a certain reserve, while from his writings, almost entirely of a mystical and erotic character, little or nothing is to be gleaned as to his personal adventures. He is the typical *qalandar*, heedless of his reputation, and seeing in every beautiful face or object a reflection, as in a mirror, of the Eternal Beauty. "Love," as one of his biographers says, "was predominant in his nature," and hence his *ghazals* have an erotic character which has exposed him to very harsh strictures on the part of some European critics, notably

[1] Pp. 700–704 of Nassau Lees's edition.

Sprenger[1], who find scandalous in a Persian sentiments which in Plato they either admire or ignore.

According to Jámí, 'Iráqí was born at Hamadán, and in childhood learned the *Qur'án* by heart and could recite it melodiously and accurately. When he was about seventeen years of age, a party of *qalandars*, amongst whom was a very beautiful youth, came to Hamadán, and, when they left, 'Iráqí, attracted by the beauty of the young dervish, followed them to India. At Multán he became the disciple of Shaykh Bahá'u'd-Dín Zakariyyá, of whom he says in one of his poems :

پرسی اگر از جهان کیست امام الانام،
نشنوی از آسمان جز زکریّا جواب،

"If thou shouldst ask of the world 'Who is the guide of men?'
Thou wilt hear from heaven no other answer than 'Zakariyyá.'"

Soon after his arrival there the discipline of a *chilla*, or forty days' retirement and meditation, was imposed upon him, but on the tenth day the other dervishes came to the Shaykh and complained that instead of meditating in silence he was singing a *ghazal* or ode which he had composed, and which in the course of a few days was in the mouths of all the revellers in the city, who were singing it in the taverns to the accompaniment of the harp and zither. This *ghazal*, which is one of 'Iráqí's best-known poems, is as follows :

نخستین باده کاندر جام کردند،
ز چشمِ مست ساقی وام کردند،
چو با خود یافتند اهلِ طرب را،
شرابِ بیخودی در جام کردند،
لبِ میگونِ جانان جام در داد،
شرابِ عاشقانش نام کردند،
سرِ زلفِ بتان آرام نگرفت،
ز بس دلها که بی آرام کردند،

[1] *Catalogue of the Library of the King of Oude*, pp. 440–1.

بمجلس نیك و بدرا جای دادند،
بجامی کارِ خاص و عام کردند،
چو گوی حسن در میدان فگندند،
بیك جولان دو عالم رام کردند،
ز بهرِ نقلِ مستان از لب و چشم،
مهیّا شکّر و بادام کردند،
از آن لب کآرزوی جمله دلهاست،
نصیبِ بی دلان دشنام کردند،
دلی‌را تا بدست آرند هر دم،
سرِ زلفین خودرا دام کردند،
بغمزه صد سخن گفتند با جان،
بدل ز ابرو دو صد پیغام کردند،
نهان با محرمی رازی بگفتند،
جهانی‌را از آن اعلام کردند،
بعالم هر کجا درد و غمی بود،
بهم کردند و عشقش نام کردند،

چو خود کردند رازِ خویشتن فاش
عراقی‌را چرا بدنام کردند،

"The wine wherewith the cup they first filled high
Was borrowed from the Sáqí's languorous eye.
Since self-possessed the revellers they found
The draught of selflessness they handed round.
The loved one's wine-red lips supplied the cup:
They named it 'Lover's wine,' and drank it up.
No rest the hair of those fair idols knows,
So many a heart it robs of its repose.
For good and bad a place within our hall
They found, and with one cup confounded all.
They cast the ball of Beauty on the field,
And at one charge compelled both worlds to yield.
The drunken revellers from eye and lip
The almond gather, and the sugar sip.
But that sweet lip, desired of all, most fair,
Maketh harsh words the helpless lover's share.

They loosen and set free their locks of jet
That they therewith for hearts a snare may set.
A hundred messages their glances dart;
Their eyebrows signal secrets to the heart.
They speak in confidence and silence claim,
And then their secrets to the world proclaim.
Where'er in all the world is grief and gall
They mix them up, the mixture 'Love' they call.
Why should they seek to hurt 'Iráqí's fame,
Since they themselves their secrets thus proclaim?"

When Shaykh Bahá'u'd-Dín heard the last couplet, he said, "This finishes his business!" He then called to 'Iráqí in his cell, "Do you make your supplications in wine-taverns? Come forth!" So 'Iráqí came forth, and the Shaykh clothed him in his own *khirqa* or dervish-cloak, raised him from the ground to which he had cast himself, and subsequently gave him in marriage his daughter, who afterwards bore him a son named Kabíru'd-Dín.

Twenty-five years passed, and Shaykh Bahá'u'd-Dín died, naming 'Iráqí as his successor. The other dervishes, however, disapproved of this nomination, and complained to the King of 'Iráqí's antinomianism. He thereupon left India and visited Mecca and al-Madína, whence he proceeded to Asia Minor. At Qonya (Iconium) he attended the lectures of the celebrated Shaykh Ṣadru'd-Din of that city on the *Fuṣúṣ* of Shaykh Muḥiyyu'd-Dín ibnu'l-'Arabí[1], and composed his most celebrated prose work, the *Lama'át* ("Flashes" or "Effulgences"), which was submitted to the Shaykh and won his approval. The powerful nobleman Mu'ínu'd-Dín the Parwána was 'Iráqí's admirer and disciple, and built for him, it is said, a *khánqáh* or monastery at Túqát, besides showing him other favours. On his death, 'Iráqí left Asia Minor for Egypt, where also he is said to have been well received by the reigning Sultan, whose favour he retained, notwithstanding the efforts of his enemies to traduce him. In Syria, whither he subsequently proceeded, he met with an equally good reception, and there, after six

[1] See vol. ii of my *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, pp. 497–501.

months' sojourn, he was joined by his son Kabíru'd-Dín from India. There also he died, on the 8th of Dhu'l-Qa'da, 688 (Nov. 23, 1289) and was buried in the Ṣáliḥiyya Cemetery at Damascus, beside the great mystic Shaykh Muḥiyyu'd-Dín ibnu'l-'Arabí, who had predeceased him by 50 years, and whose influence in Persia, still prevalent even in our days, was largely due to 'Iráqí, Awḥadu'd-Dín of Maráǵha, and others of the same school.

The following poems from 'Iráqí's *Díwán* may serve besides that already given, as typical of his style:

سر بسر لطفی و جانی ای پسر'
خوشتر از جان چیست آنی ای پسر'
میلِ دلها جمله سوی روی تست'
وه که شیرین دلستانی ای پسر'
ز آن بچشمِ من در آئی هر زمان'
کز صفا آبِ روانی ای پسر'
از مَیِ حسن ارچه سر مستی مکن
با حریفان سر گرانی ای پسر'
وعدهٔ امید اگرچه کج بود'
از بهانه در نمانی ای پسر'
بر لبِ خود بوسه ده و آنگه ببین'
ذوقِ آبِ زندگانی ای پسر'
ز آن شدم خاکِ درت کز جام می'
جرعهٔ بر من فشانی ای پسر'
گوشِ جانها پُر گهر شد بسکه تو'
از سخن دُر می فشانی ای پسر'
از لطیفی می نماند کس بتو'
ز آن یقینم شد که جانی ای پسر'
در دل و چشمم ز حسن و لطفِ تو'
آشکارا و نهانی ای پسر'

نیست در عالم عراقی را دمی
بر لبِ تو کامرانی ای پسر'

"From head to feet thou art gracious, pleasant and sweet, O Love!
Thee to prefer to life 'twere right and meet, O Love!
To thee doth aspire the heart's desire of all, O Love!
A hunter of hearts art thou to hold us in thrall, O Love!
To mine eyes appear thy features fair and dear, O Love!
Awake or asleep like a crystal stream so clear, O Love!
Though Beauty's wine doth incarnadine thy cheek, O Love!
Bear with thy comrades, nor causeless quarrels seek, O Love!
They melt in air, hope's promises false and fair, O Love!
Excuses, I ween, you'll find enough and to spare, O Love!
Kisses sip from thine own fair lip, and behold, O Love!
The Water of Life with its savour so sweet and so cold, O Love!
In the dust hard by thy path I die at thy door, O Love!
That a draught of wine on this dust of mine thou mayst pour, O Love!
Jewels of speech on all and each thou dost hurl, O Love!
So that every soul in its ear may wear a pearl, O Love!
None do I see in grace like thee, and I'm sure, O Love!
Thou art soul incarnate and spirit essential and pure, O Love!
In mine eyes and heart thou hast thy part and share, O Love!
Thou dost hide or appear, now dark and dim, now clear, O Love!
Never a moment on earth from North to South, O Love!
May 'Iráqí aspire to have his desire of thy mouth, O Love!"

The following is the first strophe of a very fine *Tarjí'-band*:

أکـؤوسٌ تـلألأتْ بـمـدام، أم شموسٌ تـهلّـلـتْ بـغـمـام،
از صفای مـی و لطافتِ جام، در هم آمیخت رنگِ جام و مدام،
همه جامست و نیست گوئی می، یا مُدامست و نیست گوئی جام،
تـا هوا رنـگِ آفـتـاب گـرفت، هر دو یکسان شدند نور و ظلام،
روز و شب با هم آشتی کردند، کارِ عالم از آن گرفت نظام،
گر ندانی که این چه روز و شبست،
یا کدام است جام و باده کدام،
سرِّ آبِ حـیـات در عـالـم، چون می و جام فهم کن تو مدام،
انکشافِ حجاب علم یقین، چون شب و روز فرض کن و سلام،
ور نشد زین بیان تـرا روشن، جـمـلـه آغـازِ کـار تـا انـجـام،

جامِ گیتی نمای‌را بطلب ، تا ببینی بچشمِ عقل تمام ،
که همه اوست هرچه هست یقین
جان و جانان و دلبر و دل و دین ،

"Cups are those a-flashing with wine,
Or suns through the clouds a-gleaming?
So clear is the wine and the glass so fine
That the two are one in seeming.
The glass is all and the wine is naught,
Or the glass is naught and the wine is all:
Since the air the rays of the sun hath caught
The light combines with night's dark pall,
For the night hath made a truce with the day,
And thereby is ordered the world's array.
If thou know'st not which is day, which night,
Or which is goblet and which is wine,
By wine and cup divine aright
The Water of Life and its secret sign:
Like night and day thou mayst e'en assume
Certain knowledge and doubt's dark gloom.
If these comparisons clear not up
All these problems low and high,
Seek for the world-reflecting cup
That thou mayst see with reason's eye
That all that is, is He indeed,
Soul and loved one and heart and creed."

Here is a fragment of another ode:

از پرده برون آمد ساقی قدحی در دست ،
هم پردهٔ ما بدرید هم توبهٔ ما بشکست ،
بنمود رخ زیبا گشتیم همه شیدا ،
چون هیچ نماند از ما آمد برِ ما بنشست ،
زلفش گرهی بکشاد بند از دلِ ما برخاست ،
جان دل ز جهان بر داشت و اندر سرِ زلفش بست ،
در دامِ سرِ زلفش ماندیم همه حیران ،
وز جامِ می لعلش گشتیم همه سرمست ،
از دست بشد چون دل در طرّهٔ او زد چنگ ،
غرقه زند از حیرت در هرچه بیابد دست ،

چون سلسلهٔ زلفش بند دل حیران شد،
آزاد شد از عالم وز هستی خود وا رَست،

* * * * * * *

"Forth from the Veil came that fair Cup-bearer, in hand the cup;
He tore our veils asunder, and our vows forthwith broke up;
Showed us His visage fair, and straightway us of sense bereft,
Then sat Him down beside us, when of us no trace was left.
His locks the knots unloosed; our spirits' bonds were cast aside;
Our souls abjured the world, and to His curls their fortunes tied.
There in His fragrant tresses we remained in frenzy fine,
Intoxicated with the proffered cup of ruby wine.
Lost at His hands, our hearts for refuge clung unto His hair,
E'en as the drowning man will catch at straws in his despair.
And when His tresses' chains became the bonds of hearts that raved,
From their own being they escaped and from the world were saved."

Of the following ode a spirited translation was made, but not published, by my friend Sir E. Denison Ross. The translation here given resembles and is suggested by his, but is not identical with it, for I cannot lay my hands on the copy which I received, nor can I remember it in detail.

مرا جز عشقِ تو جانی نمی بینم نمی بینم،
دلمرا جز تو جانانی نمی بینم نمی بینم،
بخود صبری و آرامی نمی یابم نمی یابم،
ز تو لطفی و احسانی نمی بینم نمی بینم،
ز روی لطف بنما رو که دردی‌را که من دارم،
بجز روی تو درمانی نمی بینم نمی بینم،
بیآ گر خواهِیَم دیدن که دور از روی خوب تو،
بقای خویش چندانی نمی بینم نمی بینم،
بگیر ای یار دستِ من که در گردابی افتادم،
که آنرا هیچ پایانی نمی بینم نمی بینم،
ز روی لطف و دلداری بیآ سامانِ کارم کن،
که خودرا بی تو سامانی نمی بینم نمی بینم
عراقی‌را بدرگاهت رهی بنما که در عالم
چو او سرگشته حیرانی نمی بینم نمی بینم،

"Save love of thee a soul in me I cannot see, I cannot see;
An object for my love save thee I cannot see, I cannot see.
Repose or patience in my mind I cannot find, I cannot find,
While gracious glance or friendship free I cannot see, I cannot see.
Show in thy face some sign of grace, since for the pain wherewith I'm slain
Except thy face a remedy I cannot see, I cannot see.
If thou wouldst see me, speed thy feet, for parted from thy presence sweet,
Continued life on earth for me I cannot see, I cannot see.
O friend, stretch out a hand to save, for I am fallen in a wave
Of which the crest, if crest there be, I cannot see, I cannot see.
With gracious care and kindly air come hither and my state repair;
A better state, apart from thee, I cannot see, I cannot see.
Some pathway to 'Iráqí teach whereby thy gateway he may reach,
For vagrant so bemused as he I cannot see, I cannot see."

Besides his lyric poetry 'Iráqí composed a *mathnawí* poem entitled the '*Ushsháq-náma*, or "Book of Lovers," but this I have not read, nor is a copy of it at present accessible to me. I therefore pass to his most notable prose work, the *Lama'át* ("Flashes," or "Effulgences"), a mystical treatise inspired, as already mentioned, by the teachings of "the most great doctor" (*ash-Shaykhu'l-akbar*) Muḥiyyu'd-Dín ibnu'l-'Arabí, by origin of the famous Arabian tribe of Ṭayy, and by birth a Moor of Andalusia.

The '*Ushsháq-náma*

The *Lama'át* is a comparatively small book, containing, perhaps, between 7000 and 8000 words, and, though written in prose, includes numerous pieces of verse. The many-sided and talented Jámí, of whom we shall speak in a later chapter, wrote a commentary on it, entitled *Ashi"atu'l-Lama'át*[1] ("Rays of the Flashes"), in the preface to which he says that he began by being prejudiced against the work and its author, but, being requested by one of his spiritual guides to study and collate the text, he found it to consist of "graceful phrases and charming suggestions, verse and prose combined together and subtleties in Arabic and Persian intermingled, wherein the signs of [human] know-

The *Lama'át*

Jámí's opinion of this work

[1] Lithographed, with other Ṣúfí tracts, at Ṭihrán in 1303/1885–6.

ledge and [superhuman] gnosis were apparent, and the lights of rapture and ecstasy manifest, so that it would awaken the sleeper, cause him who was awakened to apprehend secret mysteries, kindle the fire of Love, and put in motion the chain of Longing." The book is divided into 28 "Flashes" (*Lam'a*), probably in correspondence with the number of letters in the Arabic alphabet. As a specimen I give the opening pages, down to the end of the first *Lam'a*, the prose portion in translation only, the verses both in translation and in the original.

"*In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Forgiving.*

"Praise be to God who illuminated the countenance of His Friend with the Effulgence of Beauty, so that it gleamed with Light; and made visible therein the limits of Perfection, and rejoiced therein with joy; and raised him up by His hand and chose him out while Adam was not yet a thing mentioned, nor had the Pen written, nor the Tablet been inscribed. [His friend, who was] the Treasure-house of the treasures of Being, the Key of the Store-houses of Bounty, the *Qibla* of Desire and the Desired One, the Possessor of the Standard of Praise and the Laudable Station, the tongue of whose high degree declares:

و إنّى و إنْ كنتُ ٱبْنَ آدم صورةً ‘ فلى فيه معنىً شاهدٌ بأبوّتى ‘

'Though in outward form I seem one of Adam's progeny,
Yet the underlying truth claims for me paternity[1].'

گفتا بصورت ارچه ز اولادِ آدمم‘
از روی مرتبه بهمه حال برترم‘
چون بنگرم در آینه عکسِ جمالِ خویش‘
گردد همه جهان بحقیقت مصوّرم‘

[1] This verse, as Jámí tells us, is from the *Tá'iyya*, or *qaṣída* rhyming in *t*, of Ibnu'l-Fáriḍ. Though outwardly the Prophet is descended from Adam, he is in reality the Object and Cause of Creation, so that Adam exists through and because of him, not he through Adam. The Muslims represent God as saying to the Prophet, "*But for thee, I had not created the Heavens.*"

خورشیدِ آسمانِ ظهورم عجب مدار،
ذرّاتِ کائنات اگر گشت مظهرم،
ارواح قُدس چیست نمودارِ معنیم،
اشباحِ انس چیست نگهدارِ پیکرم،
بحرِ محیط رشحهٔ از فیضِ فائضم،
نورِ بسیط لمعهٔ از نور ازهرم،
از عرش تا بفرش همه ذرّهٔ بود،
در نورِ آفتاب ضمیرِ منوّرم،
روشن شود ز روشنی ذات من جهان،
گر پردهٔ صفاتِ خود از هم فرو درم،
آبی که خضر گشت ازو زنده جاودان،
آن آب چیست قطرهٔ از حوض کوثرم،
آن دم کزو مسیح همی مرده زنده کرد،
یك نفحه بود از نفسِ روح پرورم،
فی آلجمله مظهرِ همه اسماست ذاتِ من،
بل اسمِ اعظمم بحقیقت چو بنگرم،

'Although in form of Adam's race,' said he,
'Higher by far than his is my degree.
My beauty mirrored in a glass I see,
And all the world a picture seems of me.
Creation's Sun am I: doth it amaze
If each created atom me displays?
The holy Spirits make my Essence plain,
And human forms my Attributes retain.
The boundless Sea's a sprinkling of my grace;
The radiant light's a reflex of my face.
From Throne to Footstool all is but a mote
Which in the radiance of my Sun doth float.
The Veil of Attributes aside is hurled,
And my bright Essence brightens all the world.
The stream which Khiḍr's ebb of life did stop
Was of my Kawthar-stream a single drop.
That breath wherewith Christ loosed the thralls of Death
Was but a blast of my soul-saving breath.

My Essence all the Names doth manifest ;
I am of Names the greatest and the best ! '
(*May God bless and hail Him !*)

But to proceed. A few words on the degrees of Love, dictated by the mood of the moment, are here set down in the manner of the *Sawánih*[1], that they may be for every lover a mirror to display the Beloved ; though the rank of Love is too high for anyone to approach the pavilion of its glory by dint of understanding or explanation, or to gaze on the perfection of its true nature with the eyes of discovery and observation.

تعالى العشقُ عن همم الرّجال ' و عن وصف التفرّق و الوصال '
متى ما جلّ شئٌ عن خيال ' يجلّ عن الاحاطة و المثال '

Exalted high is Love o'er men's ambition,
And o'er ideas of union or partition ;
For when a thing transcends all thought and mention
'Tis freed from likeness and from comprehension.

It is veiled by the Veil of Glory and isolated in its Perfection. Its Attributes are the Veils of its Essence and implicit in that Essence. Its Splendour is the Lover of its Beauty, which is involved in that Splendour. For ever it makes love to itself, and concerns itself not with aught else. Every moment it casts aside the Veil from the face of some loved one, and every instant it raises a new song in the way of loverhood.

عشق در پرده می نوازد ساز ' عاشقی کو که بشنود آواز '
هر نفس نغمهٔ دگر سازد ' هر زمان زخمهٔ کند آغاز '
همه عالم صدای نغمهٔ اوست ' که شنید اینچنین صدای دراز '
رازِ او از جهان برون افتاد ' خود صدا کی نگاهدارد راز '
سرِّ او از زبان هر ذرّه ' خود تو بشنو که من نیم غمّاز '

Within the Veil Love sings its air :
Where is the lover to hear it, where ?

[1] This is the title of a treatise by Shaykh Aḥmad Ghazzálí on Love, the Lover, and the Beloved.

Each moment it chants a different lay,
And ever some melody fresh doth play.
All the Universe echoes its song:
Who hath heard such an anthem long?
Its secret out from the world doth leap:
How can an Echo its secret keep?
I tell no tales, but loud and clear
From the tongue of each atom its secret hear.

Every moment with every tongue it tells its secret to its own ear; every instant with all its ears it hears its speech from its own tongue; every minute with all its eyes it flashes its beauty on its own vision; every second in every aspect it presents its being to its own notice. Hear from me its description as it really is:

یُحدّثنی فی صامتٍ ثمّ ناطقٍ ' و غمز عیونٍ ثمّ کسر الحواجب '

It speaks with me through speaking and through speechless[1];
Through lowered eyelashes and glancing eyes.

Knowest thou what it whispers in my ears?

عشقم که در دو کون مکانم بدید نیست '
عنقای مُغْرِبم که نشانم بدید نیست '
ز ابرو و غمزه هر دو جهان صید کرده ام '
منگر بدان که تیر و کمانم پدید نیست '
چون آفتاب در رخ هر ذرّه ظاهرم '
از غایتِ ظهور عیانم بدید نیست '
گویم بهر زبان و بهر گوش بشنوم '
وین طرفه‌تر که گوش و زبانم بدید نیست '
چون هر چه هست در همه عالم همه منم '
مانند در دو عالم از آنم بدید نیست '

I am Love, for the which in these worlds there is found not a place:
The '*Anqá* am I of the West[2], who hath never a trace.

[1] *I.e.* through articulate and inarticulate creatures, through the organic and the inorganic.

[2] The true explanation of '*Anqá-yi-Mughrib* is doubtful. See Lane's *Arabic-English Lexicon*, *s.v.*

By my glance and my eyebrow the world I have captured, I trow,
Heed not that I do not possess either arrow or bow.
Revealed in the face of each atom am I, like the sun ;
So apparent am I that my form is apparent to none.
I speak with all tongues, and with every ear do I hear
Though, strange as it seems, I have neither a tongue nor an ear.
I am all that exists in all worlds, so 'tis patent and clear
That neither in this world nor that have I rival or peer.

FOREWORD.

Know that in each 'Flash' of these 'Flashes' some hint is given of that Reality which transcends differentiation, whether you call it Love or Attraction, since there is no dearth of words; and some suggestion is made as to the manner of its progress in diverse conditions and cycles, of its journey through the degrees of dissociation and establishment, of its manifestation in the form of ideas and realities, of its emergence in the garb of Beloved and Lover, and finally of the absorption of the Lover in the Beloved formally, of the inclusion of the Beloved in the Lover ideally, and of the comprehension of both together in the Majesty of its Unity. There divergences are reconciled, ruptures are made whole, the Light is concealed within the Light, and the Manifestation lies latent within the Manifestation, while from behind the pavilions of Glory is cried:

ألا كلّ شيءٍ ما خلا ٱلله باطل'

O, is not all save God hollow and vain?

The identity [of each] disappears [in the other], leaving neither sign nor trace, and they merge in God, the One, the All-compelling.

FIRST FLASH,

Setting forth the pre-existence of Love to both Beloved and Lover, and the manner of their production by it, which takes place in the First Differentiation ; and setting forth that wherein each stands in need of the other.

The derivation of both Lover and Beloved is from Love, which, in its Abode of Glory, is exempt from differentiation,

and, in the Sanctuary of its own Identity, is sanctified from inwardness and outwardness. Yea, in order to display its perfection, in such way as is identical with its Essence and [equally] identical with its Attributes, it shows itself to itself in the Mirror of Loverhood and Belovedness, and reveals its Beauty to its own Contemplation by means of the Seer and the Vision. Thus the names of Loverhood and Belovedness appeared, and the description of the Seeker and the Quest became manifest. It showed the Outward to the Inmost, and the Voice of Loverhood arose: it showed the Inmost to the Outward, and the name of Belovedness was made plain.

یك عینِ متّفق كه جز او ذرّهٔ نبود ،
چون گشت ظاهر این همه اغیار آمده ،
ای ظاهرِ تو عاشق و معشوق باطنت ،
مطلوب‌را كه دید طلبكار آمده ،

No atom doth exist apart from It, that Essence single:
'Tis when Itself it doth reveal that first those 'others' mingle.
O Thou whose outward seeming Lover is, Beloved thine Essence,
Who hitherto e'er saw the Object Sought seek its own presence?

Love, by way of Belovedness, became the Mirror of the Beauty of Loverhood, so that therein it might behold its own Essence, and by way of Loverhood the Mirror of Belovedness, so that therein it might contemplate its own Names and Attributes. Although but one object is beheld by the Eye of Contemplation, yet when one face appears in two mirrors, assuredly in each mirror a different face appears.

وَ مَا ٱلْوَجْهُ إِلَّا وَاحِدٌ غَيْرَ أَنَّهُ ، إِذَا أَنْتَ عَدَّدْتَ ٱلْمَرَايَا تَعَدَّدَا ،

The Face is only one, yet multiple
When thou in many mirrors see'st it.

غیری چگونه روی نماید چو هر چه هست ،
عینِ دگر یکیست پدیدار آمده ،

O how can 'Otherness' appear when whatsoe'er existeth here
In essence is that Other One becoming to our vision clear?"

Awḥadu'd-Dín of Kirmán

Shaykh Abú Ḥámid Awḥadu'd-Dín of Kirmán was, like 'Iráqí, a follower, and, indeed, as it would appear from the *Majma'u'l-Fuṣaḥá*[1], a personal friend or disciple of the great Shaykh Muḥiyyu'd-Dín ibnu'l-'Arabí, and had met (according to the same authority) that wild mystic Shams-i-Tabríz, the inspirer of Jalálu'd-Dín's *Mathnawí* and *Díwán*. He was also acquainted, as some assert, with Awḥadí of Maráǵha and with 'Iráqí himself, whom, in his heedlessness of appearances and passionate admiration of beauty, he somewhat resembles. Shaykh Shihábu'd-Dín, who, for chronological reasons, cannot be the famous Suhrawardí, strongly disapproved of him, called him a "heretical innovator," and refused to admit him to his presence, on hearing which Awḥadu'd-Dín recited the following Arabic verse[2]:

مَا سآءنى ذِكْرَاكَ لِى بمسبّةٍ ، بَلْ سَرَّنى أَنِّى خَطَرْتُ بِبَالِكَا

"I mind not that bad names thou dost me call:
I'm glad that thou shouldst mention me at all."

Jámí apologizes for him for "contemplating the Truth through the medium of its Manifestations in Phenomena, and beholding Absolute Beauty in finite forms," and adds that, being asked by Shams-i-Tabríz what he was doing, he replied, "I am contemplating the Moon in a bowl of water," meaning the Beauty of the Creator in the beauty of the creature; to which Shams-i-Tabríz replied, "Unless you are afflicted with a carbuncle on the back of your neck,

[1] See the Ṭihrán lithographed edition, vol. i, pp. 89–94, and Jámí's *Nafaḥát*, p. 685.

[2] See Jámí, *Nafaḥátu'l-Uns*, ed. Nassau Lees, pp. 684–689. This verse is ascribed by Badí'u'z-Zamán al-Hamadhání to a poet named Dumayna (*Rasá'il*, ed. Beyrout, 1890, p. 96 and n. 8 *ad calc.*). In its original form it was addressed to a woman and runs :—

لَئِنْ سَاءَنِى أَنْ نِلْتِنِى بِمَسَاءَةٍ ، لَقَدْ سَرَّنِى أَنِّى خَطَرْتُ بِبَالِكِ

why do you not look at the Moon in the sky?" Similarly Mawláná Jalálu'd-Dín Rúmí, being told that Awḥadu'd-Dín sought the society of the beautiful, but with purity of purpose, exclaimed, "Would rather that his desires had been carnal, and that he had outgrown them!" Awḥadu'd-Dín expresses his own point of view in the following quatrain:

زآن می نگرم بچشمِ سر در صورت،
زیرا که ز معنیست اثر در صورت،
این عالمِ صورت است و ما در صُوَریم،
معنی نتوان دید مگر در صورت،

"Therefore mine eyes insistent gaze on forms
Because the Idea itself displays in forms:
We live in forms; this World's the formal World:
The Idea we thus must needs appraise in forms."

Apart from a few quatrains cited in the *Nafaḥátu'l-Uns* of Jámí, the *Majma'u'l-Fuṣaḥá* of Riḍá-qulí Khán, and other biographical works, Awḥadu'd-Dín seems to have left little save a *mathnawí* poem entitled "The Lamp of Spirits" (*Miṣbáḥu'l-Arwáḥ*), from which long extracts are given in the *Majma'u'l-Fuṣaḥá* and the following eight couplets in the *Nafaḥát* (pp. 688–9):

تا جنبشِ دست هست مادام، سایه متحرّك است ناكام،
چون سایه ز دست یافت مایه، پس نیست خود اندر اصل سایه،
چیزی كه وجودِ او بخود نیست، هستیش نهادن از خرد نیست،
هست است و لیك هستِ مطلق، نزدیك حكیم نیست جز حق،
هستی كه بحق قوام دارد، او نیست ولیك نام دارد،
بر نقشِ خود است فتنه نقّاش،
كس نیست درین میان تو خوش باش،
خود گفت حقیقت و خود اشنید،
و آن روی كه خود نمود خود دید،
پس باد یقین كه نیست والله، موجود حقیقئی سِوَی الله،

"While the hand moves, the shadow moveth too:
What else, indeed, can the poor shadow do?
'Tis but the hand which makes the shadow fall,
The shadow, then, no substance hath at all.
To call 'existent' what no Being hath,
Save through another, is not Wisdom's Path.
Absolute Being only wise men call
Being, and naught save God exists at all.
That which existent but through God became
IS NOT in truth, but only IS in name.
And yet the Artist loves His work, 'tis clear;
There's none but He, so be thou of good cheer.
Himself at once the Truth doth hear and tell
The Face He shows He doth perceive as well,
Know, then, by Allah, for a certainty
That nothing else existence hath save He."

Awḥadí of Marágha

Mention should also be made of Awḥadu'd-Dín's disciple, Awḥadí of Marágha, also called of Iṣfahán, because, though a native of the former place, he passed a considerable portion of his life and died at the latter[1]. Little seems to be known to the biographers of his circumstances, but the prevalent opinion is that he died in 738/1337–8. His chief poem is an imitation of the *Ḥadíqa* of Saná'í entitled *Jám-i-Jam* (the "Cup of Jamshíd," also known as the "World-displaying Glass"), of which copious extracts are given by the biographers, and of which I possess a good manuscript[2]. Dawlatsháh, followed by the *Haft Iqlím*, states that this poem was so popular that within a month of its production four hundred copies of it were made and sold at a good price, but adds that in his time (892/1487) it was seldom met with and little read. This seems to have been the only *mathnawí* poem he wrote, but he also left a *díwán*, estimated by Riḍá-qulí Khán, the author of the *Majma'u'l-Fuṣaḥá*, to contain six or seven thousand

[1] See my edition of Dawlatsháh, pp. 210–215; *Majma'u'l-Fuṣaḥá*, vol. ii, pp. 94–98; *Haft Iqlím*, under *Iṣfahán*, etc. Jámí, however, (*Nafaḥát*, p. 707) reverses the *rôles* of these two cities.

[2] Dated 916/1510–11. The text comprises about 4500 couplets.

verses[1], including *qaṣídas* and quatrains, of which a selection is given by the biographers. The following may serve as examples of his style :

(Part of a *qaṣída* taken from the *Haft Iqlím*).

چند زین ریش وجُبّه و دستار، دوست آن دوست گیر و دست بدار،
دردِ دل کن بجنبش و حرکت، قُوتِ جان ساز در سکون و قرار،
رنگ و بوی خود از میان بر گیر، تا ترا تنگ در کشد بکنار،
تا نگردی شکسته کی بینی، بدُرُستی جمالِ آن رخسار،
آنچه گوید اگر توانی کرد، هرچه گوئی توان کند ناچار،
خویشت او بس ز دیگران بگذر، چون مجرّد شوی ز خویش و تبار،
چون ز خود رستهٔ ز خود برپُرس، که خدا کیست ای خدا آزار،
از تو این ما و من که میگوید، با تو این نیك و بد که داد قرار،
گر کسی دیگرست بازش جوی، ور توئی چیست زحمتِ اغیار،
هست فرقی میان دیدن و وصل، نیست زرقی مرا درین گفتار،
وصل و دیدار گر یکی بودی، دیده خونین شدی ز دیدن خار،
ساغری داده ات مریز و بنوش، دیگری میدهم بگیر و بدار،
جز یکی نیست صورتِ خواجه، کثرت از آئینه است و آئینه دار،
سکّهٔ شاه و نقشِ سکّه یکیست، عدد از درهم است وز دینار،
از یکی آب نقش می بندد، بر سرِ گلبن ار گلست ار خار،
از یکی آفتاب گیرد رنگ، خواه نارنج گوی و خواهی نار،
نقطهٔرا هزار دائره است، گر قدم پیشتر نهد پرکار،
همه عالم نشانِ صورتِ اوست، باز جوئید یا اولو الابصار،
همه تسبیح او همی گویند، ریگ در دشت و سنگ بر کُهسار،

"How long wilt pride in beard and turban take?
That Friend adopt as friend : all else forsake.
With stir and movement fill thy heart with pain :

[1] Dawlatsháh (p. 210 of my edition) says 10,000.

The soul in rest and quiet strength doth gain.
All scent and hue of self do thou efface,
That HE may clasp thee tight in HIS embrace.
Till thou art contrite vainly shalt thou seek
In truth the beauty of that lovely cheek.
If thou canst do what He enjoins on thee
He'll do what thou dost ask assuredly.
He's kin enough : all else forsake forthwith :
When wilt thou free thyself from kin and kith?
Ask of thyself, when from thyself set free,
God-vexer, where and who thy God may be?
Who is't in thee who speaks of 'us' and 'me'?
Who fixed the evil and the good for thee?
If there are 'others,' prithee point them out :
Art thou alone? Then wherefore 'others' flout?
To be united is not as to see :
In this my speech is no hypocrisy.
Were sight and union one in fact and deed
The eye on looking at the thorn would bleed.
A cup he gives thee : spill not, drink it up !
Hold fast when I bestow another cup !
One is the Master's Face : pluralities
From Mirror and from Mirror-holder rise.
One the King's portrait and the coining-die :
Numbers in gold and silver coinage lie.
One sap supplies the flower which doth adorn
The rose-bush, and the sharp and cruel thorn.
Orange and fire alike[1] their hue derive
From that life-giving sun whereon they thrive.
A thousand circles issue from the point
What time the compass doth enlarge its joint.
The world entire reveals His Vision bright :
Seek it, O ye who are endowed with sight :
All things His praises hymn in voices still,
Sand in the plain and rocks upon the hill."

The following fragment is possessed of some beauty, but is imitated from one of Sa'dí's[2].

ای رنج ناکشیده که میراث میخوری'

بنگر که کیستی تو و مالِ که میبری'

[1] Or "Orange and pomegranate," for *nár* has both meanings.

[2] See the Calcutta edition of 1795, vol. ii, ff. 238[a]–239[b].

او جمع کرد چون بنمی خورد ازو بماند‘
در یاب کز تو باز بماند چو بگذری‘
زر غولِ مرد باشد و زن غُلِّ گردنش‘
در غُلّ و غول باشی تا با زن و زری‘
فرزند بنده است خدارا غمش مخور‘
تو آن نه‌ٔ که به ز خدا بنده پروری‘
گردِ هوا مگرد که گردد وبالِ تو‘
گر خود ببالِ جعفر طیّار می پری‘
دریای فتنه این هوس و آرزوی تست‘
در موجِ او مرَو چو نداری شناوری‘
این شست و شوی جُبّه و دستار تا بکی‘
دست از جهان بشوی که این است گاذری‘
هرگز نباشدت ببدِ دیگران نظر‘
در فعلِ خویشتن تو اگر نیك بنگری‘
گفتار اوحدی نبود بی حقیقتی‘
قولش قبول کن که باقبال ره بری‘

“Think O thou who dost inherit, yet didst labour ne’er,
Who was he whose wealth was thine, and who art thou, the heir?
He amassed but did not spend it, so ’twas left behind:
Use it well, that when thou flittest, others good may find.
Gold a goblin is, and woman for the neck a chain:
Chained and goblin-haunted’s he who greatly loves the twain.
Over-anxious for thy offspring be not, for the Lord
Knoweth better than the servant how to guard his ward.
Dally not with lust and passion, which do curses bring,
Curses which thou shalt not ’scape with Flying Ja‘far’s[1] wing.
This thy lust and this thy craving are a sea of strife:

[1] *I.e.* Ja‘far ibn Abí Ṭálib, the Prophet’s cousin, who was killed by the Romans in the Battle of Mú’ta (September, A.D. 629), and of whom the Prophet said, “I saw Ja‘far yesterday in a group of the angels, having two wings whereof the pinions were stained with blood.” (Ibnu’l-Athír, ed. Tornberg, vol. ii, p. 181). Hence he was called the “Winged (or “Flying”) Martyr.” (Muir’s *Life of Mahomet*, new and abridged edition of 1828, p. 410 *ad calc.*)

Canst thou swim not? Wherefore venture in the waves thy life?
Washing of the coat and turban naught can profit you:
Wash thy hands of worldly longings: this is washing true!
On the evil wrought by others never wilt thou dwell
If upon the deeds thou doest thou shouldst ponder well.
Truth there lacks not in the sayings Awḥadí doth say:
He who hearkens to his counsel wins to Fortune's way!"

The following ode is another favourable specimen of Awḥadí's work:

بسکه بعد از تو خزانی و بهاری باشد،
شام و صُبح آید و لیلی و نهاری باشد،
دل نگه دار که بر شاهدِ دنیا ننهی،
کین نه یاریست که اورا غمِ یاری باشد،
تو که امروز چو گژدم همه‌را نیش زنی،
مؤنسِ گورِ تو ننگ است که ماری باشد،
یك دلِ سوخته بنواز که کاریست عظیم،
ورنه آزار دلِ خلق چه کاری باشد،
خاکسارانِ جهان‌را بحقارت منگر،
تو چه دانی که درین گَرْد سواری باشد،

"Many a Spring shall Autumn follow when thou'rt passed away;
Many an evening, many a morning, many a night and day.
To the World thy heart incline not, though it seemeth fair;
Deem it not a faithful friend who for its friends doth care.
Thou to-day who like a scorpion everyone dost sting,
Snakes shall be thy tomb's companions, shame to thee shall bring.
Comfort some afflicted spirit; that is worth thy while;
Else to vex thy fellows' spirits easy is and vile.
Look not on earth's humble dwellers with a glance so proud:
Knowing not what Knight is hidden midst the dusty cloud."

The following fragment must conclude our citations from Awḥadí:

زنهار خوارگان‌را زنهار خوار دار،
پیوندِ عهدشان همه نا استوار دار،

فخری که از وسیلتِ دونی رسد بتو'
گر نام و ننگ داری از آن فخر عار دار'
چون جامِ دولتت بکفِ دست بر نهند'
در کاسهٔ نخست نظر بر خُمار دار'
بد مهر بُخْتی است سراسیمه نفسِ تو'
اورا که با تو گفت چنین بی مهار دار'

"These suppliant suitors hold in slight esteem ;
Hold thou their vows as frailer than a dream.
Honours which meanness winneth for thy name
Regard, if honour toucheth thee, as shame.
When Fortune's cup into your hands doth pass
Think of the headache as you raise the glass.
Like ill-bred camel seems thy restive soul;
Put on the leading-rein or lose control!"

Maḥmúd-i-Shabistarí

The village of Shabistar (or Chabistar) near Tabríz, in Ádharbáyján, gave birth about the middle of the thirteenth century of the Christian era (seventh of the *hijra*) to another notable mystic, Sa'du'd-Dín Maḥmúd, generally called, after his native place, Shabistarí. Little is known of his life, which seems to have been passed quietly, and, so far as those stirring times allowed, uneventfully, at or near Tabríz, where he died about 720/1320. He was by no means a voluminous writer, but his *Gulshan-i-Ráz*, or "Rose-Garden of Mystery," a *mathnawí* containing about one thousand couplets, is one of the best and most compendious manuals of the mystical doctrine of the Ṣúfís, and enjoys even at the present day a high reputation. It has been edited with a translation, Introduction, and valuable notes, by Mr E. Whinfield[1], who gives in his Introduction the few particulars known about the author and the history of the poem. This attracted the attention of European travellers as early as A.D. 1700, reached certain Western libraries during the succeeding

[1] Published by Trübner, London, 1880.

century, was utilized by Dr Tholuck in his *Ssufismus* in 1821 and was partly translated into German by the same writer in his *Blüthensammlung aus der Morgenländischen Mystik* in 1825, and was edited with a complete versified translation in German by Hammer-Purgstall in 1838. The poem was composed, as the poet himself informs us, in the month of Shawwál, 710 (Feb.–March, 1311) in reply to a series of fifteen questions on mystical doctrine propounded by an enquirer from Khurásán named Amír Ḥusayní. These questions, which are included in the poem, are briefly as follows:

The fifteen questions answered in the *Gulshan-i-Ráz*

(1) As to the nature of thought.

(2) Why is thought sometimes a sin, sometimes a duty, and what sort of thought is incumbent on the mystic?

(3) What am "I"? What is meant by "travelling into one's self"?

(4) What is meant by "the Pilgrim," and what by "the Perfect Man"?

(5) Who is the Gnostic (*'Árif*) who attains to the Secret of Unity?

(6) "If Knower and Known are one pure Essence,
What are the inspirations in this handful of dust?"

(7) "To what Point belongs the expression, 'I am the Truth'?"

(8) "Why call they a creature 'united'?
How can he achieve 'travelling' and 'journey'?"

(9) "What is the union of 'Necessary' and 'Contingent'?
What are 'near' and 'far,' 'more' and 'less'?"

(10) "What is that Sea whose shore is speech?
What is that pearl which is found in its depths?"

(11) "What is that Part which is greater than its Whole?
What is the way to find that Part?"

(12) "How are Eternal and Temporal separate?
Is this one the World and the other God?"

(13) "What means the mystic by those [allegorical] expressions of his?

What does he indicate by 'eye' and 'lip'?
What does he intend by 'cheek,' 'curl,' 'down' and 'mole'?
(He, to wit, who is in 'Stations' and 'States.')"

(14) "What meaning attaches to 'Wine,' 'Torch' and 'Beauty'?
What is assumed in being a haunter of Taverns?"

(15) "Idols, girdles and Christianity in this discourse
Are all infidelity; if not, say what are they?"

The book contains not only the answers to these questions, but a number of incidental illustrations, parables and digressions, and is on the whole one of the best manuals of Ṣúfí Theosophy which exist, especially when taken in conjunction with the excellent commentary of 'Abdu'r-Razzáq al-Láhijí.

Since the whole of this work is accessible to the English reader in Whinfield's excellent translation, the following short specimen may suffice here:

Question X.

From the *Gulshan-i-Ráz*

"What Sea is that whereof the shore is speech?
What pearl from out its depths our hands can reach?"

Answer X.

"The Sea is Being; speech its shore; the shell
Words, and its pearls Heart's Wisdom, wot thee well.
Each wave a thousand royal pearls doth pour
Of text, tradition and prophetic lore.
Each moment thence a thousand waves are tossed,
Yet ne'er a drop therefrom is ever lost.
Knowledge is gathered from that Sea profound:
Its pearls enveloped are in words and sound.
Ideas and mysteries descending here
Need some similitude to make them clear."

Illustration.

"In April's month, thus was it told to me,
The oysters upwards float in 'Ummán's sea.
Up from the depths unto the Ocean's brim
Ascending open-mouthed they shorewards swim.

Mists from the sea arise and veil the land,
And then in rain dissolve by God's command.
Into each oyster-mouth a rain-drop creeps :
The shell doth close, and sinketh to the deeps.
With heart fulfilled it sinketh down again ;
A pearl is formed from every drop of rain.
Into the depths himself the Diver hurls,
And to the shore brings back the lustrous pearls.
Being's the sea: the shore our human frames:
God's Grace the mist : the rain God's Holy Names :
Wisdom's the diver in this mighty deep,
Who 'neath his cloak a hundred pearls doth keep.
The Heart's the vase wherein is Wisdom found:
Heart's wisdom's shell the letters, words and sound.
The moving breath like lightning doth appear,
And thence words fall upon the hearer's ear.
Break, then, the shell: bring forth the royal pearl :
The kernel keep : the husk on ash-heap hurl.
Lexicon, grammar and philology
All these mere accidents of letters be.
Whoe'er on things like these his life doth spend
Doth waste his life without an aim or end."

Shaykh Maḥmúd Shabistarí cannot, like so many Persian poets, be charged with writing too much, for the *Gulshan-i-Ráz* is, so far as I know, his only poem, while his only other works are the *Ḥaqqu'l-Yaqín* ("Certain Truth"), and the *Risála-i-Sháhid* ("Tract of the Witness"). The former is fairly common, and has been lithographed at Ṭihrán with other Ṣúfí tracts: the latter I have never met with. The full title of the better-known treatise is "Certain truth on the Knowledge of the Lord of the Worlds," and it contains eight chapters, corresponding with the eight Gates of Paradise, and dealing with the following topics :

(1) The Manifestation of the Divine Essence.

(2) The Manifestation of the Divine Attributes, and the Station of Knowledge.

(3) The Manifestation of the Degrees thereof, and the explanation of the Origin.

(4) On the Necessity of the Divine Unity.

(5) On Contingent Being and Plurality.

(6) On Differentiation of movement, and the continual renovation of Differentiations.

(7) On the Philosophy of obligation, compulsion, predestination and conduct.

(8) Explaining the Return and the Resurrection, and Annihilation and Permanence.

Rabí'í of Búshanj

The poet Rabí'í of Búshanj, the panegyrist of Fakhru'd-Dín Kurt of Herát, is little known, but a long notice of him is given in that rare and valuable work the *Mujmal* ("Compendium") of Faṣíḥí of Khwáf[1], under the year 702/1399–1400 in which he was put to death. He was a great drinker of wine, while Fakhru'd-Dín was addicted to *bang*; a fact to which reference is made in these two quatrains:

هرگه که من از سبز طربناك شوم،
شایستهٔ سبز خنگِ افلاك شوم،
با سبز خطان سبز خورم بر سبزه،
زان پیش که همچو سبزه در خاك شوم،

"When I wax cheerful with the green-hued seed[2]
I'm ready to bestride the heaven's green steed;
With verdant youths on lawns the green[2] I eat
Ere like the grass the earth on me shall feed."

میخواره اگر غنی بود عور شود، وز عربده‌اش جهان پر از شور شود،
در حُقّهٔ لعل ازان زمرّد ریزم، تا دیدهٔ افعیِ غمم کور شود،

"The toper, e'en if rich, is harshly blamed,
While by his rioting the world's inflamed.

[1] The MS. which I have used formerly belonged to Colonel Raverty, and was bought by the trustees of the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Fund" on his death. A second MS., now in my possession, is from the Library of the late Sir Albert Houtum-Schindler. There is a third MS. at St Petersburg. There is, unfortunately, a large lacuna comprising the years A.H. 718–840 (A.D. 1318–1436) in the Raverty MS.

[2] *I.e.* Indian hemp (*Cannabis Indica*) or *bang*, the green colour of which is also alluded to in its nicknames *Áqá-yi-Sayyid* ("Master Sayyid") and *Ṭúti-yi-Sabz* (the "Green Parrot").

In ruby casket emeralds I pour[1],
And blinding snake-eyed sorrow, grieve no more."

While in prison Rabí'í composed a poem called the *Kár-náma* ("Book of Deeds") and other poems, wherein he sought but failed to move the King's pity. Of these some seventy couplets are cited in the *Mujmal* of Faṣíḥí, of which the following may serve as specimens:

(From the *Kár-náma*.)

شاهِ جهان خسروِ روی زمین ' وارثِ جمشید مَلِك فخرِ دین '
داشت یکی بندِ گران ساخته ' ز آهن و فولاد بپرداخته '
کرد مرا بسته بدان بند پای ' سر مکش از خواهشِ گیهان خدای '
آن دگران‌را همه آزاد کرد ' چرخ فلك بین که چه بیداد کرد '
من شده پس بستهٔ بند گران ' راست چو کاوس بمازندران '
بار غمی بر دل و بر پای بند ' با همه غم همنفسم تا بچند '
جانِ من از صحبتشان در غریو ' بُلْعجبی چند نه مردم نه دیو '
یك دل از ایشان بجهان شاد نه ' چون دلشان آهن و پولاد نه '
دیو یکی مسخره در گردشان ' خرس یکی لت خوره شاگردشان '
عادتشان بستن و آویختن ' خصلتشان کُشْتن و خون ریختن '
کار همه عمر برون کوب و زور ' روی همه سال بخیسار و غور '
کوه روانند نبرد آزمای ' کوه روانند بصُنعِ خدای '
ده تن ازین قوم نگهبانِ من ' وای برین حالِ پریشانِ من '

"The Empire's Lord, King of these realms so fair,
Prince Fakhru'd-Dín the Kurt, great Jamshíd's heir,
Had fetters fashioned for the culprit's heel
Most strongly wrought of iron and of steel.
Therewith my feet they bound by his command:
Bow to the will of him who rules the land!
The other captives all he did set free:
Of Heaven's wheel behold the tyranny!

[1] This seems to point to the smoking of hemp, the hemp being compared to the emerald and the fiery pipe-bowl to the ruby casket.

Thus I myself in grievous fetters found,
As Ká'ús in Mázandarán was bound.
With feet in fetters, heart weighed down with care,
How long shall I in every sorrow share?
Nor men nor demons are my comrades here:
My soul cries out at such companions drear.
No heart on earth through them doth gladness feel:
Hard as their hearts no iron is, nor steel.
The Devil's but a joke when they are there;
Their pupil, only fit for blows, the bear.
Their custom is to hang, torment and bind;
Bloodshed and slaughter occupy their mind.
Their life-long work is outrage, curse and blow:
To Khaysár[1] and to Ghúr each year they go.
They're highland robbers all, in battle proved,
Themselves like mountains which God's power hath moved.
Ten of these wretches now control my fate:
Alas for my condition desolate!"

In another *qaṣída*, composed during his imprisonment, the poet says that he was thirty-one years of age at the time of writing, and that of this period he had spent seventeen years in the King's service and fourteen in the Holy Sanctuaries (Mecca and Medína):

سی و یك رفت ز عمرم غرض از حرمتان
هفده در خدمتِ تو چارده در بیت حرم

A third poem in the same strain and composed under the same conditions (a *mathnawí* in this case) is also recorded in the *Mujmal*, but all appeals were unavailing, and the unfortunate poet died in prison, none knows in what manner.

Humám of Tabríz

Humámu'd-Dín of Tabríz is another poet of this period who merits a brief mention. According to the *Mujmal* he died in 714/1314, at the age of 116, while a well-known anecdote[2] brings him into

[1] Khaysár is a fortress in Khurásán, not far from Herát (Yáqút, vol. ii, p. 507); and Ghúr a mountainous district in Afghánistán. Perhaps, like Kalát-i-Nádirí at the present day, they were formerly used as penal settlements.

[2] See Sir Gore Ouseley's *Biographical Notices of Persian Poets* (London, 1846), pp. 14–15.

contact with the great Sa'dí (died 690/1291), with whom he engaged in a wordy duel, not conspicuous for refinement, in which he was signally worsted. No other particulars of his life are known to me, except that he also was one of the panegyrists of the *Ṣáḥib Díwán*[1]. The following specimens of his verse (which is said to have been greatly influenced by that of Sa'dí) are taken from the *Haft Iqlím*.

در آن نفس که بمیرم در آرزوی تو باشم،
بدان امید دهم جان که خاکِ کوی تو باشم،
بوقتِ صبحِ قیامت چو سر ز خواب بر آرم،
بآرزوی تو خیزم بجُسْت و جوی تو باشم،
حدیثِ روضه نگویم گلِ بهشت نبویم،
بسوی حور نپویم در آرزوی تو باشم،

"On the day of life's surrender I shall die desiring Thee :
I shall yield my Spirit craving of thy street the dust to be.
On the Resurrection Morning, when I raise my head from sleep,
I shall rise desiring Thee, and forth to seek for Thee shall creep.
I will smell not blooms of Eden, nor of Heavenly Gardens speak,
Nor, desiring Thee alone, shall I Celestial Houris seek."

وداعِ یار و دیارم چو بگذرد بخیال،
شود منازلم از آبِ دیده مالامال،
فراق‌را نَفَسی چون هزار سال بود،
ببین که چون گذرد روز و هفته و مه و سال،

"When the parting from country and friends to my vision appears
The stages I tread are fulfilled with the flood of my tears.
In parting one moment, one breath like ten centuries seems :
How weary the days and the weeks and the months and the years!"

قیامت دیدم آن روزِ جدائی، چه بودی گر نبودی آشنائی،
غنیمت دان حضورِ دوستان‌را، که دوران می نماید بیوفائی،

[1] See p. 1 of the English introduction to Part I of Juwaynī's *Ta'ríkh-i-Jahán-gushá*, edited by Mírzá Muḥammad ("E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series," vol. xvi, 1).

"That day of parting seemed the Day of Doom :
How were it if our friendship had been less?
Make much, then, of your friends while they are here,
For this false sphere is fraught with faithlessness."

شد دوش بـرِ یـار حکایت آغاز‘ از هر بُنِ موئیم بـر آمد آواز‘
شب رفت حدیثِ ما بپایان نرسید‘ شب‌را چه گنه قصّهٔ ما بود دراز‘

"Last night to tell my tale I did prepare
Unto my Friend, and forth from every hair
Flowed speech. Night passed, unended was my song ;
Blame not the night ; the tale was over-long !"

Other poets of this period

A good many other poets of this period, such as Afḍal-i-Káshí, Athír-i-Awmání, Sayfu'd-Dín-i-Isfarangí, Rafí'u'd-Dín-i-Abharí, Faríd-i-Aḥwal ("the squint-eyed") and Nizárí of Quhistán might be mentioned, did space allow, but as in most cases their works are inaccessible to me save in the brief extracts given by the biographers, it has seemed better to pass them over for the present. Of the last-named, however, a few words must be said, for a MS. of his poems (**Or. 7909**) has been acquired by the British Museum since the publication of the *Supplement to the Persian Catalogue*, and of this MS. a transcript was made for me in the autumn of 1913 by an Indian copyist, Mawlawí Isma'íl 'Alí. This transcript I desired because of the strong probability that Nizárí belonged to the sect of the Isma'ílís, Maláḥida, or Assassins, and I hoped that his poems might afford proof of this fact, and perhaps reveal a genius comparable to that of the one great Isma'ílí poet hitherto known, Náṣir-i-Khusraw[1]. That Nizárí of Quhistán belonged to the Isma'ílí sect is not merely suggested by his pen-name and place of origin, but is asserted or hinted at by most of the biographers. On the death of al-Mustanṣir, the eighth Fáṭimid or Isma'ílí Caliph (A.D. 1035–1094), there ensued a struggle for the succession between his two sons al-Musta'lí and Nizár[2], in which the latter lost his life and

Nizárí of Quhistán

[1] See vol. ii of my *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, pp. 218–247.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 199, 201, 203, 204, 206, *etc.*

his throne, but continued to be regarded by the Eastern or Persian Isma'ílís (including the derived Syrian branch) as the legitimate Imám. It was from him, no doubt, that the poet took his *nom de guerre*, for the other suggestion, that it was derived from the Persian adjective *nizár* ("thin," "weak") is quite untenable. Quhistán, moreover, was a stronghold of the Assassins[1], especially the towns of Qáyin and Birjand to which he particularly alludes in one of his poems, where he says :

نشسته بر سرِ گنجینهٔ خویش، اگر در بیرجندم ور بقایِن،
نزاری بعد ازین آزاد و فارغ، توئی و گنجِ فقر و کُنجِ ایمن،

"I am seated over my treasure, whether I be in Birjand or Qáyin ;
O Nizárí, henceforth, free and untroubled, thou hast the treasure of poverty and a safe corner."

The MS. of Nizárí's poems alluded to above contains only *ghazals* or odes, and these, though spirited enough, appear for the most part to be of the usual Bacchanalian type, and to give little or no indication of the poet's religious views or general circumstances. It is in *qaṣídas* and *mathnawís* that such indications are generally to be found, and, unfortunately, neither of these classes of poems are represented in the MS. in question. According to Sprenger[2], Nizárí died in 720/1320, and left two *mathnawís*, one of which, entitled *Dastúr-náma*, he describes as "very witty and amusing," but I have never seen it. Nizárí's writings would probably repay further study.

Sultán Walad (or Veled) and his *Rabáb-náma*

In conclusion a few words must be said about Sulṭán Walad (or Veled, according to the Turkish pronunciation), the son and ultimately the spiritual successor of the great Mawláná Jalálu'd-Dín Rúmí. He was born in Asia Minor at Láranda (the modern Qaramán) in 623/1226 when his father was only nineteen years of age, and his proper name was Bahá'u'd-Dín Aḥmad.

[1] See G. le Strange's *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, pp. 354–5.
[2] *Catalogue of the Library of the King of Oude*, vol. i, p. 524.

His best-known work is a *mathnawí* poem, entitled *Rabáb-náma* (the "Book of the Rebeck"), which, though mostly written in Persian, contains 156 verses in Turkish, which Gibb describes as "the earliest important specimen of West-Turkish poetry that we possess." These archaic verses have attracted the attention of Von Hammer, Wickerhauser, Bernhauer, Fleischer, Salemann[1] and Radloff, and Gibb has very fully discussed them and their author in the first volume of his great *History of Ottoman Poetry*, pp. 149–163. "To Sultán Veled," he says (*loc. cit.*, pp. 156–7), "belongs not only the honour due to the pioneer in every good work, but the credit which is justly his who successfully accomplishes an arduous enterprise. To have inaugurated the poetry of a nation is an achievement of which any man might be proud." Thus even so great an admirer of Turkish poetry as Gibb is constrained to admit that it chiefly owes its inception to a Persian, and is in fact, in a sense, a branch of Persian poetry, to which for five centuries and a half (A.D. 1300–1850) it owed its inspiration. At all events the rise of both the Ottoman State and Turkish literature belong to the period which we have discussed in this and the preceding chapters, and henceforth it will be necessary to allude to both with increasing frequency.

[1] For references see Gibb's *Hist. of Ottoman Poetry*, vol. i, p. 157 *ad calc.* Radloff's article, which he does not mention, is entitled *Über Alt-Türkische Dialekte.* i. *Die Seldschukischen Verse im Rebâbnâmeh.* It was published in 1890 in vol. x, Livraison 1, of the *Mélanges Asiatiques* at St Petersburg.

BOOK II.

FROM THE BIRTH TO THE DEATH OF TÍMÚR-I-LANG, COMMONLY CALLED TAMERLANE.

(A.H. 736–807 = A.D. 1335–1405.)

CHAPTER IV.

THE PERIOD OF TÍMÚR.

Definition of the period about to be considered

The power of the Mongols in Persia practically came to an end on the death of Abú Sa'íd (13 Rabí' II, A.H. 736 = Nov. 30, 1335), and some eight months later in the same year of the *hijra* (Shá'bán 25 = April 8, 1336) was born Tímúr, called *Lang* ("the limping"), and generally known in the West as "Tamerlane," who was destined to become in his turn almost as great a scourge to the Muslims of Western and Central Asia as Chingíz Khán. The approximate coincidence of the death of the last great Mongol ruler of Persia with the birth of this new organizer of Tartar depredations has been remarked by the author of the *Maṭla'u's-Sa'dayn*[1], and makes this date a convenient starting-point for the period of seventy years which we are now about to consider; a period which, in spite of the anarchy wherewith it began and the bloodshed wherewith it ended, is remarkable alike for the quantity and the quality of the poets and writers which it produced.

Eminent writers of this period

Of the former were Salmán of Sáwa, Khwájú of Kirmán, 'Ubayd-i-Zákání, 'Imád of Kirmán, 'Aṣṣár of Tabríz, the two Jaláls, known respectively as 'Aḍudí and *Ṭabíb* ("the physician"), Kamál of Khujand, Maghribí, Bushaq, Ibn-i-Yamín, and last but not least the incomparable Ḥáfiẓ of Shíráz; of the latter were the historians of Tímúr, Niẓám-i-Shámí and Sharafu'd-Dín 'Alí Yazdí, and Mu'ínu'd-Dín Yazdí, the historian of the House of Muẓaffar which perished at Tímúr's hands, not to mention others who, though Persians, wrote chiefly in Arabic, such as the Sayyid-i-Sharíf of Jurján, Sa'du'd-Dín Taftázání, and 'Aḍudu'd-Dín al-Íjí.

[1] See Rieu's *Persian Catalogue*, p. 182.

Tímúr's three invasions of Persia

Tímúr's first invasion of Persia took place in A.D. 1380, when he subdued Khurásán, Sístán and Mázandarán; his second in A.D. 1384–5, when he again invaded Mázandarán and extended his operations into Ádharbáyján, 'Iráq-i-'Ajam and Georgia, finishing up with the subjugation of Shíráz and a massacre of 70,000 persons at Iṣfahán; and his third and last in A.D. 1392, when he again subdued Fárs and extirpated the Muẓaffarí dynasty, having already destroyed the Sarbadárs of Sabzawár (in 1381) and the Kurts of Herát (in 1389). During the 45 years succeeding Tímúr's birth and Abú Sa'íd's death (A.D. 1335–1380) Persia was, however, left to its own devices, and was divided between four or five petty dynasties, of which the Muẓaffarís, ruling over Fárs, 'Iráq-i-'Ajam and Kirmán, were the most important; then the Jalá'irs (or Íl-khánís) of Baghdád and Ádharbáyján; and lastly the Sarbadárs of Sabzawár and the Kurts of Herát, both in the North-East. The history of these dynasties is very intricate, and, perhaps, hardly worth a detailed study; while the territories over which each held control were indeterminate, and their frontiers (if such existed) constantly shifting, and often—indeed generally—civil war prevailed between members of the same dynasty, and their heritage was divided amongst rival brothers or cousins.

The minor dynasties destroyed by Tímúr

Persian literature most flourishing in troubled times

What is remarkable, however, is that it is precisely during such periods of anarchy and division of power that Persian literature has flourished most; so that, for example, while a dozen first-class poets lived in the brief period of 45 years now under discussion, the whole Ṣafawí period, which in all lasted 234 years (A.D. 1502–1736), and in which Persia reached a degree of power, splendour and consolidation unequalled in modern times, hardly produced half that number of poets of more than local fame, though arts flourished and theology reached its zenith. The cause of this curious phenomenon will be further discussed when we come to speak of the Ṣafawí period; but it would seem that the

existence of numerous small courts, rivals to one another, and each striving to outshine the others, was singularly favourable to the encouragement of poets and other men of letters, who, if disappointed or slighted in one city, could generally find in another a more favourable reception.

Before speaking of Tímúr, then, it is necessary to give some account of the petty dynasties which flourished in Persia during this half-century's interregnum. Of these the Muẓaffarís were the most important, both on account of the position and extent of their realms, and by reason of the eminent poets—notably Ḥáfiẓ of Shíráz—who frequented their courts. Next to them we may place the Jalá'ir or Íl-khání princes who ruled over Baghdád and Tabríz as the direct heirs of the shrunken Mongol power, and under whose ægis likewise many eminent poets flourished. The Sarbadárs (or Sarbadáls) of Sabzawár seem to have held sway over a very restricted territory, and were in fact (as their name, "Head-on-the-gallows," implies) little better than successful outlaws and highway-robbers; while the Kurts of Herát, though more civilized, greater patrons of letters, and more stable in character (they ruled for 144 years, from A.D. 1245 to 1389), were established in a domain which is no longer included in Persia, but now forms part of Afghánistán, and were themselves, perhaps, of Afghán or semi-Afghán descent. Of each of these dynasties some brief account must now be given.

Muẓaffarís

Jalá'irs or Il-khánís

Sarbadárs

Kurts

The Muẓaffarís.

Apart from the general histories, such as the *Rawḍatu's-Ṣafá*, with which every student of Persian is familiar, there exists a monograph on the House of Muẓaffar by a contemporary scholar of some repute, Mu'ínu'd-Dín of Yazd, who was made professor at one of the colleges of Kirmán in 755/1354. This history exists only in manuscript[1], and I have been able to consult

Authorities for history of Muẓaffarís

[1] See Rieu's *Persian Cat.*, p. 168, and *Persian Suppl.*, p. 33.

it in an old copy belonging to the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge[1], dated 778/1376–7, and, since January, 1917, in two MSS., one written in the author's life-time, from the library of the late Sir A. Houtum-Schindler. It comes down only to the year 767/1365–6, and so omits the last thirty years of the dynasty; and it is, moreover, written in a very stilted and artificial style. So difficult, indeed, was it that a certain Maḥmúd Kutbí, while engaged in transcribing the *Ta'ríkh-i-Guzída* in 823/1420, thought good to add to that history an independent account of the Muẓaffarí dynasty from his own pen. This account is contained in the *fac-simile* of an old MS. of the *Guzída* published in the Gibb Memorial Series (vol. xiv, 1, pp. 613–755)[2], and carries the history of the dynasty down to its extinction in Rajab, 795 (May, 1393). This, and the account contained in the modern *Fárs-náma-i-Náṣirí*[3] of Ḥájjí Mírzá Ḥasan (pp. 49–66), have been chiefly used in compiling the following brief account of the dynasty, but I should like also to acknowledge my indebtedness to an excellent and most readable sketch of its history contained in the Introduction to Miss Gertrude Lowthian Bell's *Poems from the Divan of Hafiz*[4] (pp. 8–28).

Origin of the Muẓaffarí Dynasty

The ancestors of the House of Muẓaffar are said to have come to Persia from Arabia in the early days of the Muhammadan conquest, and to have settled near Khwáf in Khurásán, whence Amír Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Ḥájji Khurásání, the grandfather of Mubárizu'd-Dín Muḥammad, the first king of the dynasty, migrated to Yazd during the period of the Mongol invasion. One of his three sons, Abú Bakr, with 300 horsemen, accompanied Húlágú's expedition against Baghdád, and was subsequently killed in Egypt by Arabs of the Banú Khafája tribe. His brother Muḥammad succeeded him as deputy to the Governor of Yazd, but died without issue. The third son,

[1] Frank McClean Collection, No. 198.
[2] See also Rieu's *Persian Cat.*, p. 82.
[3] Lithographed at Ṭihrán in A.H. 1313/1895–6.
[4] London: Heinemann, 1897.

Jalálu'd-Dín Manṣúr, lived at Maybud, near Yazd, and likewise left three sons, Sharafu'd-Dín Muẓaffar, Zaynu'd-Dín 'Alí, and Mubárizu'd-Dín Muḥammad. The first is said to have been notified in a dream of the distinction to which his family was destined, and while still young distinguished himself by destroying a band of robbers from Fárs who were committing depredations in his province. In 685/1286 he went to Kirmán and entered the service of Súrghatmish Qará-Khitá'í. Later he served the four Mongol sovereigns Arghún, Gaykhátú, Gházán and Uljáytú Khudá-banda, to the last-named of whom he was presented at Khániqín in 711/1311, and who conferred on him a more extensive government. He died in 713/1313, leaving to succeed him his son Mubárizu'd-Dín Muḥammad, then only thirteen years of age, who was confirmed in his father's offices by Uljáytú (died Dec. 16, 1316). At the age of 29 he married as his second wife Bánú Jahán, the grand-daughter of Súrghatmish. He had five sons, Sharafu'd-Dín Muẓaffar (born 725/1325, died of a wound in 754/1353); Sháh Shujá' (born 733/1333); Quṭbu'd-Dín Maḥmúd (born 737/1336); and two others named Aḥmad and Báyazíd.

Mubárizu'-d-Dín Muḥammad

Mubárizu'd-Dín Muḥammad is generally reckoned the first of the Muẓaffarí dynasty, the duration of which, from his accession in A.D. 1313 to the extirpation of the dynasty by Tímúr in A.D. 1393, covered a period of 80 years. His original government, as we have seen, was the little town of Maybud near Yazd, but in A.D. 1319 the latter town was added to his jurisdiction. In A.D. 1340 Kirmán also fell to his share, though the previous ruler, Quṭbu'd-Dín, invoked and received help from the Kurt kings of Herát, and offered a stubborn resistance. In A.D. 1353, after a still more prolonged struggle, he succeeded in wresting the province of Fárs with its capital Shíráz from Abú Isḥáq Injú, whose little son, 'Alí Sahl, aged ten, was taken prisoner and cruelly put to death by Sháh Shujá' at Rafsinján. One of Mubárizu'd-Dín's first measures was to enact severe laws against wine-drinking and other forms of

dissipation prevalent amongst the pleasure-loving Shírázís, concerning which his son Sháh Shujá'composed the following quatrain :

در مجلسِ دهر سازِ مستی بستست ،
نه چنگ نه قانون و نه دف بر دستست ،
رندان همه ترکِ می پرستی کردند ،
جز محتسبِ شهر که بی می مستست ،

"Closed are the taverns now throughout the land;
Zither and harp and tambourine are banned ;
Banned is wine-worship to the libertine ;
Only the proctor's[1] drunk, though not with wine !"

In the following year, A.D. 1354, whether in consequence of this unpopular measure or not, Shíráz was seized by rebels against the Muẓaffarís, but was soon retaken. About this time Mubárizu'd-Dín declared his allegiance to the titular Caliph al-Mu'taḍid[2], whose name he caused to be inserted in the *khuṭba*. In A.D. 1357 Iṣfahán was attacked and ultimately taken, and its ruler Shaykh Abú Isḥáq Injú was captured, brought to Shíráz, and there put to death at Mubárizu'd-Dín's command by Amír Quṭbu'd-Dín, the son of Sayyid Amír Ḥájji Ḍarráb, who had suffered death by order of Abú Isḥáq. It is said that just before his death Abú Isḥáq recited the two following quatrains :

Abú Isḥáq Injú put to death

افسوس که مرغِ عمررا دانه نماند ،
و امید بهیچ خویش و بیگانه نماند ،

[1] The *Muḥtasib*, here rendered "proctor," was an officer whose function it was to maintain public order and morality and ensure that the goods sold by tradesmen should both in quantity and quality maintain a proper standard.

[2] Abu'l-Fatḥ Abú Bakr al-Mu'taḍid bi'lláh, son of al-Mustakfí, one of the titular 'Abbásid Caliphs who exercised a merely nominal sway in Egypt after the sack of Baghdád until the Ottoman conquest (A.D. 1262–1517), succeeded his brother al-Ḥákim bi-amri'lláh in 753/1352–3 and died in 763/1362. See as-Suyúṭí's *Ta'ríkhu'l-Khulafá* (ed. Nassau Lees, Calcutta, 1857), p. 516.

دردا و دریغا که درین مدّتِ عمر'
از هرچه بگفتیم جز افسانه نماند'

با چرخِ ستیزه کار مستیز و برو'
با گردشِ دهر در میآویز و برو'
یك کاسهٔ زهرست که مرگش خوانند'
خوش درکش و جرعه بر جهان ریز و برو'

"No hope in kin or stranger doth remain,
Nor to the bird of Life one single grain;
Of all we said throughout our life, alas!
Naught will survive us save an echo vain!"

"Depart and quarrel not with Fortune's spite;
Depart, nor strive with circling Heaven's might:
Drain with a smile the poison-cup of Death
And pour libations ere you take your flight."

After capturing Iṣfahán, Mubárizu'd-Dín marched on Tabríz, which also he occupied, after two engagements with the troops of Akhí Júq, whom his sons pursued as far as Nakhjuwán. Finally, however, his fortune turned against him, for his sons Maḥmúd and Shujá', apprehensive of his intentions towards them, seized and blinded him when they reached Iṣfahán on the homeward march, and imprisoned him first in the castle of Ṭabarak and then in the Qal'a-i-Safíd in Fárs, where he succeeded in winning over the warden to his interests. Some sort of reconciliation was eventually effected between him and his rebellious sons, but it did not long endure, and Mubárizu'd-Dín finally died in prison at Bam in Rabí' I (December, 1363), at the age of sixty-five[1].

[1] His severity was such that, according to one of his intimates, Luṭfu'lláh b. Ṣadru'd-Dín 'Iráqí (cited in the *Fárs-náma-i-Náṣiri*), he would often lay aside the *Qur'án* which he was reading to decapitate some criminal brought before him for judgement, and then calmly resume the perusal of the Sacred Book.

Sháh Shujá' (759–786 = 1357–1384).

Sháh Shujá'

Mubárizu'd-Dín was succeeded by his son Sháh Shujá', whose chief claim to fame is that he was the patron of the immortal Ḥáfiẓ. He himself was not devoid of poetic talent, and wrote verses both in Arabic and Persian, specimens of which are given by Maḥmúd Kutbí[1]. Nor did his intellectual attainments end here: he knew the *Qur'án* by heart when he was nine years of age; could remember eight verses of Arabic poetry after hearing them read once; was famous for his epistolary style, wrote a fine hand, and was skilled in all martial exercises. He was also a great patron of men of learning, and at one time used to attend the lectures of Mawláná Qiwámu'd-Dín, while he appointed the eminent Sayyid-i-Sharíf-i-Jurjání professor in the Dáru'sh-Shifá College which he had founded at Shíráz. Nor did his reign lack military glory of the somewhat barren kind prevalent at that time, for he retook Shíráz from his brother Maḥmúd, who had ousted him from it by a trick, and Kirmán, which had been seized by Dawlat-sháh; and, on the death of Sulṭán Uways Jalá'ir at Tabríz in March, 1375, occupied not only that city, but also Nakh-juwán, Qárabágh, Awján, Sulṭániyya, Shúshtar and even Baghdád, so that he became for a while the master of the greater part of Persia.

In his family relations he was not happier than the rest of his House. His brother Maḥmúd, who had strangled his wife, the daughter of Shaykh Abú Isḥáq, about A.D. 1368, died in 1375 at the age of 38. On hearing of his death Sháh Shujá' wrote the following quatrain:

محمود برادرم شد شیرِ مکین'
میکرد خصومت از پی تاج و نگین'
کردیم دو بخش تا بر آساید خلق'
او زیرِ زمین گرفت و من روی زمین'

[1] See pp. 683–4 of the *fac-simile* of an old MS. of the *Ta'ríkh-i-Guzída* published in the Gibb Series (vol. xiv, 1).

"My brother Maḥmúd, lion-like crouched low,
For crown and ring was my relentless foe.
At length we shared the earth that men might rest:
I took the surface, he the realm below."

He was also troubled by the real disloyalty of one son, Sulṭán Uways, and the fancied disloyalty of another, Sulṭán Shiblí, whom in a fit of anger, intensified by drink, he caused to be blinded, and only repented of his rash act when it was too late. This happened in A.D. 1383, a year before his death, which took place on October 9, 1384, he being then 53 years of age and having reigned 27 years. On his death-bed he wrote a letter to the great Tímúr[1], setting forth his devotion and loyalty, and commending to his care his sons and brothers, especially his successor Zaynu'l-'Ábidín. How much effect this letter, with its admonitions that "loyalty to promises is a part of Faith," produced on Tímúr was shown nine years later when he made a massacre of the whole family. The body of Sháh Shujá' was conveyed to Medína for burial, or, according to another account, buried in a place called *Kúh-i-Chahil Maqám* (the "Mountain of Forty Stations") a little to the North-east of Shíráz. The date of his death is given by the chronogram: حیف از شاه شجاع ("Alas for Sháh Shujá'!"), the numerical equivalents of the component letters of which add up to (A.H.) 786 (= A.D. 1384).

Zaynu'l-'Ábidín (786–789 = 1384–1387).

Mujáhidu'd-Dín 'Alí Zaynu'l-'Ábidín

Zaynu'l-'Ábidín's reign was both short and troubled, for not only was it marred by those family feuds and fratricidal strifes which were characteristic of this dynasty, but the menace of Tímúr and his Tartars hung ever more threateningly over the land. Soon after his accession Zaynu'l-'Ábidín was attacked by his cousin Sháh Yaḥyá, and shortly after this arrived Tímúr's envoy Quṭbu'd-Dín and required the insertion in the *khuṭba*

[1] The text of this letter will be found on pp. 730–733 of the *facsimile* of the *Ta'ríkh-i-Guzída* (Gibb Series, vol. xiv, 1)

of his master's name, which was tantamount to recognizing him as over-lord. In 789/1387 Tímúr himself made his first entry into 'Iráq and Fárs. From Iṣfahán, which was governed by Majdu'd-Dín Muẓaffar, the uncle of Zaynu'd-Dín, he demanded a large sum of money, in collecting which his agents showed so harsh and arrogant a disposition that the inhabitants rose against them and killed them. Tímúr took a terrible revenge on them, for he ordered a general massacre, in which 70,000 persons[1] are said to have perished. He then advanced on Shíráz, but Zaynu'l-'Ábidín did not await his arrival, and fled to Shúshtar, where he was treacherously seized by his cousin Sháh Manṣúr, who thereupon marched to Shíráz and drove out his brother Yaḥyá, who fell back on Yazd. The next six years (A.D. 1387–1393) passed in continual strife between the three Muẓaffarí princes Sháh Manṣúr (who reigned over Fárs and Iṣfahán), his brother Sháh Yaḥyá (who ruled at Yazd), and his cousin Sháh Aḥmad (who held Kirmán), until in 795/1393 Tímúr for the second time descended on these distracted provinces. He first took the Qal'a-i-Safíd ("White Castle"), killed the garrison, and released and restored to the throne Zaynu'l-'Ábidín, and then continued his march on Shíráz, whence Sháh Manṣúr fled to Pul-i-Fasá. Of some of the Shírázís who had followed him thither he enquired what the people of Shíráz were saying of him. "Some say," they replied, "that those who wielded maces weighing ten maunds and carried quivers weighing seventeen maunds have fled like goats before a pack of wolves and have left their families as an easy prey to the foe." On hearing this Sháh Manṣúr, moved alike by shame and compassion, resolved to go back to Shíráz and face the inevitable death which a conflict with Tímúr's hosts involved. He had with him only 3000 men, of whom 2000 fled soon after the battle began, while the Tartar army "were

Fratricidal strife of the Muzaffarís

Sháh Manṣúr gives battle to Tímúr

[1] This is the number given in the *Fárs-náma-i-Náṣirí*, but the *Ta'ríkh-i-Guzída* (p. 739 of *fac-simile*) raises the number to 200,000.

more numerous than ants and locusts," yet with such valour and desperation did he engage the enemy that more than once he forced his way almost to within striking distance of Tímúr, until at last, wounded in the neck and shoulder, he turned in flight towards Shíráz. He was overtaken by some of Sháh Rukh's soldiers, who dragged him from his horse and severed his head from his body. The year of his death (795/1393) is given by the chronogram مُلكْ هِشْت ("he relinquished the kingdom")[1]. The other Muẓaffarí princes (Aḥmad 'Imádu'd-Dín and Sulṭán Mahdí, son of Sháh Shujá', from Kirmán; Nuṣratu'd-Dín Sháh Yaḥyá and his sons Mu'izzu'd-Dín Jahángír and Sulṭán Muḥammad from Yazd; and Sulṭán Abú Isḥáq, son of Sulṭán Uways, son of Sháh Shujá', from Sírján) surrendered themselves to Tímúr and were at first treated honourably, but were finally put to death at Qumishah, a little to the south of Iṣfahán, on Rajab 10, 795 (May 22, 1393), a date commemorated in the following verses:

Death of Sháh Manṣúr

Muẓaffarí princes put to death by Tímúr

بعبرت نظر کن بآلِ مظفّر،
شهانی که گوی از سلاطین ربودند،
که در هفصد و پنج و تسعین ز هجرت،
دهم شب ز ماه رجب چون غنودند،
چو خرما بنان در زمانها برشتند،
چو تره باندك زمانی غنودند،

Only two were spared, Zaynu'l-'Ábidín and Shiblí, both of whom had been blinded, the one by his cousin Manṣúr, the other by his father Sháh Shujá'. These were taken by Tímúr to Samarqand, his capital, where they spent the remainder of their days in tranquillity. So ended the Muẓaffarí dynasty, which for eighty years had held sway over the greater part of southern and central Persia. Several of their princes

Literary tastes of the Muẓaffarís

[1] This works out at 40+30+20+5+300+400=795.

were distinguished alike by their taste and their talents, and their patronage of learning and letters drew to their court not only numerous poets of distinction, including the incomparable Ḥáfiẓ, but savants such as 'Aḍudu'd-Dín al-Íjí and Mu'ínu'd-Dín Yazdí. Materially they did little to benefit their subjects, save for the building of a few colleges; while even in Eastern history it would be difficult to find a household so divided against itself and so disposed to those fratricidal wars and savage mutilations or destruction of their kinsmen which constitute the greater part of their history.

The Jalá'irs[1], Íl-khánís, or Ílkánís.

The Jalá'ir or Ílkání Dynasty

During the period of the disruption of the Mongol Empire two Shaykh Ḥasans play a prominent part, the one known as "the Great" (*Buzurg*), the other as "the Little" (*Kúchak*). The latter was the grandson of the great Amír Chúbán, whose power and influence were still further increased by his marriage in 719/1319 with Sátí Beg, the daughter of Úljáytú and sister of Abú Sa'íd, who bore him three sons, besides the six sons and one daughter (Baghdád Khátún) born to him by another wife. Of these ten children the most celebrated were Amír Ḥasan, Timúr-Tásh, Dimashq Khwája, and Baghdád Khátún. Amír Ḥasan and his three sons, Tálish, Ḥájji Beg and Ghúch Ḥusayn, all died violent deaths about 727–8/1327–8. Timúr-Tásh rebelled and fled to Egypt, where he was at first well received by al-Malik an-Náṣir, who, however, becoming alarmed at his increasing influence and evident ambition, put him to death in 728/1328. He was the father of the above-mentioned Shaykh Ḥasan-i-*Kúchak* ("the Little"), also called after his grandfather "Chúbání," and of Malik-i-Ashraf. Dimashq Khwája, the third of Amír Chúbán's sons, was put to death by Abú Sa'íd in 727/1327 (a year very fatal to this family)

[1] Concerning the Jalá'irs, a tribe cognate to the Mongols, see the *History of the Moghuls of Central Asia* by N. Elias and E. Denison Ross (London, 1898), p. 88*.

on a charge of carrying on an intrigue with one of the widows of the late king Úljáytú. His daughter Dilshád Khátún and her aunt Baghdád Khátún were both ladies of considerable note, and, extraordinary as it appears, both were married at one time in their lives to the Sulṭán Abú Sa'íd and at another to the rival Shaykh Ḥasan, called "the Great" (*Buzurg*). Baghdád Khátún is said to have been remarkable for her beauty, and was married in 723/1323 to Shaykh Ḥasan-i-*Buzurg*, but unfortunately Abú Sa'íd saw her, was smitten by her charms, and conceived so violent a passion for her that in 727/1325 he compelled her husband to divorce her so that he might marry her himself. On Abú Sa'íd's death in 736/1335–6 and the elevation to the throne of Arpa, she was put to death privily by the new Sulṭán on suspicion of having poisoned her late husband, and Shaykh Ḥasan-i-*Buzurg* compensated himself by appropriating the late monarch's other widow Dilshád Khátún[1]. She bore him Sulṭán Uways, whose power she subsequently shared, and, like him, was the subject of many panegyrics on the part of the poet Salmán of Sáwa.

Shaykh Ḥasan-i-*Buzurg*

Shaykh Ḥasan "the Great" was the son of Ḥusayn, the son of Áq-Búghá, the son of Aydakán, and claimed descent from Húlágú, whence, I suppose, the title of Ílkání (ایلکانی, not ایلخانی, Íl-khání, though probably a mere variant of it) by which, as well as Jalá'ir (the tribal name) the dynasty was known. For about eight years (736–744/1335–1343) after the death of Abú Sa'íd the history of Persia consists largely in the struggles and intrigues of these two houses (of Chúbán and Jalá'ir) for the supreme power, their ambitions being thinly masked by the puppet-princes of the race of Húlágú whom they successively raised to a nominal and generally very

[1] The author of the *Ḥabíbu's-Siyar*, Khwándamír, endeavours to explain the illegality of Abú Sa'íd's marriage with Baghdád Khátún and her niece Dilshád Khátún by assuming that he divorced the former before marrying the latter. He also asserts that Baghdád Khátún avenged this slight by poisoning Abú Sa'íd.

brief sovereignty. By 737/1337 Shaykh Ḥasan-i-*Buzurg* was in possession of Baghdád and Tabríz, the two capitals of the Mongol Íl-kháns and afterwards of the Jalá'irs, who would therefore appear to have represented most directly the older dynasty; but his tenure only became relatively secure on Rajab 27, 744 (Dec. 15, 1343), when his rival Shaykh Ḥasan-i-*Kúchak* was murdered by his unfaithful wife in a very horrible manner, which nevertheless called forth a savage and untranslateable epigram from Salmán of Sáwa, the panegyrist of the Jalá'irs, of which the text has been already given on p. 60, *supra*.

Murder of Shaykh Ḥasan-i-*Kúchak* by his wife

The Jalá'ir or Íl-khání dynasty founded by Shaykh Ḥasan-i-*Buzurg* endured for some 75 years, and, though much harassed by Tímúr during the last fifteen or twenty years of its existence, was never entirely crushed by him like the Muẓaffarís. Shaykh Ḥasan and his son Shaykh Uways, whose mother was Dilshád Khátún, each reigned about twenty years (A.H. 736 or 737 to 757 and A.H. 757 to 776 respectively); and all three seem to owe much of their fame and good repute to their indefatigable panegyrist Salmán of Sáwa, most of whose poems are consecrated to their praise. The portrait of them presented by most historians and biographers is therefore a very flattering one, and, though their virtues may have been exaggerated, there seems no reason to believe that it is altogether unfounded. After the death of Sulṭán Uways, however, on the 2nd of Jumáda I, 776 (Oct. 9, 1374), the fortunes of the dynasty began to decline. On that same day the late ruler's eldest son Ḥasan was put to death by the nobles, and the younger son Ḥusayn was placed on the vacant throne at Tabríz, whence he was driven out, after a successful war with the Turkmáns, for a space of four months by Sháh Shujá' the Muẓaffarí. Shortly after this his authority was resisted by his brother 'Alí, and finally in Ṣafar, 784 (April–May, 1382), he was killed by another brother, Aḥmad, who in turn was proclaimed king, and became involved almost immediately in a fratricidal conflict with yet another

brother named Báyazíd. A partition of the kingdom was finally effected, Ádharbáyján being assigned to Aḥmad and 'Iráq to Báyazíd, but soon fresh conflicts occurred between the two brothers in which the aid of Sháh Manṣúr the Muẓaffarí was invoked first by one and then by the other. These unedifying squabbles were brought to an end by the approach of Tímúr's army, which, after a protracted resistance on the part of Aḥmad, finally compelled him and Qará-Yúsuf the Turkmán to seek refuge with the Turkish Sulṭán Báyazíd, known as *Yildirim*, "the Thunder-bolt." Thence they passed to Egypt, the ruler of which country was preparing to make his peace with Tímúr by surrendering them to him when, fortunately for them, news arrived that that sanguinary conqueror was dead. Shortly afterwards Aḥmad's bad faith led to a rupture between him and Qará-Yúsuf, who defeated him near Tabríz on the 25th of Rabí' II, 812 (Sept. 6, 1409). The same night he was captured and put to death, after a troubled and turbulent reign of twenty-seven years, by his conqueror, and with him practically ended the Íl-khání or Jalá'ir dynasty, though its final extinction at the hands of the Qará-qoyúnlú or "Black Sheep" Turkmáns did not take place until a year or two later.

The Ottoman Sulṭán Báyazíd "the Thunder-bolt."

The Kurts[1].

We pass now to the Kurt dynasty which ruled over extensive territories in the N.E. of Persia and the adjacent countries with their capital at Herát. The most detailed account of them which I have met with is contained in a still unpublished history of Herát entitled *Rawḍátu'l-Jannát fí ta'ríkhi madínati Herát* ("Gardens of Paradise: on the history of the city of Herát"), composed by Mawláná Mu'ín of Isfizár. This history, which comes down to the year 875/

[1] The name is generally spelt *Kart* by English Orientalists, but in the carefully-written MS. of the History of Herát, which will be mentioned immediately, it is repeatedly pointed *Kurt*, which pronunciation I have therefore adopted.

1473–4 or thereabouts, is based on the older works of Abú Isḥaq Aḥmad b. Yá-Sín; Shaykh 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán Fámí; Sayfí of Herát; and the *Kurt-náma* of Rabí'í[1] of Búshanj; and is divided into 26 *Rawḍas* ("Gardens"), each containing two or more *Chimans* ("Parterres"). Of these, *Rawḍas* vii–x deal with the period and dynasty now under review. I am indebted to Mr A. G. Ellis, Assistant Librarian of the India Office, for the loan of an excellent MS. of this work, transcribed in 1073/1662–3 and superior in accuracy and legibility to either of the British Museum codices[2]. Another work which supplies some useful information about this dynasty is the very rare *Mujmal* of Faṣíḥí of Khwáf[3], from which the poems of Rabí'í cited in the last chapter are taken. Some account of the dynasty is, of course, also contained in all general histories of Persia of a later date, such as the *Rawḍatu'ṣ-Ṣafá*, *Ḥabíbu's-Siyar*, *Maṭla'u's-Sa'dayn*, etc.

The ancestor of the Kurts was a certain Táju'd-Dín 'Uthmán-i-Marghiní, whose brother, 'Izzu'd-Dín 'Umar-i-Marghiní, was the powerful Wazír of Sulṭán Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Muḥammad-i-Ghúrí (d. 599/1202–3). Táju'd-Dín was made Warden of the Castle of Khaysár, and on his death his son, Malik Ruknu'd-Dín Abú Bakr, married the daughter of the above-mentioned Sulṭán. Their son Shamsu'd-Dín succeeded his father in 643/1245–6, joined Sálí Noyan in an invasion of India in the following year, and met the great Shaykh Bahá'u'd-Dín Zakariyyá (the spiritual director of the poet 'Iráqí) at Multán in 645/1247–8. Later he visited the Mongol ruler Mangú Qá'án (646–655/1248–1257) who placed under

Shamsu'd-Dín Kurt

[1] Rabí'í, called Khaṭíb, of Búshanj, was killed, according to the *Mujmal* of Faṣíḥí, in 702/1302–3. He was court-poet to Fakhru'd-Dín Kurt.

[2] Add. 22380 and Or. 4106.

[3] See p. 150 *supra*, *ad calc.*, where the MSS. are enumerated. The St Petersburg MS. is No. 271 of the *Institut des Langues Orientales du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères*. See Baron Victor Rosen's *Manuscrits Persans*, pp. 111–113.

his sway Herát, Jám, Búshanj, Ghúr, Khaysár, Fírúz-Kúh, Gharjistán, Murgháb, Merv, Fáryáb (up to the Oxus), Isfizár, Faráh, Sístán, Kábul, Tíráh, and Afghánistán up to the Indus. In 662/1263–4, after having subdued Sístán, he visited Húlágú, and three years later his successor Abáqá, whom he accompanied in his campaign against Darband and Bákú. He again visited Abáqá, accompanied by Shamsu'd-Dín the *Ṣáḥib Díwán*, in 675/1276–7, and this time the former good opinion of the Mongol sovereign in respect to him seems to have been changed to suspicion, which led to his death, for he was poisoned in Sha'bán, 676 (January, 1278), by means of a water-melon given to him while he was in the bath at Tabríz. Abáqá even caused his body to be buried in chains at Jám in Khurásán. Mawláná Wajíhu'd-Dín Nasafí commemorated the date of his death in the following verses:

Shamsu'd-Dín poisoned

بسالِ ششصد و هفتاد و شش مه شعبان ‘

قضا ز مصحفِ دوران چو بنگریست بفال ‘

بنامِ صفدرِ ایرانیان محمّدِ کُرْت ‘

بر آمد آیت "وَ ٱلشَّمْسُ كُوِّرَتْ" در حال ‘

The allusion is to the verse in the *Qur'án* (*súra* lxxxi, 1) "*When the sun is rolled up*," for the title of the deceased ruler, Shamsu'd-Dín, signifies the Sun of the Faith.

The title of *Malik* (which means King in Arabic, but in Persia at this period meant no more than Prince or *Amír*) seems to have been first taken by Ruknu'd-Dín, but already the Shaykh Thiqatu'd-Dín Fámí had given the higher title of *Sháh* to his uncle 'Izzu'd-Dín 'Umar in the following verse:

ایّام شد مساعد و امید شد غنی ‘

در عهد عزّ دین عمر آن شاهِ مرغنی ‘

فرخنده خسروی که ز کحلِ سخای او ‘

دارد همیشه دیدهٔ حاجات روشنی ‘

The title of *Malik* was, however, that borne by all the succeeding members of this house.

Ruknu'd-Dín succeeds his father under the title of Shamsu'd-Dín-i-Kihín

Shamsu'd-Dín was succeeded in 677/1278–9 by his son Ruknu'd-Dín, who thereupon assumed his father's title with the adjective *Kihín* ("the Younger"). He died at Khaysár on Ṣafar 12, 705 (Sept. 3, 1305), but seems at a much earlier date to have been practically set aside by his son Fakhru'd-Dín, who, having been imprisoned by his father for seven years, was released at the intercession of the Mongol general Nawrúz, whom he ill requited by betraying him in 696/1296–7 to Gházán Khán, against whom Nawrúz had revolted. Three years later Fakhru'd-Dín himself fought against Gházán's brother Khudá-banda, who succeeded Gházán in 705/1305–6, and in the following year sent an army of 10,000 men under Dánishmand Bahádur against Herát, of which the fortifications had been greatly strengthened by Fakhru'd-Dín. Dánishmand was, however, killed by a treacherous stratagem after he had been allowed to occupy Herát, together with many of his men, and Fakhru'd-Dín then returned from Amán-Kúh, whither he had fled, and reoccupied the city. Soon afterwards he died on Sha'bán 22, 706 (Feb. 26, 1307). He was a great patron of literature. Sayfí says that forty poets of note were his panegyrists, and that he himself had composed eighty *qaṣídas* and one hundred and fifty *muqaṭṭa'át* in his praise. On the other hand his rule was austere: he forbade women to walk abroad, and sternly repressed wine-drinking and public mourning.

He is superseded by his son Fakhru'd-Dín

Fakhru'd-Dín was succeeded by his brother Ghiyáthu'd-Dín, who soon afterwards had a quarrel with his brother 'Alá'u'd-Dín, and went to lay his case before the Mongol sovereign Khudá-banda, who accorded him a gracious reception. On his return to Herát in 708/1308–9 he extended his power over Ghúr, Khaysár and Isfizár. 'Alá'u'd-Dín Hindú's intrigues against him compelled him again to visit Sháh Khudá-banda in

Ghiyáthu'd-Dín succeeds

714/1314–15, and it took him some time, aided by the intercession of Shaykh Núru'd-Dín 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán of Isfará'in, to regain that monarch's confidence. On his return he was confronted first, in 718/1318–19, with an invasion of Khurásán by Prince Yasúr[1] the Nikúdarí and, in the following year, with the hostility of Quṭbu'd-Dín of Isfizár and the people of Sístán, on which latter war Púr-i-Bahá of Isfizár has the following verses :

شاها دگر به پُشْتیِ سُستانِ سیستان،
آهنگِ جنگِ لشکرِ ایرانیان مکن،
ریش و بروت بیش نیند اهلِ سیستان،
زنهار تکیه بر نمد و ریسمان مکن،

"O King, do not again, supported [only] by the weak Sístánís,
Venture to give battle to the army of the Persians.
The people of Sístán are nothing more than beards and moustaches ;
Beware lest thou place thy reliance on felt and cords!"

In 720/1320 Prince Yasúr was killed and the Nikúdarís dispersed, and in Rajab of that year (August, 1320) Ghiyáthu'd-Dín set out to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca, leaving his son Malik Shamsu'd-Dín Muḥammad to act as Viceroy. In 729/1329 Ghiyáthu'd-Dín died, leaving four sons, the above Shamsu'd-Dín who succeeded him ; Ḥáfiẓ and Mu'izzu'd-Dín who successively ascended the throne ; and Báqir.

On the date of Shamsu'd-Dín's accession the following Arabic chronogram was composed by Jamálu'd-Dín Muḥammad ibn Ḥusám :

أَضاءَتْ بِشَمْسِ ٱلدِّينِ كَرْتَ زَمَانُنَا، وَ أُجْرِيَ فِي بَحْرِ ٱلْمُرَادَاتِ فُلْكُهُ،
وَ مِنْ عَجَبٍ تَأْرِيخُ مَبْدَإِ مُلْكِهِ، يُوَافِقُ قَوْلَ ٱلنَّاسِ خُلِّدَ مُلْكُهُ،

The words *Khullida mulkuhu* ("May his rule be eternalized!") give, according to the *abjad* reckoning, the date 729 ; but unhappily so slight was their appropriateness that

[1] See Howorth's *Hist. of the Mongols*, Part iii, pp. 590–1.

Shamsu'd-Dín died two months after his accession, and was succeeded by his brother Ḥáfiẓ, who in turn, after a brief and troubled reign of about two years, was succeeded by the third brother Abu'l-Ḥusayn Malik Mu'izzu'd-Dín.

Accession of Mu'izzu'd-Dín

The accession of Mu'izzu'd-Dín in 732/1331 almost synchronized with three important events, the death of Abú Sa'íd (which practically marked the end of the Mongol dominion over Persia); the birth of Tímúr; and the rise of the Sarbadár Dynasty.

The Sarbadárs.

The Sarbadár Dynasty

The history of this dynasty, so far as it need be discussed here, may well be considered in connection with that of the Kurts. It is well summarized by Stanley Lane-Poole[1], who says that they held Sabzawár and the neighbouring district for nearly half a century, "during which period twelve successive chiefs assumed the command, nine of whom suffered violent deaths." It may be added that no one of them reigned more than six or seven years, and that they were enthusiastic adherents of the Shí'a doctrine, while in Níshápúr and Herát the Sunní doctrine predominated. Nevertheless Khwája 'Alí Mu'ayyad, the last of the line, succeeded in taking Bisṭám and Farhádjird and winning over Níshápúr, which, however, was recaptured by the Kurts in 777/1375–6. The revolt which gave rise to this dynasty—if such it can be called—took place on Sha'bán 12, 737 (March 16, 1337), when Amír 'Abdu'r-Razzáq of Bayhaq, a disciple of Shaykh Ḥusayn Júrí (whose *murídṣ* or disciples formed an important element in the forces of this little kingdom) first raised the standard of rebellion, saying, "A gang of evil-doers dominates and oppresses the people. By God's grace we will do away with the oppression of these tyrants, failing which we will see our heads on the gibbet (*sar-ba-dár*), since we can no longer endure these tyrannical aggressions," and it

Origin of the name Sarbadár

[1] *Mohammadan Dynasties*, p. 251.

was to this expression that the dynasty owed its name[1]. One notable poet, Ibn-i-Yamín, is associated with the Sarbadárs, but after the battle of Záwa, in which Shaykh Ḥusayn Júrí was killed and the Sarbadár forces routed, he fell into the hands of Malik Mu'izzu'd-Dín Kurt, by whom he was well received and treated with honour.

Death of Malik Mu'izzu'd-Dín Kurt

Mu'izzu'd-Dín Kurt reigned for forty years, not ingloriously, though not without occasional acts of barbarity which were, unhappily, characteristic of that time, as when, after the capture of Bádghís, he erected, in the style later made familiar by Tímúr, two towers or minarets of the heads of his enemies. Finally he sickened and died in 771/1369–70, a date expressed in the following chronogram:

آنرا که جهان پر از زر و زور شود،
مانندِ حسینِ کُرْت در گور شود،
بر دالِ دعا چو بر زنی یك نقطه،
تاریخِ وفاتِ خسروِ غور شود،

He was buried at Herát by the side of the Ghúrí monarch Sulṭán Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Muḥammad Sám and of his own father Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Muḥammad-i-Kurt, and was succeeded by his son Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Pír 'Alí.

The irruption of Tímúr

It was about this time that the shadow of Tímúr (Tamerlane) began to fall over the land, but as usual his first advances were of a friendly character, and he gave his niece Sevinj Qutluq Ágha in marriage to Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Pír 'Alí's son Pír Muḥammad in or about the year 778/1376. Five years

[1] The original words (*Rawḍátu'l-Jannát*, Mr Ellis's MS., f. 147) are as follows:

جمعی مفسدان استیلا یافته بر خلایق ستم میکنند، اگر توفیق یابیم دفع ظلم ظالمان نمائیم و الّا سر خود بر دار بینیم که دیگر تحمّل تعدّی ظلم نداریم، بدین سبب ایشانرا سربدار لقب شد،

later, in the spring of A.D. 1381, early in his first Persian campaign, Tímúr occupied Herát, placed it and the adjacent territories under the control of his son Mírán-sháh, and carried off the Kurt ruler Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Pír 'Alí and his eldest son Pír Muḥammad to Samarqand, where he imprisoned them, while two other members of the family, Amír Ghúrí and Malik Muḥammad, were similarly imprisoned at Andakán. Soon afterwards, however, an abortive rebellion at Herát in A.D. 1389 furnished their captor with an excuse for putting them to death, and so ended the Kurt dynasty, a year after the extinction of their rivals the Sarbadárs.

Extinction of the Kurt Dynasty by Tímúr

Amongst the four dynasties whose history has been briefly sketched above was Persia for the most part divided when, in the last quarter of the eighth century of the *hijra* and the fourteenth of the Christian era, Tímúr burst upon the land and ravaged it as Chingíz Khán had done some hundred and fifty years before. Between the two Central Asian conquerors there are many points of resemblance; both had to begin by consolidating their power and destroying rivals amongst their own people; both had passed the age of forty when they embarked on their invasions of Persia; and both were responsible for incalculable bloodshed and suffering. Two circumstances chiefly differentiate them, the fact that Chingíz Khán was a heathen while Tímúr was, in name at least, a Muhammadan; and the fact that, while Chingíz Khán was confronted with the great empire of the Khwárazmsháhs, Tímúr found Persia, as we have seen, parcelled out amongst a number of petty rulers whose dominions had no fixed frontiers, and who were constantly at war with one another and even with ambitious members of their own families. That Tímúr was a Muhammadan certainly tended to mitigate in some measure, so far as Persia and other Muslim lands were concerned, a natural savagery not inferior to that of Chingíz, for he at least showed more respect for

Comparison of Tímúr with Chingíz Khán

TÍMÚR

Add. 18801 (Brit. Mus.), f. 23

To face p. 180

shrines and sacred edifices, and for men reputed holy or learned. Yet we must not be misled by panegyrists like Sharafu'd-Dín 'Alí Yazdí, author of the *Ẓafar-náma* ("Book of Victory")[1], who wrote under the patronage and for the pleasure of the conqueror; though we need not, on the other hand, endorse all the abusive language employed by the Arabic writer Aḥmad ibn 'Arabsháh in his *'Ajá'ibu'l-Maqdúr fí akhbári Tímúr* ("Marvels of Destiny in the History of Tímúr")[2], where the conqueror is habitually described as "this traitor," "this criminal," "this mad dog," and the like. But Sharafu'd-Dín's fulsome flattery is less tolerable than Ibn 'Arabsháh's abuse, for though he is unable to omit all mention of Tímúr's massacres and pyramids of skulls, he does not scruple to declare[3] that "his generous personality manifested the boundless grace of God, while the purest virtue and philanthropy were concealed in his light-seeking mind; and such acts of wrath and retribution as were ostensibly committed in the initial stages [of his conquests] by some of his world-endowed followers and partisans, as will be presently set forth, were prompted only by the exigencies of conquest and the necessities of world-empire." As specimens of those acts mention may be made of his massacre of the people of Sístán in 785/1383–4, when he caused some two thousand prisoners to be built up in a wall; his cold-blooded slaughter of a hundred thousand captive Indians near Dihlí in 801 (December, 1398); his burying alive of four thousand Armenians in 803/1400–1, and the twenty towers of skulls erected by him at Aleppo and Damascus in the same year; and his massacre of 70,000 of the inhabitants of Iṣfahán in 789 (November, 1387), to quote only a few out of many similar instances of his callous indifference to bloodshed and human suffering. Sir John

[1] Published in two volumes at Calcutta in the *Bibliotheca Indica* Series in 1887–8. This history, which comprises in this edition some 1560 pages, is prolix, tedious, florid and fulsome.

[2] Published at Leyden, 1636; Calcutta, 1818; Cairo, A.H. 1285, *etc.*

[3] Pp. 15–16 of the *Bibl. Ind.* edition.

Malcolm's judgements of Tímúr will command the assent of all fair-minded students not blinded by a misplaced hero-worship of great conquerors, such as Alexander, Chingíz, Tímúr or Napoleon, who deemed no price of human suffering too great for the gratification of their ambitions. "Such a leader as Timour," says Malcolm, in his excellent *History of Persia*[1], "must have been idolized by his soldiers; and, with an army of six or seven hundred thousand men attached to his person, he was careless of the opinion of other classes in the community. The object of this monarch was fame as a conqueror; and a noble city was laid in ashes, or the inhabitants of a province massacred, on a cold calculation that a dreadful impression would be made which would facilitate the purposes of his ambition. He pretended to be very religious, was rigid in performing his sacred duties, and paid attention to pious men; who, in return for his favour, used to assure him that God had given the countries of other monarchs to his victorious sword. The parade which he made of these prophecies proves that he either believed in them, or that he thought they might produce an effect favourable to his designs."

"From what has been said," observes this judicious historian a little further on[2], "we may pronounce that Timour, though one of the greatest of warriors, was one of the worst of monarchs. He was able, brave and generous; but ambitious, cruel and oppressive. He considered the happiness of every human being as a feather in the scale, when weighed against the advancement of what he deemed his personal glory; and that appears to have been measured by the number of kingdoms which he laid waste, and the people that he destroyed. The vast fabric of his power had no foundation, it was upheld by his individual fame; and the moment that he died, his empire dissolved. Some fragments of it were seized by his children: but it was in India alone that they retained dominion for any length of time. In that country we yet perceive a faint and expiring

[1] London, 1815, pp. 482–3. [2] *Op. laud.*, p. 484.

trace of the former splendour of the Moghul dynasty; a pageant, supported by the British nation, still sits upon a throne at Delhi[1]; and we view in him the gradual decline of human greatness, and wonder at the state to which a few centuries have reduced the lineal descendants of the great Timour."

Nizám-i-Shámí's history of Tímúr

Besides the two histories of Tímúr already mentioned, the Persian *Ẓafar-náma* of Sharafu'd-Dín 'Alí Yazdí and the Arabic *'Ajá'ibu'l-Maqdúr* of Ibn 'Arabsháh, there exists a third contemporary history, unpublished, and, so far as is known, represented only by the unique MS. **Add. 23,980** of the British Museum. This history, also written in Persian, and also entitled *Ẓafar-náma*, was undertaken at Tímúr's command in 804/1401–2 by Niẓám-i-Shámí, and was concluded and presented to Tímúr in 806/1403–4, just a year before his death. The author was living in Baghdád when it was taken by Tímúr in 795/1393, and was the first person who came out to greet him. "God have mercy on thee," said Tímúr, "for thou wert the first person to come forth from this city before me![2]" This history, conciser and less florid than the homonymous work of Sharafu'd-Dín, appears to deserve publication, and seems to have formed the basis of the later work. In writing this chapter I have had at my disposal not only my own brief notes on its contents, taken during spare hours in the British Museum, but also a complete transcript made for me by my friend Dr Aḥmad Khán.

The so-called "Memoirs" and "Institutes" of Tímúr

Reference must also be made to the so-called "Memoirs" and "Institutes" of Tímúr (*Malfúẓát* and *Tuzúkát-i-Tímúrí*), which, though translated into English from the Persian and widely quoted and used by European writers, are now generally, and I think properly, regarded by the best judges as apocry-

[1] Sir John Malcolm's *History* was published in 1815, long before the Indian Mutiny, which led, among other results, to the final extinction of the dynasty of Tímúr, commonly known as the "Great Moghuls."

[2] MS., f. 99.

phal[1]. The Persian version of this book was first produced in the seventeenth century of our era, in the reign of Sháh Jahán (1628–1659), by a certain Abú Ṭálib al-Ḥusayní, who professed to have translated it from a Turkí original discovered by him in the library of a certain Ja'far Páshá, governor of Yaman (Arabia Felix). Of the existence of this Turkí original no evidence whatever exists save this statement of Abú Ṭálib's, and it appears much more likely that he himself compiled the Persian work, in imitation of Bábur's[2] authentic autobiography, with the aid of the *Ẓafar-náma* and other histories of Tímúr. A manuscript of this work was brought to England by Major Davy in 1779, and on his death in 1784 passed into the possession of his son. In 1779 he wrote to Dr White, then Laudian Professor of Arabic in the University of Oxford, a high appreciation of this book and a vehement defence of its authenticity[3], and in 1783 both the text and translation of the "Institutes" were published in collaboration by these two. In 1787 Professor Langlès produced a French translation with the following cumbrous title: *Instituts politiques et militaires de Tamerlan, proprement appellé Timour, écrits par lui-même en Mongol, et traduits en François, sur la version Persane d'Abou-Taleb Al-Hosseïni, avec la Vie de ce Conquérant, d'après les meilleurs Auteurs Orientaux, des Notes, et des Tables Historique, Géographique, &c.* In 1830 Major Charles Stewart published an English translation of the *Malfúẓát* or [pseudo] autobiographical Memoirs.

Not only as one of the greatest conquerors the world has ever seen, but as the ancestor of the so-called Moghul dynasty in India, Tímúr has attracted the attention of many

[1] See Rieu's *Pers. Cat.*, pp. 177–180, where several very cogent reasons against the authenticity of the book are given.

[2] That this, not *Bábar*, is the correct form has been shown by Sir E. Denison Ross, in his interesting article on *A Collection of Poems by the Emperor Bábur* published on Oct. 26, 1910, as an extra number to vol. vi of the *J. A. S. of Bengal*, pp. iv–vi of the *Introduction*.

[3] See pp. ix–xiii of Major Charles Stewart's translation of the *Malfúẓát* (1830).

European (especially English) as well as Asiatic historians, and has furnished a subject for many writers. For the purposes of this book, in which the historical portion of the subject is necessarily subordinated to the literary, it will be sufficient to give a brief sketch of his career, based chiefly on the *Ẓafar-náma* and Ibn 'Arabsháh, especially that portion of it which is connected with Persia.

Birth of Tímúr

Tímúr (a name which in Turkish signifies "Iron") was born at Kash in Transoxiana on Sha'bán 28, 736 (April 11, 1336). As usual in the case of men who afterwards became famous, attempts are made by his panegyrists on the one hand to affiliate him (through Qaráchár Noyán) to the Mongol Royal House of Chingíz Khán, and on the other to surround his birth with all manner of portents indicative of his future greatness. Ibn 'Arabsháh, on the other hand, merely gives the names of his father (Taragháy) and his grandfather (Abgháy), says that "he and his father were herdsmen, belonging to a gang of rascals devoid alike of intelligence and religion," and ascribes the limp to which he owed his *sobriquet* of "the Lame" (*Lang*) to a wound received while engaged in stealing sheep. His early adventures and the steps by which he gradually attained the leading position amongst his people need not here detain us, and it is sufficient to say that he first became prominent at the age of 24 in 761/1360; received the title of *Ṣáḥib-Qirán* ("Lord of the Auspicious Conjunction") ten years later when he succeeded in killing his rival Sulṭán Ḥusayn in Sha'bán, 771 (March, 1370); spent six or seven years after this in consolidating his power in Transoxiana, and did not seriously turn his attention to Persia until the spring of A.D. 1381, when he was 45 years of age. In this first campaign, which lasted only for the inside of a year, his attention was confined to Khurásán. At Andakhúd he paid his respects to a more or less crazy dervish known as Bábá Sangú[1], and, with that superstition which was so strangely blended with his

First Persian campaign of 1381

[1] *Ẓafar-náma*, i, p. 310.

ferocious energy, interpreted as a presage of victory the piece of meat which that holy but demented personage threw at his head. Sarakhs surrendered to him, and, after visiting another holy man, Zaynu'd-Dín Abú Bakr, at Táyabád, he captured and destroyed Búshanj. The reduction of Herát and submission of Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Pír 'Alí, the Kurt ruler, followed; and thereafter came the turn of Ṭús, Isfará'in (which was levelled with the ground and many of its inhabitants slain), and Kalát. He then returned to Samarqand and Bukhárá for the winter.

Persian campaign of 1382

In the spring of the following year (A.D. 1382) he continued his operations against Persia. At Kalát, where he encamped, he was joined by his son Mírán-sháh from Sarakhs and by the now submissive Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Kurt from Herát; and, having established a blockade of this strong place, he passed on to Turshíz, which also surrendered to him. Here he received an ambassador from Sháh Shujá', the Muẓaffarí ruler of Fárs, whose daughter he demanded in marriage for his grandson Pír Muḥammad. Having received the submission of Amír Walí, the ruler of Mázandarán, Tímúr returned for the winter to Samarqand, his capital, where he was for a while plunged in sorrow by the death of his wife Dilshád Ághá and her elder sister Qutlugh Turkán Ághá.

Third Persian campaign of 1383–4

In the autumn of A.D. 1383, after despatching an expedition against the heathen Mongols to pursue Qamaru'd-Dín, Tímúr again set out on a campaign against Mázandarán and Sístán. Towards the end of October he attacked Sabzawár, undermined and destroyed the citadel, and took captive some two thousand persons, whom "he piled alive one on another, compacted them with bricks and clay, and erected minarets, so that men, being apprised of the majesty of his wrath, might not be seduced by the demon of arrogance, and so cast themselves into the pit of wailing and destruction[1]." Having received the submission of Faráh, he attacked Zirih, which was fiercely

[1] *Ẓafar-náma*, i, p. 360.

defended by some five thousand men, most of whom were slain, and their heads built up into minarets. In December Sístán fell before his onslaught, and "whatever was in that country, from potsherds to royal pearls, and from the finest fabrics to the very nails in the doors and walls, was swept away by the winds of spoliation, while the lightning of rapine, comprehending alike the greater and the less of that land, consumed moist and dry together[1]." After reducing two or three other fortresses, and constructing more pyramids of the skulls of his enemies, Tímúr captured Qandahár, hanged the commander of the garrison, and returned to his capital Samarqand, where he allowed himself a period of repose lasting three months.

It would be tedious, and, in a work of this character, out of place to describe in detail the almost annual campaigns which occupied the remaining twenty years of Tímúr's life, but in brief they were as follows:

In 786/1384–5 Tímúr invaded Mázandarán and Ádharbáyján, wintered at Ray, continued his campaign in the spring of 1385, and, having reduced the Caspian provinces and the North of Persia as far as Sulṭániyya, returned to his capital Samarqand for the winter.

In 788/1386–7 Tímúr, seeing the distracted state of Persia, determined to effect its total subjugation, and set out on a three years' campaign against that country. He first marched against Malik 'Izzu'd-Dín, the ruler of Luristán, sacked Burújird and Khurramábád, and caused many of his opponents to be cast alive over precipices. He next marched on Tabríz, where Sulṭán Aḥmad Jalá'ir had collected an army to oppose him, but on his approach the latter, deeming discretion the better part of valour, retreated to Nakhjuwán, and, after a fierce battle, succeeded in making good his escape. Tímúr spent the summer at Tabríz, and despatched thence to Samarqand a selection of the most skilful artificers and craftsmen whom he could find in the conquered city. In the autumn he crossed the Araxes,

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 368–9.

pushed forward towards Nakhjuwán, and, having subdued the strong fortress of Qárs, proceeded to devastate Gurjistán (Georgia). Having captured Tiflís, and, indulged in a great hunting-expedition, in which the game slain was so abundant that most of it was left to rot on the ground[1], he returned to winter quarters in Qará-Bagh.

In the spring of A.D. 1387 (A.H. 789) Tímúr renewed his campaign in Asia Minor, subdued the cities of Báyazíd, Erzeroum, Erzinján, Músh, Akhlát and Ván, and received the submission of Salmás and Urmiya, and in the autumn, in consequence of the refusal of the Muẓaffarí prince Zaynu'l-'Ábidín to appear before him, he marched against Fárs. On the way thither he entered Iṣfahán, and levied a heavy contribution on the people of that city. This provoked a riot, in which a good many of Tímúr's tax-collectors and agents were killed, and Tímúr took a terrible revenge, making a general massacre of the people, in which it is computed that 70,000 perished, whose heads were counted and afterwards built up into minarets. This happened on Monday, Nov. 18, 1387[2]. Tímúr then continued his march to Shíráz, which submitted to him in the following month (Dec. 1387), and it is on this occasion that the legendary interview between the great conqueror and the poet Ḥáfiẓ is supposed to have taken place. Dawlatsháh, who relates the anecdote[3], with characteristic inaccuracy assigns this meeting to the year 795/1392–3, when Ḥáfiẓ had been dead for four years. The story, which is probably entirely apocryphal, is that Tímúr summoned Ḥáfiẓ to his presence and upbraided him for the well-known verse in which he says:

Tímúr's first entry into Shíráz

"If that unkindly Shíráz Turk would take my heart within her hand,
I'd give Bukhárá for the mole upon her cheek, or Samarqand."

"With the blows of my lustrous sword," exclaimed Tímúr, "have I subjugated most of the habitable globe, and laid

[1] *Ẓafar-náma*, i, p. 404.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 435.
[3] See pp. 305–6 of my edition.

waste thousands of towns and countries to embellish Samarqand and Bukhárá, my native towns and the seats of my government ; and you, miserable wretch that you are, would sell them both for the black mole of a Turk of Shíráz!" "Sire," replied Ḥáfiẓ, with a deep obeisance, "it is through such prodigality that I have fallen on such evil days!" Tímúr is said to have been so much delighted by this quick rejoinder that he not only refrained from punishing the poet but gave him a handsome present. There is a variant of the story, which I have heard in Persia but not met with in any book, according to which Ḥáfiẓ replied, "They have misquoted me: what I really wrote was not

Bi-khál-i-hinduwash bakhsham Samarqand u Bukhárá-rá

but—

Bi-khál-i-hinduwash bakhsham du man qand u si khurmá-rá

I would give for the mole on her cheek two maunds of sugar and three dates."

No mention of any such meeting occurs in contemporary biographers of Tímúr, such as Sharafu'd-Dín 'Alí of Yazd, nor have I met with any trustworthy evidence in support of it.

To return to Tímúr's invasion of Fárs. Zaynu'l-'Ábidín, the Muẓaffarí prince, had fled to his cousin Sháh Manṣúr, governor of Shúshtar in the S.W. of Persia, who, violating alike the bonds of kinship and claims of hospitality, cast him into prison. Most of the other princes of the House of Muẓaffar, as well as the Atábeks of Luristán and other petty rulers, waited on Tímúr at Shíráz and tendered their submission. But, even in the moment of his triumph, news was brought to the conqueror by a messenger, who had accomplished the long journey from Samarqand to Shíráz in the incredibly short space of seventeen days, that a fresh revolt of the stiff-necked Túqátmish required the presence of Tímúr to defend his own realms. Thereupon, in February, 1388, he at once set out for Samarqand, bearing with him, as part of his spoils, the learned Sayyid-i-Sharíf-i-

Jurjání, and appointing the Muẓaffarí princes Sháh Yaḥyá, Sulṭán Muḥammad, Sulṭán Aḥmad and Sulṭán Abú Isḥáq governors of Shíráz, Iṣfahán, Kirmán and Sírján respectively.

For the next four years and a half Tímúr was engaged in warfare against Túqátmish, the Mongols, the realm of Khwárazm or Khiva, and other northern peoples, and Persia enjoyed a brief rest from his attentions, though a rebellion which broke out in the summer of 1389 in Khurásán (apparently prompted by reports of his defeat at the hands of Túqátmish) was put down in the usual bloody and barbarous fashion by Míránsháh, especially at Ṭús, where some ten thousand persons were massacred, and their heads built up into pyramids or minarets.

On the last day of July, 1392, Tímúr, after some delay occasioned by a serious illness, once again crossed the Oxus on another of his devastating campaigns in the South. This, known as the "Five Years' Campaign" (*Yúrish-i-panj-sála*[1]) included the Caspian provinces, Fárs (where he exterminated the princes of the Muẓaffarí dynasty, as already described at p. 169 *supra*), Armenia, Georgia, Mesopotamia, and South Russia. In Gurgán and Mázandarán he came in contact with certain heretical Sayyids, many of whom he slew, "delivering those regions from the mischievous influence of those misguided communists[2]." Sharafu'd-Dín's account of their tenets is neither clear nor detailed, but it appears highly probable that they belonged to the heretical Ḥurúfí sect, whose founder, Faḍlu'lláh, appeared, preached his doctrines, and suffered death in Tímúr's reign, and was a native of Astarábád. We shall have more to say about him and his doctrine presently.

In the latter part of December, 1392, Tímúr, having received a visit from his wives and family, set out for South Persia, travelling by way of Dámghán, Samnán, Ray, Qazwín, Sulṭániyya, Kurdistán, and Burújird (which he reached on February 14, 1393[3]), and putting to death on

[1] *Ẓafar-náma*, i. pp. 561 *et seqq.* [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 576–7.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 587.

his way many of the Lurs. He reached Dizful on March 2 and Shúshtar a day or two later, and thence set out for Shíráz. On his way thither he captured the strong fortress of Qal'a-i-Safíd and released the blinded captive prince Zaynu'l-'Ábidín, whom he treated with honour and promised vengeance on Sháh Manṣúr. Nor was this vengeance long delayed, for, as already narrated, Sháh Manṣúr was slain in battle a few days later, while most of the remaining princes of the House of Muẓaffar were put to death by Tímúr's order on May 22, 1393. "All the most skilful of the craftsmen and artisans of the provinces of Fárs and 'Iráq" were, according to Sharafu'd-Dín 'Alí of Yazd, transferred by Tímúr to Samarqand[1].

On August 10 Tímúr, who was approaching Baghdád, was visited by Shaykh Núru'd-Dín 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán of Isfará'in, who came as an ambassador from Sulṭán Aḥmad Jalá'ir to make his excuses for not waiting on Tímúr in person. His excuses were ill received by Tímúr, who nevertheless treated the Shaykh with the respect which, according to the *Ẓafar-náma* (p. 629), he habitually accorded to learned and pious men. Shortly afterwards he entered Baghdád and occupied the palace of Sulṭán Aḥmad, who fled before him. Some of Tímúr's *amírs* went in pursuit, overtook the fugitives near Karbalá, and captured much spoil and some of the wives and sons of Sulṭán Aḥmad, who, however, succeeded in making his escape. His son 'Alá'u'd-Dawla, together with his wives, a selection of the most skilful artisans of Baghdád, and the celebrated musician Khwája 'Abdu'l-Qádir, were sent to Samarqand by Tímúr, who also despatched an ambassador to Barqúq al-Maliku'ẓ-Ẓáhir, the ruler of Egypt, with a view to concluding a treaty of friendship and commercial intercourse with him.

Tímúr's next exploit was the reduction of the strong fortress of Takrít, which was gallantly defended. Finally, however, the defenders were overcome and put to death, and their heads built up into minarets. Continuing his march

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 619.

northwards he passed by Karkúk, Arbíl, Mawṣil (Mosul) and Rawḥá, where, in March, 1394, he was overtaken by stormy and rainy weather, and compelled by this and the disobedience of Malik 'Izzu'd-Dín to return to Mesopotamia. Having in a brief space of time dealt with this rebellious chieftain, Tímúr again turned northwards and reduced the fortress of Márdín. Luckily for the garrison, news had just reached Tímúr of the birth, at Sulṭániyya, on March 22, 1394, of a grandson, the afterwards celebrated Ulugh Bey, son of Sháhrukh, and this put Tímúr in such good humour that he spared their lives, which would otherwise have certainly been forfeited[1]. Ámid (Diyár Bakr) next succumbed to his victorious arms in April, but he had to abandon his attempt to raze the fortifications on account of their extraordinary strength and solidity[2]. He then passed on to Síwás, Músh, Bitlís, Akhlát and Aydín, halting for a while in the Plain of Ála-dágh to receive his wives and younger children, who came to visit him from Sulṭániyya, and despatching an army in pursuit of his enemy Qará Yúsuf and his Turkmán followers. At the end of July, 1394, he captured the fortress of Avník, on the upper waters of the Araxes, and sent its defender, Miṣr the son of Qará Yúsuf, to Samarqand, together with Sulṭán 'Ísá, the ex-governor of Márdín. He next invaded Georgia and occupied Tiflis.

Fortunately for Persia, a fresh menace on the part of his old enemy Túqátmish compelled Tímúr at this juncture, towards the end of February, 1395[3], to march northwards to defend his own territories, and this, with the ensuing campaign in Southern Russia, in the course of which he penetrated as far as Moscow[4], kept him occupied for more than a year. During and in consequence of his absence several revolts broke out in Persia, such as that of Qará Yúsuf the Turkmán in Ádharbáyján[5]; of Gúdarz (probably a Zoroastrian) at Sírján[6]; of Sulṭán Muḥammad, son of

[1] *Ẓafar-náma*, i. p. 680.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 684.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 735.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 761.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 757.
[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 784–5.

Abú Sa'íd of Ṭabas, and some Khurásáni soldiers who had formerly been in the service of the Muẓaffarí dynasty at Yazd; and of Buhlúl at Niháwand. All these revolts were quickly and sternly repressed, and the ringleader of that last mentioned, Buhlúl, was burned alive[1]. The ensuing month of Ramaḍán was passed by Tímúr at Hamadán "in obedience and devotion to the Divine Benefactor, and in the observance of the obligations of fasting and vigils and of every kind of religious rite and ceremony." He then, having ordered his generals to subdue the whole Persian shore of the gulf from Khúzistán to Hurmuz, set out on July 18, 1396, for Samarqand.

On this occasion Tímúr remained quiet at his capital for a longer period than usual, and devoted a good deal of attention to beautifying it and its environs by the labours of "the expert engineers and skilful architects who had been gathered to the Royal Metropolis from every clime and country from East to West[2]." He also gave a series of gorgeous banquets, of which one of the chief was to celebrate the conferring of the kingdom of Khurásán, including Sístán and Mázandarán, from Fíruzkúh to Ray, on his son Sháh-rukh, which happened in May, 1397[3]. Less than a year later, in the spring of 1398, he set out on his Indian campaign, instigated thereto, as asserted in the *Ẓafar-náma*[4], by his desire to promote Islám and crush idolatry, and by the accounts which reached him of the toleration shown by the Muslim rulers towards their Hindú subjects and neighbours. After some preliminary operations against the Afgháns (or Awgháns) of the Sulaymán Kúh and the *Siyáh-púsh* ("Black-robed") heathen of Káfiristán, he crossed the Indus on Muḥarram 12, 801 (Sept. 24, 1398) and proceeded to carry fire and sword into India. It is unnecessary for our purpose to follow these operations in detail. They were characterized by the usual bloodshed and barbarities, amongst the worst of which was the massacre

[1] *Ibid.*, i, p. 788.
[2] *Ibid.*, ii, p. 6.
[3] *Ibid.*, i, pp. 803–4.
[4] *Ibid.*, ii, p. 15.

in cold blood of 100,000 Indian prisoners near Dihlí on December 12, 1398[1]. Compared to this monstrous crime the horrors enacted a few days later at Dihlí, and the massacre of 10,000 persons a month earlier at Batnír sink into insignificance.

Reports of troubles in Persia (especially in Ádharbáyján, where his son, Míránsháh, to whom the government of this important province had been entrusted, was courting disaster by his insane vagaries, generally ascribed to an injury to his head caused by a fall from his horse) impelled Tímúr to cut short his Indian campaign early in the year A.D. 1399, and to hasten homewards. He crossed the Indus on his return journey on March 8 of that year, five months and seventeen days after he had crossed it at the beginning of his campaign, and the Oxus three weeks later. On April 7 he reached his native town of Kash or Shahr-i-Sabz (the "Green City"), and entered Samarqand, his capital, on April 27. A fortnight later (May 9, 1399) he laid the foundation-stone of the magnificent mosque (*Masjid-i-Jámi'*) which he had long intended to erect for the embellishment of his metropolis.

On September 9, 1399, Tímúr again quitted Samarqand for Ádharbáyján, where the erratic conduct of his son Míránsháh, of which fresh accounts continued to reach him, urgently demanded his attention. At Aywának, near Ray, he was joined by his son Sháh-rukh and by another army which he had despatched by way of Mázandarán. Míránsháh was induced to come to his father's camp to render account of his misconduct, which included the waste or embezzlement of a large proportion of the revenues, the putting to death on mere suspicion of certain men of consequence against whom he had conceived a spite, the wanton destruction of certain historic buildings, and the exhumation of the eminent Minister and historian Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh, whose body he caused to be re-interred in the Jews' cemetery. Míránsháh was punished by his father's displeasure and the virtual transference of the authority he

[1] *Ẓafar-náma*, ii, p. 92.

had misused to his son Abú Bakr, but Tímúr's fiercest wrath fell upon certain minstrels and poets who had been Míránsháh's boon-companions, and who were alleged to have corrupted his principles and encouraged his extravagances. Several of these, namely Mawláná Muḥammad of Quhistán, "who, together with a complete mastery of the technicalities of the various sciences, was unique in his age and the marvel of his time in verse and prose composition, both serious and frivolous[1]," Quṭbu'd-Dín Ná'í, Ḥabíb-i-'Údí and 'Abdu'l-Mú'min the rhapsodist, were condemned to death on this charge and hanged at or near Qazwín. According to Dawlatsháh[2], Muḥammad of Quhistán must needs indulge his propensity for jesting even on the scaffold. Turning to Quṭbu'd-Dín, one of his fellow-victims, he said, "You had precedence in the King's company: precede me, therefore, here also." "O unlucky heretic," replied the other, "do you bring matters to this pass, and cannot you cease jesting yet?" When it came to Muḥammad's turn to die, he recited the following punning verse:

پایانِ کار و آخرِ دَوْرست ملحدا،
گر میروی و گر نه بدست اختیار نیست،
منصور وار گر ببرندت بپای دار،
مردانه پای دار جهان پایدار نیست،

"'Tis the end of the matter and the last round, O heretic!
Whether thou goest or not, the choice is no longer in thy hand!
If they lead thee, like Manṣúr[3], to the foot of the gibbet (*pá-yi-dár*),
Stand firm (*páy-dár*) like a man, for the world is not enduring (*páy-dár*)!"

[1] *Ẓafar-náma* ii, pp. 213–214.

[2] Pp. 330–1 of my edition. In the very rare *Mujmal* of Faṣíḥí, under the year A.H. 802, two other victims are enumerated, *viz.* Ardashír-i-Changí ("the harper"), and Khwája Yaḥyá-yi-Narrád ("the backgammon-player").

[3] The celebrated mystic who was hanged or crucified in the tenth century of our era at Baghdád for exclaiming *Ana'l-Haqq!* ("I am the Truth!" *i.e.* God). His real name was Ḥusayn ibn Manṣur al-Ḥalláj ("the wool-carder"). See my *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, vol. i, pp. 428–437.

The campaign on which Tímúr was now embarked, and which included some of his most remarkable achievements, is called by Sharafu'd-Dín 'Alí Yazdí (ii, 206) the "Seven Years' Campaign." As it began about Muḥarram 8, 802 (Sept. 10, 1399), and as Tímúr returned to his capital, Samarqand, in Muḥarram, 807 (July, 1404), this appellation must be regarded as a misnomer. Even the abridged account of the many bloody battles and brilliant victories included in this period which is given in Price's *Chronological Retrospect*[1] fills 166 quarto pages, and in this place it must suffice to indicate only its chief events.

The winter of A.D. 1399–1400 was spent by Tímúr in Qarábágh near the Araxes, and ere spring had melted the snows he once more invaded Georgia, devastated the country, destroyed the churches and monasteries, and slew great numbers of the inhabitants. In August, 1400, he began his march into Asia Minor by way of Avník, Erzeroum, Erzinján and Sívás. The latter place offered a stubborn resistance, and when it finally capitulated Tímúr caused all the Armenian and Christian soldiers to the number of four thousand to be buried alive; but the Muhammadans he spared[2]. Meanwhile an animated correspondence was taking place between him and the Ottoman Sulṭán Báyazíd, called *Yildirim* (the "Thunder-bolt"), from whom Tímúr demanded the surrender of Sulṭán Aḥmad of Baghdád and Qará Yúsuf the Turkmán. This Báyazíd refused, as, until a very recent occasion, the Turks have ever been wont to refuse such betrayal of guests; and, moreover, as must be admitted, and as will presently be seen, he couched his refusal in language little calculated to appease his great rival. With the Sulṭán of Egypt also (al-Maliku'n-Náṣir Faraj) Tímúr became embroiled by reason of the unlawful detention of his ambassador at Cairo, and thus the campaign became diverted not only against the territories over which the two

[1] Published in London in 4 vols., 1811–1821. The portion to which reference is here made is vol. iii, Part i, pp. 297–463.

[2] *Ẓafar-náma*, ii, p. 269.

fugitive kings had reigned respectively, but against the Ottoman and Egyptian, and incidentally the Syrian lands.

Aleppo and Damascus captured by Tímúr

After taking 'Ayntáb, Tímúr besieged and reduced Aleppo in October, 1400, and there captured and sent with other spoils of war to Samarqand his future historian Mawláná Niẓámu'd-Dín called *Shámí* (the "Syrian"). Having next subdued in turn Ḥama, Ḥims (Emessa) and Ba'labakk (Baalbek) he proceeded to invest Damascus. Here an assassin, instigated by al-Maliku'n-Náṣir, Sulṭán of Egypt, attempted his life, but failed and was put to death. Damascus surrendered, but again revolted, and was again subdued in March, 1401, when it finally submitted, and suffered Tímúr's name to be inserted in the *khuṭba*, after it had suffered the horrors of Tartar incendiarism and looting. Another portion of Tímúr's army ravaged the Syrian coast as far south as 'Akká.

Sack of Baghdád by Tímúr

Tímúr next turned his attention to Baghdád, the capital of the recalcitrant Sulṭán Aḥmad Jalá'ir, and, having taken it, made, on June 20, 1401, a great massacre, in revenge for the many notable officers of his army who had perished in the siege. Each soldier was ordered to bring a head[1], and in the words of Sharafu'd-Dín 'Alí Yazdí, "the market of retribution became so brisk that the broker of death sold at one price the old man of eighty and the child of eight, while the oven of wrath was so enkindled that it consumed in like manner the corporeal vestiture of the wealthy plutocrat and the wretched pauper[2]."

The Battle of Angora

Having left Baghdád a smoking charnel-house, Tímúr again turned his attention to the unfortunate Georgians, until the approach of winter drove him in November, 1401, into his winter quarters at Qarábágh. About the middle of February,

[1] According to Ibn 'Arabsháh the number of Tímúr's soldiers on this occasion was 20,000, and each was ordered to bring *two* heads.

[2] *Ẓafar-náma*, ii, p. 367.

1402, he prepared to attack the Ottoman Sulṭán Báyazíd, from whom he had received another defiant letter which goaded him to fury. On July 20, 1402, was fought the memorable battle of Angora, in which the Ottoman Turks were utterly defeated and their Sulṭán, Báyazíd, "the Thunderbolt," taken prisoner. The well-known story that Tímúr confined him in a cage and carried him about with him wherever he went is now generally discredited[1]. No mention of this is made, I think, by Sharafu'd-Dín 'Alí of Yazd and other Persian historians of Tímúr, and the story may have arisen from an expression used by Ibn 'Arabsháh, who, as already mentioned, hated Tímúr, and sought always to represent his actions in the worst light. The expression in question is:

The story of Báyazíd and the Iron Cage

وَقَعَ ٱبْنُ عُثْمَانَ فِى قَنَصٍ، وَ صَارَ مُقَيَّدًا كَٱلطَّيْرِ فِى ٱلْقَفَصِ،

"The son of 'Osmán fell into a hunter's snare, and became confined like a bird in a cage"—

a phrase which it is not necessary to take literally, and which may well have been employed metaphorically and to fulfil the exigencies of the rhymed prose in which Ibn 'Arabsháh's work is composed. Sharafu'd-Dín explicitly says[2] that when Báyazíd, with hands bound, was brought before Tímúr, the latter, after reproaching him for his previous contumacy, expressing his regret at having been compelled to make war on a fellow-believer who had rendered such signal services to Islám, and reminding him how he would have probably behaved to the conquered had their respective positions been reversed, concluded by saying that "in gratitude for the victory and help vouchsafed to him by the mercy of God" he would do naught but good to his captive and the other Turkish prisoners.

[1] It is, however, accepted by Professor H. A. Gibbons in his very interesting work on the *Foundation of the Ottoman Empire* (Oxford, 1916). See his long foot-note on p. 255, where the matter is very fully discussed.

[2] *Ẓafar-náma*, vol. ii, pp. 438–9.

Be this as it may, the campaign against the Ottoman Turks continued; royal Broussa and "infidel" Smyrna were attacked and made desolate, the latter in December, 1402; and a little later, on February 26, 1403, the unfortunate Báyazíd died in captivity.

Submission of the Egyptian Sulṭán al-Maliku'n-Náṣir

Seeing what had befallen the Turks, the Egyptian Sulṭán, al-Maliku'n-Náṣir Faraj, abandoned his former attitude of defiance, released Tímúr's ambassador, and sent his submission to the victor of Angora by an embassy which was graciously received. In August and September, 1403, Tímúr again raided Georgia, and, having wintered once more at Qarábágh, reached Ray on May 10 and Samarqand about the end of July, 1404. Here a month later arrived

Clavijo's embassy to Tímúr

the Spanish Mission headed by Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, who has left us an entertaining account of his journey from Spain to Samarqand and back, and of his impressions of Tímúr, of which account an English translation, edited by Sir Clements R. Markham, was published by the Hakluyt Society in 1859. Clavijo sailed from Seville in company with an envoy, Muḥammad al-Qáḍí, whom Tímúr had sent to Spain, accompanied by Gomez de Salazar and an ecclesiastic named Fray Alonzo Paez de Santa Maria. Travelling by way of Constantinople, Trebizond, Erzeroum, Khúy, Tabríz, Ṭihrán and Mashhad, the Spanish envoys reached Samarqand on August 31, 1404, in company with the ambassador of "the Sultan of Babylon," and were received by Tímúr on Monday, September 8. He "was seated in a portal, in front of the entrance of a beautiful palace; and he was sitting on the ground. Before him there was a fountain, which threw up the water very high, and in it there were some red apples. The lord was seated cross-legged, on silken embroidered carpets, amongst round pillows. He was dressed in a robe of silk, with a high white hat on his head, on the top of which there was a special ruby, with pearls and precious stones round it." The ambassadors were

brought close before him that he might see them better; for his eyesight was bad, he being so old that the eyelids had fallen down entirely. He received them graciously, enquiring, "How is my son the king? Is he in good health?" and then turned to the nobles who stood round him, saying, "Behold! here are the ambassadors sent by my son the King of Spain, who is the greatest King of the Franks, and lives at the end of the world. The Franks are truly a great people, and I will give my benediction to the King of Spain, my son. It would have sufficed if he had sent you to me with the letter, and without the presents, so well satisfied am I to hear of his health and prosperous state."

Clavijo's description of Tímúr's Court, his banquets and his "justice"

The Spanish envoys were subsequently entertained at several banquets, of which Clavijo gives detailed descriptions, and saw Tímúr several times. They seem to have been much struck by the quantities of meat and wine consumed, and the frequent drunkenness. "The drinking," says Clavijo (p. 148), "was such that some of the men fell down drunk before her" (Caño, wife of Tímúr); "and this was considered very jovial, for they think there can be no pleasure without drunken men." On another occasion (Oct. 9, 1404), besides the banquet, they were treated to an exhibition of Tímúr's "justice," for "in the place where the traders had pitched their tents, he ordered a great number of gallows to be set up; and declared that, in this festival, he knew how to be merciful and kind to some, and how to be severe to others." On these gallows he forthwith hanged several persons of quality, besides "certain traders who had sold meat for more than it was worth," and some shoemakers. "The custom is," adds Clavijo, "that, when a great man is put to death, he is hanged; but the meaner sort are beheaded"—a curious inversion of the mediaeval practice in England.

The ambassadors do not seem to have seen Tímúr after November 1, 1404, on the morrow of which day "he did not come out of his tent, because he felt ill." They were bidden

by the Mírzás, or Secretaries of the Court, to depart, but this they at first declined to do until they should receive their dismissal from Tímúr and his messages and compliments to their own King. Finally, however, they were compelled to leave without another audience (Tímúr being then, as they were led to believe, sick unto death) and quitted the city on November 18 with the "ambassadors from Turkey" and "the ambassador from the Sultan of Babylon." After remaining for three days in a garden outside the town, they started on their homeward journey on November 21, 1404. They reached Tabríz on February 28, 1405, and were delayed there and at the camp of 'Umar Shaykh Mírzá in Qarábágh for six months, not leaving Tabríz on their homeward march until August 22. After passing through Armenia, of whose inhabitants Clavijo says that "the Christian Armenians are an evil race, who would not let the ambassadors pass until they had given up some of their property," they reached Trebizond on September 17, Constantinople on October 22, 1405, Genoa on January 3, 1406, and San Lucar in Spain on March 1 of the same year, after an absence of nearly three years.

But few notices of this Embassy occur in the Persian historians, though mention is made of it by Sharafu'd-Dín 'Alí of Yazd, who says[1]: "At this juncture there arrived an ambassador from the ruler (*farmán-dih*) of the Frankish realms, who presented many fine gifts and presents, and a variety of offerings and oblations," amongst which "certain tissues adorned with designs and pictures which would have filled Manes with despair" specially aroused the author's admiration. He also mentions on the next page the presence of the Spaniards at one of the banquets given by Tímúr, adding that "even chaff finds its way into the sea," and, a few pages lower[2], chronicles their departure.

By this time Tímúr was apparently recovered from his indisposition, tired of the settled life, and eager for fresh

[1] *Ẓafar-náma*, ii, p. 598.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 633.

adventures, and he resolved to undertake a campaign against China in order to destroy the temples of the heathen, spread the true faith, and incidentally enrich himself and his army with the spoils of that spacious, ancient and wealthy land. After making all necessary arrangements for the campaign and for the administration of his vast territories during his absence, he set out from Samarqand on his eastward march on November 27, 1404. The winter was exceptionally severe, and the army, after suffering much from the cold, crossed the Jaxartes (*Síḥún*) on the ice, and reached Utrár on January 14, 1405. A month later Tímúr fell ill, and, though treated by Mawláná Faḍlu'lláh of Tabríz, who was accounted one of the most skilful physicians of his age, his sickness increased and complications set in until he finally succumbed, a week after the first attack, on February 18, 1405, being then seventy-one [lunar] years of age, and having reigned thirty-six years. His mind remained clear to the last, and having nominated his grandson Pír Muḥammad-i-Jahángír to succeed him as ruler of his vast empire, he embodied his last wishes in a discourse which is fully reported by Sharafu'd-Dín[1], and died with the profession of the faith of Islám on his lips.

Tímúr prepares for a campaign against China

Illness and death of Tímúr on Feb. 18, 1405

The character of Tímúr has been differently appraised by those who are dazzled by his military achievements on the one hand, and those who are disgusted by his cruelty and utter disregard of human life on the other. One factor in such judgement is the acceptance or rejection of the much discussed and quoted *Tuzúkát*, or "Institutes," which profess to contain Tímúr's own philosophy of Empire. Thus Gibbon says, in a foot-note in ch. lxv, that though he "did not expect to hear of Tímour's amiable moderation"...he "can excuse a generous enthusiasm in the reader, and still more in the editor, of the *Institutions*," though in the corresponding portion of the text, he criticizes him pretty severely, and

Various views of Tímúr's character

[1] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 656–7.

admits that "perhaps we shall conclude that the Mogul Emperor was rather the scourge than the benefactor of mankind." Sir John Malcolm's very judicious observations have been already cited[1]. Sir Clements R. Markham[2] says that, although Tímúr's conquests were the cause of much suffering to the human race, yet "he certainly was not the remorseless tyrant he is represented by [Ibn] 'Arabsháh and his other enemies," and that "there is evidence that he had loftier aims than the mere gratification of his lust for conquest." He adds[3] that though "the name of Tímúr is frequently coupled with that of Chingíz Khán, yet the latter was a rude uncultivated barbarian, while there is evidence that the former was versed in all the knowledge of his age and country." As regards the facts of Tímúr's life, there is little difference of opinion: his massacres and pyramids of skulls are equally chronicled by his panegyrists, Sharafu'd-Dín 'Alí of Yazd and Niẓám-i-Shámí, and his detractor Ibn 'Arabsháh, though the former affect to regard them as "manifestations of the Divine Attributes of Wrath" (*Sifát-i-Jaláliyya* or *Qahriyya*), and the latter as the outcome of diabolic malignity. The latter view appears to me the more reasonable and natural; and as for the "Institutes," which supply a quasi-philosophic basis for this policy of "frightfulness," I incline to the reasoned opinion expressed by Rieu[4] that they are spurious.

Firídún Bey's collection of State Papers

Before closing this brief account of Tímúr, some reference should be made to certain despatches which passed between him and the Ottoman Sultan Báyazíd and others, of which the texts are preserved in an important collection of State Papers known as the *Munsha'át-i-Firídún Bey*, of which a good edition was printed at Constantinople in Jumáda II, A.H. 1274 (February, 1858). The compiler of this work, Aḥmad Firídún, known as *Tawqí'í* (*Tevqí'í*), flourished in the middle of the tenth

[1] See pp. 182–3 *supra*. [2] *History of Persia*, p. 219.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 220, and the *Introductory Life of Tímúr* prefixed to Clavijo's *Embassy to the Court of Tímúr*, p. li. [4] *Pers. Cat.*, p. 178.

century of the Muhammadan (sixteenth of the Christian) era, and composed, besides the *Munsha'át* (compiled in 982/1574–5), a history entitled *Nuz-hatu'l-Akhbár*. The first volume of the *Munsha'át* comprises State Papers ranging in date from the time of the Prophet (seventh century of the Christian era) to the middle of the sixteenth century. It contains 626 large pages, of which pp. 118–142 contain letters to, from, or about Tímúr, as follows:

List of despatches connected with Tímúr

(1) Letter from Qará Yúsuf to Sulṭán Báyazíd, written in Persian and undated, complaining of the aggressions of Tímúr, whom the writer describes as "that quickener of the fire of evil and trouble and agitator of the chain of mischief and insolence, Tímúr the object of Divine Wrath (may God destroy and crush him!)," and demanding help from Báyazíd (pp. 118–119).

(2) Báyazíd's answer to the above, also written in Persian and undated (p. 119).

(3) Letter from Tímúr to Báyazíd, written in Arabic and undated, requiring in peremptory language that no shelter shall be afforded to Qará Yúsuf and Sulṭán Aḥmad, and warning the Ottoman Sultan against disobedience to this command (pp. 120–1).

(4) Báyazíd's answer to the above, also written in Arabic and undated. This begins (after the doxology), "Know, O ravening dog named Tímúr," and hurls defiance at the invader, daring him to advance (p. 121).

(5) Letter from Sulṭán Aḥmad Jalá'ir of Baghdád to Sulṭán Báyazíd, written in Persian and undated. The writer describes how, after the capture of Baghdád and the two 'Iráqs by Tímúr, he withdrew to Malaṭya and Síwás to await the arrival of Qará Yúsuf, according to Báyazíd's instructions, and how in conjunction they attacked, routed and annihilated the Uzbeks who formed the vanguard of Tímúr's army, but were awaiting with certainty an attack from his main army so soon as news of this disaster should reach him (pp. 124–5).

(6) Báyazíd's answer to the above, announcing that, in consequence of the news received from Sulṭán Aḥmad, he has concluded peace with the "Tekfur," or Byzantine Emperor, and has advanced to Tóqát to aid in checking the invasion of Tímúr (p. 125). Dated Sha'bán, 798 (May, 1396).

(7) Second letter from Tímúr to Báyazíd, written in Persian and undated. It begins with a "salutation tempered with reproach" (*salám-i-'itáb-ámíz*), describes the writer's forty years' career of conquest, and how he has now advanced to Síwás, and taunts his adversaries with their failure to capture Malaṭya and Sinope. He is still, however, ready to come to terms, since he is unwilling that the dissensions of Muslims should afford fresh opportunity to the "Frankish infidels" to pursue their schemes of aggression. In conclusion he describes himself as of the family of the Íl-khánís, and demands a speedy and conciliatory answer to his overtures (pp. 126–7).

(8) Báyazíd's answer to the above, also in Persian and undated. The writer boasts of the martial prowess of the Turks, reminds Tímúr how his ancestor Er-Toghril with 300 horsemen routed 10,000 "Tartar and Mongol heathens," and rehearses other like glorious deeds of his predecessors. He claims to be the protector of the Muslims, and declares that "hitherto not one of the House of 'Othmán has sought by flattery to turn aside an enemy, or has had recourse to deceit or guile" (pp. 127–8).

(9) Tímúr's third letter to Báyazíd, written in Persian and undated, acknowledging a letter sent by means of the Qáḍí Farídu'd-Dín and a person named Najáshí, and expressing a desire for friendship and alliance. Tímúr alludes to his Syrian campaign, objects to the Sultans of Egypt calling themselves "Kings of the two Holy Shrines" (*Sulṭánu'l-Ḥaramayn*), and complains of the return of Sulṭán Aḥmad Jalá'ir to Baghdád (pp. 128–131).

(10) Báyazíd's answer to the above, written in Persian. It is couched in much politer language than his previous

letters, but declines absolutely to surrender Sulṭán Aḥmad Jalá'ir and Qará Yúsuf, which, says the writer, would be entirely incompatible with the Ottoman traditions of hospitality. He alludes to the continuance in Egypt of the lawful descendants of the 'Abbásid Caliphs, and calls on Tímúr, if his intentions are really peaceful, to surrender Síwás (pp. 131–2).

(11) Tímúr's fourth letter to Báyazíd. In this letter he boasts his orthodoxy and adherence to the Sunní creed, denounces the actions of Sulṭán Aḥmad Jalá'ir and Qará Yúsuf, and demands their banishment from Ottoman territory, and an apology from Báyazíd (pp. 132–4).

(12) Báyazíd's answer to the above (pp. 134–5).

(13) Letters from Sháh Manṣúr, the nephew of Sháh Shujá' the Muẓaffarí ruler of Shíráz, to Báyazíd, written in Persian after Dhu'l Qa'da, 802 (June—July, 1400), describing the mischief wrought by "the accursed ones of Chaghatáy," and the deceitfulness and cunning of "that sinner and rebel" Tímúr (pp. 135–9).

(14) Báyazíd's answer to the above. He abuses Tímúr, alludes to the depredations wrought by him in Fárs and at Shíráz, and states that, though actually engaged in an attempt to capture Constantinople, he is preparing to abandon this in order to attack Tímúr (pp. 139–140).

(15) Tímúr's fifth letter to Báyazíd, written from Maráǵha in Persian, but undated. He alludes to his capture of Baghdád, and, after quoting a verse to the effect that to win the whole world it is not worth vexing even an ant, indulges in veiled threats as to what he will do if Báyazíd still refuses to listen to his demands (pp. 140–2).

Here ends the correspondence between Tímúr and Báyazíd preserved by Firídún Bey.

It only remains to be added that Tímúr's corpse was conveyed across the frozen Khujand River on the night of Feb. 19, 1405, and interred four days later at Samarqand, while the Chinese campaign—happily for that people—was finally abandoned.

CHAPTER V.

THE POETS AND WRITERS OF THE TIME OF TÍMÚR.

Stable government not necessarily conducive to good poetry

Attention has already been called to the curious but indisputable fact that in Persia, at any rate, periods of great turmoil and disorder have generally produced the finest poetry, while periods of relative prosperity, when the country was under a strong and stable government, have generally been singularly barren in this respect[1]. In comparatively modern times Persia has never been more strong, united and prosperous than under the Ṣafawí dynasty (A.D. 1502–1736), more particularly during the sixteenth century; yet, though, not only in military strength, national unity and commerce, but also in the arts (especially architecture and painting) and the sciences (especially theology), this period was particularly brilliant, it hardly produced a single poet of commanding genius or wide-spread reputation; a phenomenon of which the causes will be discussed when we come to speak of the epoch in question. The period with the literary aspects of which we are now about to deal is, on the other hand, as will have been sufficiently apparent from the preceding chapter, one of anarchy, misery and bloodshed; yet it would be hard to indicate any period of seventy years (A.D. 1335–1405) which produced so many remarkable poets, a galaxy of talent in which the great Ḥáfiẓ is merely the brightest of many brilliant stars. Probably the existence of numerous little courts, each anxious to rival and excel the others, is favourable to the development of poetical talent, since the poet who fails to win appreciation from one royal patron can easily find another who may prove more susceptible to his song; while, when there is but one capital

[1] Cf. pp. 160–1 *supra*.

and one court, he who fails there (not necessarily from lack of talent so much as from lack of opportunity, ill fortune, or the machinations of jealous rivals) is likely to be permanently discouraged, or at least to remain unknown outside his own immediate circle.

Anarchical condition of Persia from the extinction of the Mongol power to the rise of Tímúr

From this point of view, Persia, immediately after the collapse of the Mongol power, and before the irruption of Tímúr the Tartar, was an ideal field for the wandering poet. In the North-East, with their capital at Herát, were the Kurt princes; at Sabzawár and the neighbourhood the little Sarbadár dynasty (if such it can be called) held sway; the Íl-khanís, Shaykh Ḥasan-i-Buzurg, his son Sulṭán Uways, and their descendants, ruled over a curious elliptical domain which had its northern capital at Tabríz and its southern capital at Baghdád; while Southern Persia was divided amongst princes of the House of Muẓaffar, often independent of, and even at war with, one another, with Shíráz, Iṣfahán, Yazd and Kirmán as their seats of government. There were no hard and fast frontiers to these little states, and no map could be made showing the divisions of these fluid, ever-shifting kingdoms; rather, if we wish to reconstruct the political geography of Persia at that period, we must conceive of some seven or eight centres whence radiated, in ever-varying strength, the influence of as many petty warrior-princes, whose truculent activities were oftener than not combined with a fine literary taste.

Number and excellence of the poets of this period

Of the poets of this period some ten at least deserve mention, either on account of their evident originality and beauty, or because of the reputation which they enjoy in their own country. These two things do not necessarily go together, but either of them seems to me to entitle a poet at any rate to honourable mention; for a foreign critic must always entertain some mistrust of his judgements, and must remember that, strive as he may, he can hardly hope to

develop the fine and discriminating taste of the cultivated native critic, and that the mere fact that a poet has maintained his reputation amongst his own countrymen for several centuries entitles him at least to some respectful consideration. This applies to lyrical poets like Khwájú and 'Imád of Kirmán and Kamál of Khujand, of whom one is apt to think as mere dim reflections of the incomparable Ḥáfiẓ, devoid of any salient originality; but it must not be forgotten that the first died 37 and the second 18 years before him, and that they may therefore well have prepared the way for his greater achievements, while the eminence of the third, who was his contemporary, is to a certain extent certified by Ḥáfiẓ himself in the verse—

By what criterions poets may be judged by a foreign critic

چون غزلهای تر و دلکش حافظ شنود
گر کمالیش بود شعر نگوید بخجند

which is translated by Rosenzweig-Schwannau[1]—

"Wenn er erst Hafisens Lieder höret,
Die als zart und lieblich Jeder kennt,
Wird sich selbst Kemāl nicht unterfangen
Dichtend aufzutreten in Chodschend."

On the other hand poets like 'Ubayd-i-Zákání and Bushaq (Abú Isḥáq) are so original that, whether appreciated or not in their own country, they cannot be ignored by any student of Persian literature.

I propose, therefore, to discuss in this chapter the following poets, and, that priority may be duly considered in relation to actual merit, in chronological order. This, however, can only be regarded as approximate, since in most cases the date of death only is recorded (and that often uncertainly), and we often do not know whether the poet died young or at an advanced old age. Indeed, notwithstanding the numerous biographies of poets given by Dawlatsháh,

Untrustworthiness of most of the Persian biographers of poets

[1] *Hafis*, *Diwán*, vol i, pp. 328, 329, ll. 13–14 of text.

and in the *Átash-kada*, *Haft Iqlím* and other similar well-known works, the lack of authentic particulars as to the lives and characters of these poets is a very discouraging feature in our quest. Most of the anecdotes given in these books are trivial or fictitious, and, save for what can be gleaned from their verses (where again we are often hampered by the lack of anything approaching a critical edition), we are finally driven to admit that we know very little indeed about most of them. They were generally poor men, often socially obscure, and as such were completely ignored by contemporary historians, while all that later generations, who appreciated their merit, could do was, as a rule, to string together a few more or less trivial anecdotes, evidently constructed in many cases to explain or illustrate passages in their poems. An exception must be made in favour of one rare manuscript work, the *Mujmal* ("Compendium") of Faṣíḥí of Khwáf[1], a chronicle of some thousand pages compiled in 845/1441–2 and containing many valuable details not to be found elsewhere, especially in what concerns the province of Khurásán in general, and the city of Herát in particular.

Lack of critical editions

The poets of this period whom I propose to discuss are the following:

Ten poets to be discussed in this chapter

(1) *Ibn-i-Yamín* (d. 745/1345 according to Dawlatsháh[2], or 769/1368 according to the more authoritative *Mujmal*) was associated with the Sarbadár dynasty.

[1] So far as I know, only three MSS. of this work exist in Europe. One, in St Petersburg, is described by the late Baron Victor Rosen at pp. 111–113 of his *Collections Scientifiques*, vol. iii, *Manuscrits Persans* (No. 271) and by Dorn in vol. ii of the *Bulletin de la classe historico-philologique de l'Académie Imperiale des Sciences de St Pétersbourg*, pp. 1 *et seqq.* The second (marred by an extensive lacuna comprising the years A.H. 718–840) formerly belonged to the late Colonel Raverty, and is now the property of the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Trust." The third, modern but complete, belonged to Sir Albert Houtum-Schindler and is now in my possession. See also p. 150 *supra*, n. 1 *ad calc.*

[2] See p. 276, ll. 12–13 of my edition.

(2) *Khwájú of Kirmán* (d. 753/1352, or, according to Dawlatsháh, 742/1341–2).

(3) *'Ubayd-i-Zákání*, the great satirist and parodist (d. 772/1371).

(4) *'Imád of Kirmán* (d. 773/1372).

(5) *Salmán of Sáwa* (d. 779/1378), the panegyrist of Sulṭán Uways.

(6) *Ḥáfiẓ of Shíráz* (d. 791/1389).

(7) *Kamál of Khujand* (d. 793/1391, or 803/1400).

(8) *Maghribí*, the mystic (d. 809/1407).

(9) *Busḥaq* (Abú Isḥáq) *of Shíráz*, the gastronomic poet (d. 814/1416).

(10) *Nízámu'd-Dín Maḥmúd Qárí of Yazd*, the poet of clothes.

Of each of these poets I shall now proceed to speak in detail.

1. *Ibn-i-Yamín*

(*Amír Maḥmúd ibn Amír Yamínu'd-Dín Ṭughrá'í*).

Although notices of this poet and his father Yamínu'd-Dín (from whom he derives the name Ibn-i-Yamín—"son of Yamín"—by which he is commonly known) occur in Dawlatsháh[1], the *Haft Iqlím*, *Átash-kada*[2], *Majma'u'l-Fuṣaḥá*[3] and other biographical works, the few particulars about him which are known to us are chiefly derived from the rare *Mujmal* of Faṣíḥí. In this work Ibn-i-Yamín is thrice mentioned, under the years 743/1342–3, and 769/1367–8, the year of his death.

The first of these two notices, so far as it concerns Ibn-i-Yamín, runs as follows:

Notice of Ibn-i-Yamín in the *Mujmal* of Faṣíḥí

"War of Malik Mu'izzu'd-Dín Abu'l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad-i-*Kurt* with Khwájá Wajíhu'd-Dín Mas'úd-i-*Sarbadár* and Shaykh Ḥasan-i-Júrí between Záwa and Khwáf, and death of Shaykh

[1] Pp. 272, 275–7 and 359 of my edition.

[2] P. 7 of the Bombay lithographed ed. of A.H. 1277.

[3] Vol. ii, pp. 2–5 of the Tihrán lithograph.

Ḥasan-i-Júrí at the hands of Khwájá Wajíhu'd-Dín Mas'úd's men on the 13th of Ṣafar [A.H. 743 = July 18, 1342], and flight of Khwájá Wajíhu'd-Dín.

"Loss of the *Díwán* (complete poetical works) of the late Amír Fakhru'l-Ḥaqq wa'd-Dín Maḥmúd ibn-i-Yamín the *Mustawfí* (government accountant) of Faryúmad, which was looted in the battle mentioned above. Here is the fragment [in which Ibn-i-Yamín refers to this event]:

بچنگالِ غارتگران اوفتاد ' وزان پس کسی زو نشانی نداد '

'It fell into the hands of the spoilers, and thereafter no trace of it was found.'

"The above-mentioned Amír Fakhru'd-Dín Maḥmúd [Ibn-i-Yamín] sent the following fragment which he had composed from Sabzawár to Malik Mu'izzu'd-Dín Abu'l-Ḥusayn-i-*Kurt*:

گر بدستان بستد از دستم فلك دیوانِ من '
آنکه او میساخت دیوان شکرِ یزدان با منست '
ور ربود از من زمانه سلكِ دُرِّ شاهوار '
لیکن از دردش نیندیشم چو درمان با منست '
ور ز شاخِ گُلْبنِ فضلم گُلی بربود باد '
گُلشنی پُر لاله و نسرین و ریحان با منست '
ور تهی شد یك صدف از لؤلؤ لالا مرا '
پُر ز گوهر خاطری چون بحرِ عمّان با منست '
قطرهٔ چند از رشاشِ کلکم ار گُم شد چه شد '
خاطرِ فیّاضِ همچون ابرِ نیسان با منست '
آبِ شعرِ عذبِ من چون خاك اگر بر باد رفت '
سهل باشد چشمه‌سارِ آبِ حیوان با منست '

گرچه آمد دل بدرد از گشتنِ دیوان تلف،
زآن چه غم دارم چو طبعِ گوهر افشان با منست،
ور ثنای شاهِ عالم همچو صیتِ عدلِ او،
منتشر شد در جهان طبعِ ثناخوان با منست،
گرچه دیوانِ دگر ترتیب دانم کرد لیك،
حاصلِ عمرم هبا شد اندُهِ آن با منست،
بی عنایت گر بود گردونِ دون با من چه باك،
چون عنایتهای شاهنشاهِ دوران با منست،
خسروِ عادل مُعِزّ الدّین که گوید قدرِ او،
کز جلالت آنچه می گُنجد در امکان با منست،
معظمِ چاکر نوازیها که اندر کُلّ حال،
شهریارِ عهدرا از جمله اقران با منست،
آن بود کز لطفِ او گوید مرا آزادهٔ،
شاد باش ابن یمین کاجزای دیوان با منست،
عمر شد در کامرانی تا ابد باد و بود
وردِ من چاکر دعای شاه تا جان با منست،

"Seek as they might his *Díwán* was not to be found, so he made a [fresh] compilation from the anthologies of the Masters [of this art], and from what each [amateur of verse] remembered by heart, and from what he himself subsequently composed:

کآشعارِ پراگنده چو هفت اورنگم، مانندهٔ پروین بنظام آید باز،

'So that my verses, scattered like the Seven Thrones[1],
Might be again co-ordinated like the Pleiades.'"

[1] *I.e.* the Great Bear, also called "the Seven Brothers" (*Haft Birádarán*), and by the Arabs *Banátu'n-Na'sh*, "the Daughters of the Bier," or "Pall-bearers."

This ends the first notice of Ibn-i-Yamín in the *Mujmal*, but, before passing on to the second, I should give a translation of the fourteen couplets quoted above, which, if not remarkable as poetry, are of interest on account of the data which they afford.

(*Translation*)

"If Heaven, by a trick, snatched my *Díwán* out of my hands,
Thanks be to God! He who made the *Díwán*[1] is still with me!
And if Fate plucked from me a string of pearls fit for a king,
Yet I grieve not at its loss, since the remedy is with me.
And if the wind tore a flower from a branch of the rose-bush of my talent,
A garden full of anemones, eglantine and basil is still with me.
And if one of my shells of brilliant pearls was emptied,
I still have a mind filled with pearls like the sea of 'Ummán.
What matters it if a few drops of the sputterings of my pen are lost?
There still remains with me a talent bountiful as the April cloud!
If the sweet water of my verse has been cast to the winds like dust
It matters little, for with me is the Fountain of the Water of Life.
And though my heart is grieved at the loss of my *Díwán*,
Why should I grieve at this, since my pearl-producing genius remains?
And if the praise of the King of the World is, like the fame of his justice,
Spread abroad throughout the earth, the praise-producing talent is mine!
Although I could compile another *Díwán*, yet
My life's work is wasted, and regret for this remains with me.
If this vile Age is unkind to me, what matter
If the favours of the King of the Age are mine?
That just Prince *Mu'izzu'd-Dín*, whose virtue cries,
'Whatever of glory can enter the Phenomenal World is mine.'
The chief of the favours which in all circumstances
The King of the Age doth show me amongst all my peers
Is this, that by his favour one of noble rank says to me
'Rejoice, O Ibn-i-Yamín, for the constituent parts of the *Díwán* are in my possession!'
Life has passed: may he continue successful until Eternity,
And may the daily portion of me his servant be prayers for the King so long as life remains to me!"

[1] *I.e.* my genius, myself.

Date of Ibn-i-Yamín's death

The second entry in the *Mujmal* is very brief, and merely records the death of Ibn-i-Yamín on the 8th of Jumáda ii, 769 (Jan. 30, 1368), this date being further commemorated in the following chronogram:

بود از تاریخِ هجرت هفت صد با شصت و نُه ‘
روزِ شنبه هشتمِ ماهِ جمادی الآخرین ‘
گفت رضوان حوررا بر خیز و استقبال کن ‘
خیمه بر صحرای جنّت بر زند ابنِ یمین ‘

This is followed by a quatrain[1] said to have been uttered by the poet a little before his death:

منگر که دلِ ابنِ یمین پُر خون شد ‘
بنگر که ازین جهانِ فانی چون شد ‘
مصحف بکف و چشم بره روی بدوست ‘
با پیکِ اجل خنده زنان بیرون شد ‘

"Regard not Ibn-i-Yamín's heart of woe;
See how from out this transient world I go.
Qur'án in hand and smiling, forth I wend
With Death's dread messenger to seek the Friend."

Particulars given by Dawlatsháh concerning Ibn-i-Yamín and his father

Dawlatsháh devotes an article to the poet's father as well as to himself (Nos. 6 and 7 of the fifth *Ṭabaqa*), but contributes few material or trustworthy facts, though he cites one fine poem of 14 couplets by the former, whose death he places in the year 724/1324. According to him Amír Yamínu'd-Dín, the father of our poet, was of Turkish origin; settled as a landowner at Faryúmad, where his son was born, in the reign of the Mongol Sulṭán Khudá-banda; and enjoyed the favour and patronage of Khwája 'Alá'u'd-Dín Muḥammad, who was in the fiscal service of Sulṭán Abú Sa'íd,

[1] Given also with very slight variations by Dawlatsháh, p. 276, ll. 15–18 of my edition.

and who was killed near Astarábád by the Sarbadárs in 737/1336–7. Concerning the son, Ibn-i-Yamín, he tells us little, save that he was the panegyrist of the Sarbadárs, which is doubtful, and that he died in 745/1344–5, which is almost certainly incorrect; but he endeavours to make up for this dearth of information by a digression of ten pages on the history of the little Sarbadár dynasty, which lasted about fifty years and was finally extinguished by Tímúr about 788/1386. The *Haft Iqlím*, *Átash-kada* and *Majma'u'l-Fuṣaḥá* practically yield no further information, except that the last-named work states that Ibn-i-Yamín was the panegyrist of Ṭughá-Tímúr. Owing to the loss of his *Díwán*, as described above, it is impossible to determine with certainty who were his patrons and to whom his panegyrics were chiefly addressed.

Extant poems of Ibn-i-Yamín

Ibn-i-Yamín's extant work consists of his *Muqaṭṭa'át*, or "Fragments," most of which are of a philosophical, ethical or mystical character. An edition of them was printed at Calcutta in 1865, and I also possess a pretty and carefully-written manuscript dated Rajab 5, 881 (Oct. 24, 1476). A German rendering of many of these poems by Schlechta-Wssehrd has also been published[1]. The following fine verses on the evolution of the soul are amongst the best and most celebrated of Ibn-i-Yamín's poems:

زدم از کتمِ عدم خیمه بصحرای وجود
وز جمادی بنباتی سفری کردم و رفت
بعد ازینم کششِ طبع بحیوانی بود
چون رسیدم بوی از وی گذری کردم و رفت
بعد از آن در صدفِ سینهٔ انسان بصفا
قطرهٔ هستی خودرا گُهری کردم و رفت

[1] *Ibn Jemin's Bruchstücke*, Vienna, 1852, pp. 191. It contains translations of 164 "Fragments."

با ملائك پس از آن صومعهٔ قدسی‌را،
گِرد بر گشتم و نیکو نظری کردم و رفت،
بعد از آن ره سوی او بُردم و بی ابن یمین
همه او گشتم و ترکِ دگری کردم و رفت

The following is a rather free translation of the above:

"From the void of Non-Existence to this dwelling-house of clay
I came, and rose from stone to plant; but that hath passed away!
Thereafter, through the working of the Spirit's toil and strife,
I gained, but soon abandoned, some lowly form of life:
That too hath passed away!
In a human breast, no longer a mere unheeding brute,
This tiny drop of Being to a pearl I did transmute:
That too hath passed away!
At the Holy Temple next did I foregather with the throng
Of Angels, compassed it about, and gazed upon it long:
That too hath passed away!
Forsaking Ibn-i-Yamín, and from this too soaring free,
I abandoned all beside Him, so that naught was left but HE:
All else hath passed away!"

A parallel passage on the evolution of the soul from the *Mathnawí*

The same ideas have been equally well expressed, however, by the great mystical poet Jalálu'd-Dín Rúmí, who lived a century earlier, in a very well-known passage of the *Mathnawí* which runs as follows:

از جمادی مُرْدم و نامی شدم،
مُرْدم از نامی بحیوان سر زدم،
مُرْدم از حیوانی و آدم شدم،
پس چه ترسم کی ز مُرْدن کَم شدم،
حملهٔ دیگر بمیرم از بشر،
تا بر آرم با ملائك بال و پر،
از ملك هم بایدم جستن ز جو،
کُلُّ شیءٍ هالك الّا وجهه،
پس عدم گردم عدم چون ارغنون،
گویدم کانّا الیه راجعون،

"I died from mineral and plant became;
Died from the plant, and took a sentient frame;
Died from the beast, and donned a human dress;
When by my dying did I e'er grow less?
Another time from manhood I must die
To soar with angel-pinions through the sky.
'Midst Angels also I must lose my place,
Since '*Everything shall perish save His Face.*'
Let me be Naught! The harp-strings tell me plain
That '*unto Him do we return again*[1]!'"

(*Another Fragment*)

از برای دو چیز جوید و بس، مردِ عاقل جهانِ پُر فن را،
یا ازو سربلند گردد دوست، یا کند پایمال دشمن را،
و آنکه میجوید و نمی داند، که غرض چیست مال جستن را،
چیده باشد بمسکنت خوشه، داده زآن پس بباد خرمن را،
غیرِ جان کندن و ز خستن چیست، حاصلی ناشناسِ کودن را،

"Only for one of reasons twain the wise
Possession of this varied world do prize:
Either to benefit their friends thereby,
Or else to trample down some enemy.
But he who seeketh wealth upon this earth,
And knoweth not wherein consists its worth
Is as the gleaner, who with toil doth bind
His sheaf, then casts the harvest to the wind.
Naught but a weary soul and aching back
Accrue to those who understanding lack."

The following is typical in its Manichæan and Malthusian pessimism:

دانی چه موجبست که فرزند از پدر،
منّت نگیرد ارچه فراوان دهد عطا،
یعنی درین جهان که محلِّ حوادث است،
در محنتِ وجود تو افگندهٔ مرا،

[1] Compare Tennyson in *Locksley Hall*:
"Love took up the harp of Life, and smote on all the chords with might;
Smote the chord of Self, that, trembling, pass'd in music out of sight."

"Knowest thou wherefore the child no gratitude bears
E'en to the father who makes him the chief of his heirs?
'Twas thou,' he seems to say, 'who my peace didst mar
By bringing me into a world where such miseries are!'"

The fragment next following also represents a line of thought common with Ibn-i-Yamín and others of his school:

خدائی که بنیادِ هستیت داد،
بروزِ أَلَسْت اندر افگند خشت،
گِلِ پیکرت‌را چهل بامداد،
بدستِ خود از راهِ حکمت سرشت،
قلم‌را بفرمود تا بر سرت،
همه بودنیها یکایك نوشت،
نزیبد که گوید ترا روزِ حشر،
که این کارِ خوبست و آن کارِ زشت،
ندارد طمع رُستنِ شاخِ عود،
هر آنکس که بیخِ شترخار کِشت،
چو از خطِّ فرمانش بیرون نیند،
چه اصحابِ مسجد چه اهلِ کنشت،
خردرا شگفت آید از عدلِ او،
که آنرا دهد دوزخ اینرا بهشت،

"That God who on Creation's Primal Day[1]
The first foundations of thy soul did lay,
Who in His Wisdom did for forty morns
Fashion the house of clay thy soul adorns[2],

[1] The *Rúz-i-Alast*, or "Day of 'Am I not' [your Lord]?" is the day at the beginning of time when God thus addressed the souls which He had created, *A-lastu bi-Rabbikum?* "Am I not your Lord?"

[2] It is said in the traditions "God Most High kneaded Adam's clay for forty days." See Ṭabarí, I, 91.

Who bade the Pen[1] inscribe upon thy brow
Whate'er betided thee from then till now,
It ill beseems Him on the Judgement-Day
'This was well done, and that done ill' to say!
For he who sows the camel-thorn can ne'er
Expect the aloe-tree to blossom there.
Since, then, the Muslim and the Christian stand
Subject alike to His supreme command,
'Why should He give,' in wonder ask the wise,
'To this one Hell, to that one Paradise?'"

(*Another Fragment*)

مرد باید که هر کجا باشد، عزّتِ خویشتن نگه دارد،
خود پسندی و ابلهی نکند، هرچه کبر و منیست بگذارد،
بطریقی رود که مردم را، سرِ موئی ز خود نیازارد،
همه کس‌را ز خویش بِه داند، هیچ کس‌را حقیر نشمارد،
سر و زر در طلب نهد آنگه، تا مگر دوستی بدست آرد،

"Whoe'er he be, wherever he may dwell
A man should strive to guard his honour well;
Conceit and folly he should put aside,
And turn his back on arrogance and pride;
Should so behave that none through him should e'er
Endure vexation equal to a hair;
None should despise for lack of power or pelf,
And deem each neighbour better than himself;
Then all his energies and wealth should spend
That so perchance he thus may gain a friend."

(*Another Fragment*)

کُنجی که درو گُنْجشِ اغیار نباشد،
بر کس ز تو و بر تو ز کس بار نباشد،
رودی و سرودی و حریفی دو سه یاری،
باید که عدد بیشتر از چار نباشد،

[1] According to another tradition (Ṭabarí, I, 29) the Prophet said: "The first thing which God created was the Pen, and He commanded it to write down everything" (*i.e.*, as is explained in other traditions, everything predestined to happen).

رودی و شرابی و کبابی و ربابی،
شرط است که ساقی بجز از یار نباشد،
عقلست که تمییز کند نیك و بد از هم،
او نیز درین کار بانکار نباشد،
و آنکس که شود منکرِ این کار که گفتم،
از عالمِ ارواح خبردار نباشد،
این دولت اگر دست دهد ابنِ یمین‌را،
با هیچ کسی در دو جهان کار نباشد،

"A corner which no stranger can explore,
Where no one bores you, and you no one bore,
A sweetheart, lute and song, a friend or two—
At most a party not exceeding four ;
A harp, a zither, roasted meats and wine,
A cup-bearer who is a friend of thine,
Reason, which doth distinguish good and ill,
Regarding not thy ploy with eyes malign !

Whoever doth disparage such affair
Is in the spirit-world devoid of share ;
To Ibn-i-Yamín should such luck accrue
For no one in this world or that he'd care !"

The following fragment is practically a paraphrase of some very well-known Arabic verses ascribed to Qábús ibn Washmgír, Prince of Ṭabaristán (reigned A.D. 976–1012), which are quoted in the Story of the Merchant and the *Jinní* in the Arabian Nights[1]:

ای دوستان بکامِ دلم نیست روزگار،
آری زمانه دشمنِ اهلِ هنر بود،
سهلست اگر جفا کشم از دورِ بیوفا،
زحمت نصیبِ مردمِ والا گُهر بود،

[1] See W. H. MacNaghten's edition (Calcutta, 1839), vol. i, p. 11, ll. 1–8.

بر آسمان ستاره بود بیشمار لیك،
رنجِ کسوف بر دلِ شمس و قمر بود،

رسمیست در زمانه که هر کم بضاعتی،
ز اهلِ هنر بمرتبه‌ها بیشتر بود،

دریا صفت که منصبِ خاشاك اندرو،
بالای عقدِ گوهر و سِلكِ دُرَر بود،

"Not as I would, O friends, the world doth go:
Of men of genius 'tis the constant foe.
Though fickle Fortune trouble me, what then?
Trouble's the portion of all noble men.
The sky holds countless stars, of which not one
Suffers eclipse, except the moon and sun.
'Tis custom now that he who wants for wits
Ever above the man of talent sits,
As on the sea the dust and rubbish swim
While pearls lie sunk in its abysses dim."

2. *Khwájú of Kirmán*

(*Kamálu'd-Dín Abu'l-'Aṭá Maḥmúd ibn 'Alí ibn Maḥmúd*).

Khwájú of Kirmán

Although nearly all the well-known biographies, such as Dawlatsháh[1], the *Haft Iqlím*, the *Átash-kada*[2], the *Majma'u'l-Fuṣaḥá*[3], etc., contain notices of Khwájú of Kirmán, they are singularly jejune and lacking in precise information, while such precise information as is given is often demonstrably incorrect. Indeed the carelessness with which these works are compiled and copied is deplorable. To take one instance only, Riḍá-qulí Khán, in spite of his undeniable attainments as a poet, a lexicographer and a historian, states in the *Majma'u'l-Fuṣaḥá* that Khwájú was the panegyrist of Sulṭán Abú Sa'íd Khán, who

[1] Pp. 249–253 of my edition.
[2] Pp. 109–110, Bombay lith. of A.H. 1277.
[3] Vol. ii, pp. 15–18 of the Ṭihrán lithographed edition.

reigned from 716–736/1316–1335, and immediately afterwards gives the year of his death as 503/1109–1110, which is evidently a careless mistake for 753. Dawlatsháh, who gives 742/1341–2 as the year of his decease, describes him as belonging to a good family in Kirmán, where, however, he spent but a small part of his life, though in some verses quoted on the same page[1], and evidently composed at Baghdád, he speaks of his native town with longing and affection:

خوشا بادِ عنبر نسیمِ سحر‘ که بر خاکِ کرمانش باشد گذر‘
خوشا وقتِ آن مرغِ دستان سرای‘ که دارد دران بوم مأوا و جای‘
ز من تا چه آمد که چرخ بلند‘ از آن خاکِ پاکم بغربت فگند‘
ببغداد بهرِ چه سازم وطن‘ که نآید بجز دجله در چشمِ من‘

Verses showing his love of his native place Kirmán

“Pleasant the fragrant and sweet-scented blast
Which o’er the earth of Kirmán late hath passed!
Pleasant the days of that sweet Philomel
Which in its groves and gardens fair doth dwell!
What fault was mine that Heaven did decree
From that pure land I must an exile be?
Wherefore in Baghdád city must I dwell
That tears like Tigris from mine eyes may well[2]?”

During his travels, according to the *Haft Iqlím*, Khwájú made the acquaintance of many of his contemporaries amongst the poets and men of letters, and became the disciple of the eminent and pious Shaykh Ruknu’d-Dín ‘Alá’u’d-Dawla of Simnán, with a sketch of whose life Dawlatsháh seeks to compensate us for the exiguity of his information about the proper subject of his biography. Rieu[3] quotes some verses in which a little-known contemporary poet named Ḥaydar of Shíráz fiercely attacks

[1] *Loc. cit.*, p. 249, ll. 18–21.

[2] Literally, “Where naught but the Tigris comes into my eyes.” This may either mean “Where my eyes serve only to shed rivers of tears,” or, “Where I can see nothing but the Tigris.”

[3] *British Museum Pers. Cat.*, p. 623.

Khwájú, whom he calls "a Kábulí thief from Kirmán town," as a plagiarist. He says:

Khwájú accused of plagiarism by Ḥaydar of Shíráz

"Do not mention the name of Khwájú before a poet,
For he is a thief from the *Díwán* of Sa'dí.
Since he cannot compete in verse even with me
How dares he talk about Sa'dí?"

I can find no mention of Khwájú in the *Mujmal* of Faṣíḥí, but Ḥamdu'lláh Mustawfí of Qazwín accords him a brief notice and cites one of his poems in the *Ta'ríkh-i-Guzída*, which was completed in 730/1330[1], so that even during his lifetime he was evidently well-known throughout Persia. He is also mentioned in the *Majálisu'l-Mú'minín*, that late but extensive biographical work on the ornaments of the Shí'a sect of Islám, which, however, in this case does little more than copy Dawlatsháh.

References to Khwájú in the chief biographies of poets

It may be laid down as a general principle that the only satisfactory method of writing the lives of Persian poets, with the possible exception of some of the older ones, who lived before the Mongol Invasion had destroyed the scientific spirit of historical criticism in Persia, is to collect and collate such particulars as can be derived from their own works as preserved in old and correct manuscript copies, since little confidence can be placed in some of the modern lithographed editions. This method has been followed in the case of many of the older poets, such as Firdawsí, Niẓámí, Anwarí, Kháqání, etc., and in this respect Khwájú is more fortunate than many of his contemporaries, for so long ago as 1848 Dr Franz von Erdmann published[2] a short account of him, in which, after quoting and translating Dawlatsháh's article, he gives a brief description of a manu-

Von Erdmann's critical study of Khwájú's life and works

[1] P. 818 of the *fac-simile* edition published in the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series, xiv, 1. See also pp. 29–30 of the reprint of an article on the *Biographies of Persian Poets contained in...the Ta'ríkh-i-Guzída* which I contributed to the *J.R.A.S.* for Oct. 1900 and Jan. 1910.

[2] *Z.D.M.G.* for 1848, vol. ii, pp. 205–215.

script of his *Khamsa*, or five longer *mathnawí* poems, adding some useful particulars derived from them and from his *Díwán*. These particulars I shall here summarize, together with the additional details contributed by Rieu[1].

According to his own statement, in his poem *Naw-rúz u Gul* ("New Year's Day and the Rose"), he was born on Shawwál 15, 679 (Feb. 7, 1281). He began his poetical career by attaching himself to the court of one of the Muẓaffarí princes, probably Mubárizu'd-Dín Muḥammad, the founder of that dynasty, at Yazd. Later he frequented the court of Shaykh Abú Isḥáq (reigned 742–754/1341–1353) at Shíráz, and, as may be gathered from the dedications of some of his *qaṣídas* (panegyrics) given by von Erdmann, the courts of Shirwán-sháh and Qizil Arslán, Prince of 'Iráq, while the poem already cited shows that he also spent some time at Baghdád. In short he would seem to have wandered through the greater part of Persia, and cannot be regarded, like some of his contemporaries, as essentially the poet of one particular dynasty.

Extant poems of Khwájú

Khwájú's poems comprise the five romantic *mathnawís* which constitute the *Khamsa*, or "Quintet" (of which no copy is accessible in Cambridge, though the British Museum possesses a fine copy[2] made in 798/1396), and a *Díwán* containing *qaṣídas* (some religious, but mostly panegyrics), *ghazals* (odes), *muqaṭṭa'át* (fragments), *rubá'iyyát* (quatrains), etc. Of the *Díwán* I possess two manuscripts, one quite modern, and the other, bought at the sale of the Fiott-Hughes library about twenty years ago, copied by "Darwísh Ḥáfiẓ of Shíráz" (not, of course, the great Ḥáfiẓ, who died more than a century earlier) in 899/1493–4. A former owner of the last-mentioned manuscript has computed the number of verses which it contains at about four thousand.

[1] *British Museum Pers. Cat.*, pp. 620–3.

[2] Add. 18,113, to which Rieu's remarks, where cited, refer.

The five poems which constitute the *Khamsa* are:

Khwájú's five *mathnawís*

(1) *Naw-rúz u Gul* ("New Year's Day and the Rose"), of which the contents are briefly stated by von Erdmann, who says that it comprises 2615 verses (*bayt*).

(2) *Humáy u Humáyún*, dedicated, apparently, either to Sulṭán Abú Sa'íd (716–736/1316–1335) or to his minister Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Muḥammad, and containing 3203 verses. This poem, as Rieu has shown, was composed at Baghdád in 732/1331–2.

(3) *Kamál-náma* (the "Book of Perfection"), composed in 744/1343–4, and dedicated to Shaykh Abú Isḥáq, Prince of Fárs, who had ascended the throne only two years previously.

(4) The *Rawḍatu'l-Anwár* ("Garden of Lights"), a mystical poem composed at the shrine of Shaykh Abú Isḥáq Ibráhím, the patron saint of Kázarún in Fárs, in 743/1342–3, a year before the poem last mentioned.

(5) Another mystical poem of the title of which I am uncertain. The whole *Khamsa*, or "Quintet," is apparently an imitation of the celebrated *Khamsa* of Niẓámí of Ganja, and was concluded in 744/1343–4.

In spite of the comparative celebrity which Khwájú enjoys, I have not been able to discover any striking beauty or conspicuous merit in his odes (*ghazals*), of which I have read some seventy-five. The following may serve as a fairly favourable specimen:

مگذر ز ما که خاطرِ ما در وفای تُست،
دل بر امید وعده و جان در وفای تست،
سهلست اگر رضای‌تو ترکِ رضای ماست،
مقصودِ ما ز دُنیٰی و عُقْبی رضای تست،
زین پس چو سر فدای قفای تو کرده‌ایم،
مارا مران ز پیش که دل در قفای تست،

گردن ببند می نهم و سر ببندگی،
خواهی ببخش و خواه بکُش رای رای تست،
آزاد گشت از همه آنکو غلامِ تست،
بیگانه شد ز خویش کسی کآشنای تست،
ای در دلم عزیزتر از جان که در تنست،
جانی که در تنست مرا از برای تست،
این خسته دل که دعوی عشق تو میکند،
سوگند راستش بقدِ دلرُبای تست،
خواجو که رفت در سر جور و جفای تو،
جانش هنوز بر سرِ مهر و وفای تست،

(*Translation*)

"Pass us not by, for our thought is set on thy constancy,
Our heart on the hope of thy promise, and our soul on thy faith!
If it be thy pleasure to thwart our pleasure, that matters little;
Our object in this world and the next is thy pleasure.
Hereafter, since we have staked our head in following thee,
Drive us not from thy presence, for our heart follows after thee.
I put my neck under the yoke and bow my head in service:
Forgive me, if thou wilt, or slay me: it is for thee to judge.
He who is thy slave becomes freed from all:
He who is thy friend becomes a stranger to his own kin.
O thou who art dearer to my heart than the soul which is in the body,
That soul which is in my body exists but for thee!
This sad-hearted victim who aspires to thy love,
His rightest oath is by thy heart-entrancing stature.
Khwájú, who is passing away through thy cruelty and harshness,
His heart is still set on thy love and loyalty!"

Besides odes (*ghazals*) and the above-mentioned *mathnawís*, Khwájú has several *tarkíb-bands*, one or two "fragments" (*muqaṭṭa'át*), and a few quatrains, including one about the dove crying "*Kú, kú?*" ("Where, where" are the great ones of yore departed?), generally ascribed to 'Umar Khayyám.

The following *mustazád* is not without grace :

کس نیست که گوید ز من آن ترکِ خطارا ' گر رفت خطائی
باز آی که داریم توقّع بتو مارا ' با وعده وفائی
منداز بنامِ منِ دلسوخته فلفل ' بر آتشِ رخسار
کافتادم از آن دانهٔ مشکین تو یارا ' در دامِ بلائی
امروز منم چون خمِ ابروی تو در شهر ' مانندِ هلالی
تا دیده‌ام آن صورتِ انگشت نمارا ' انگشت نمائی
باز آی که سر در قدمت بازم و جانرا ' در پای سمندت
چون می ندهد دست من بی سر و پارا ' جز نعل بهائی
در شهرِ شما قاعده باشد که نپرسند ' احوالِ غریبان
آخر چه زیان مملکتِ حسنِ شمارا ' از بی سر و پائی
تا چند مخالف زنی ای مطربِ خوشگوی ' از پردهٔ عشّاق
بنواز زمانی من بی‌برگ و نوارا ' از بانگِ نوائی
زین بیش نهان چند توان داشتن آخر ' در دل غمِ هجران
دانم که سرایت کند این درد نگارا ' یك روز بجائی
در ظلمتِ اسکندرم از حسرتِ لعلت ' مانندهٔ خواجو
لیکن چه کنم چون نبود ملکت دارا ' در خوردِ گدائی

(*Translation*)

"Is there none to say from me to that Turk of Cathay (*Khaṭá*)
'If any fault (*khaṭá*)[1] has been committed
Come back, for we hope from thee for ourselves
Fidelity to promises.

[1] This is a very common word-play, *e.g.* in the well-known verse :

ترکِ تُرکانِ خطا نبود صواب '

The Turks of Cathay or Chinese Tartary are celebrated in Persia for their fair complexions and beauty.

Do not cast pepper in the name of me, the heart-consumed,
On the fire of thy cheek[1],
For because of that musky grain of thine I have fallen, O friend,
Into the snare of misfortune.
Today I am, like the curve of thine eyebrow, in the city
Like unto the crescent moon[2],
Since I have seen that face of signal beauty
The cynosure of every eye.
Come back, that I may lay down my head at thy feet, and my life
At the feet of thy horse,
Since the hand of poor indigent me cannot provide
Anything more than 'hoof-money[3].'
Is it a rule in your city not to enquire
Into the condition of poor strangers?
After all, what hurt could befall the realm of thy beauty
From one so helpless [as me]?
How long, O sweet-voiced minstrel, wilt thou play out of tune
The 'Lover's Air'?
Soothe me, the poor and portionless, for once
By a song of substance!
After all, how much longer can I keep hidden
In my heart the grief of separation?
O Beloved, I am sure that this grief will spread
One day somewhither.
Through regret for thy ruby lip I am in the Darkness of Alexander[4]
Like Khwájú,
But what can I do, since the Kingdom of Darius.
Is not meet for a beggar?"

These few specimens of Khwájú's poems will perhaps suffice to show that his verse, while graceful and pleasing, lacks any conspicuous distinction or excellence.

[1] Rue (*sipand*) and pepper (*filfil*) are burned in incantations against the Evil Eye. The black mole (*khál*) or beauty-spot on the red cheek of a beautiful person is often compared by the Persian poets to rue on the fire.

[2] *I.e.* bent with grief and disappointment.

[3] *Na'l-bahá*, or "hoof-money," is money paid to invading troops to induce them to abstain from looting.

[4] This alludes to Alexander's quest for the Water of Life in the Land of Darkness.

3. *'Ubayd-i-Zákání* (*Niẓámu'd-Dín 'Ubaydu'lláh*).

'Ubayd-i-Zákání

'Ubayd-i-Zákání is, perhaps, the most remarkable parodist and satirical writer produced by Persia, and though, like most Persian, Arabian and Turkish satirists, his language is frequently so coarse as to render a large part of his writings unfit for translation, his *Akhláqu'l-Ashráf*, or "Ethics of the Aristocracy," is, where not so marred, a fine piece of irony, while some of his serious poems (which have been too much ignored by most of his biographers) are of singular beauty. Of his life, as usual, little is known, save that he was originally from Qazwín (for which city he seems to have had little affection, since he is constantly gibing at the stupidity of its inhabitants), lived at Shíráz (to which, on the other hand, as several of his poems show, he was much attached) during the reign of Shaykh Abú Isḥáq Injú (who was killed in 747/1346–7), abandoned serious writing for a ribaldry more in accord with the taste of the great men of that time, but none the less (as several of his poems and a well-known anecdote about his death indicate) suffered much from penury and debt, and finally died about 772/1371. Another well-known anecdote describes his quarrel and reconciliation with his contemporary Salmán of Sáwa[1], and he appears to have enjoyed the patronage of Sulṭán Uways at Baghdád or Tabríz, or both. Dawlatsháh[2] consecrates a long but not very informative article to him, most of which (with fuller quotations from his poems) is reproduced in the *Haft Iqlím*. The notice in the *Átash-kada* is very meagre, and no mention of him is made in the *Mujmal* of Faṣíḥí or in the modern *Majma'u'l-Fuṣaḥá*. His satirical *mathnawí* of "the Mouse and the Cat" (*Músh u Gurba*) has been lithographed, with quaint woodcuts, at

[1] See Ouseley's *Notices of Persian Poets*, pp. 125–128.

[2] Pp. 288–294 of my edition.

Bombay, without date[1]; and a selection of his *Facetiæ*, to which is prefixed a Persian preface, probably by the late Mírzá Ḥabíb of Iṣfahán, followed by another of M. Ferté, was printed at Constantinople, at the Press of Ebu'ẓ-Ẓiyá Tevfíq Bey, in 1303/1885–6[2]. As these two prefaces contain most that is to be said about 'Ubayd-i-Zákání, I here append a translation, omitting only a few unsuitable passages.

"*Preface.*

"That most witty poet 'Ubayd-i-Zákání was of the village of Zákán[3] near Qazwín, and was one of the notabilities of the eighth century of the Flight[4]. He was a man of talent and learning, one of the masters of style and sound taste. Although some reckon him as one of the ribald writers, it is only fair to state that, though jests, ribaldry and satire occur in his poems, he deserves to rank as something more than a mere satirist, being, indeed, conspicuous amongst the older poets for his grace and wit, and in these respects approached by few. He was particularly skilful in incorporating in his poems and investing with a ludicrous sense the serious verses of other poets, an achievement in which he left no ground unturned. His own serious poems, on the other hand, are incomparable in fluency of diction, sweetness and distinction, and are unrivalled in grace and subtlety.

"'Ubayd-i-Zákání pursued his studies at Shíráz in the reign of Sháh Abú Isḥáq, and became one of the most accomplished men of letters and learning of his time, acquiring complete proficiency in every art, and compiling books and treatises thereon. He subsequently

[1] There is also a cheap English rendering, with the same woodcuts, of which I once picked up a copy at the railway bookstall of Llandudno Junction.

[2] It comprises 128 pp.

[3] Ḥamdu'lláh Mustawfí of Qazwín in his *Ta'ríkh-i-Guzída* (Gibb Memorial Series, vol. xiv, 1, pp. 845–6) speaks of the *Zákánís* as one of the notable tribes or families of Qazwín, says that they were descended from the Arabian tribe of Khafája, and quotes in the original Arabic a rescript (*manshúr*) addressed to them by the Prophet Muḥammad. At the end of this article he mentions our poet as follows: "Of them is that honoured gentleman Master [*Khwája*] Niẓámu'd-Dín 'Ubaydu'lláh, who has some fine poems and incomparable writings." This book was written in 730/1330, and as 'Ubayd-i-Zákání was then already a man of note in his own city of Qazwín, he cannot have been born much later than 700/1300.

[4] Fourteenth of the Christian era.

returned to Qazwín, where he had the honour of being appointed to a Judgeship, and was chosen as the tutor and teacher of sundry young noblemen. At that time the Turks in Persia had left no prohibited or vicious act undone, and the character of the Persian people, by reason of association and intercourse with them, had become so changed and corrupted that 'Ubayd-i-Zákání, disgusted at the contemplation thereof, sought by every means to make known and bring home to them the true condition of affairs. Therefore, as an example of the corrupt morals of the age and its people, he composed the treatise known as the 'Ethics of the Aristocracy' (*Akhláqu'l-Ashráf*), which was not intended as mere ribaldry, but as a satire containing serious reflections and wise warnings. So likewise, in order to depict the level of intelligence and degree of knowledge of the leading men of Qazwín, each one of whom was a mass of stupidity and ignorance, he included in his 'Joyous Treatise' (*Risála-i-Dilgushá*) many anecdotes of which each contains a lesson for persons of discernment. As a measure of his accomplishments, experience, learning and worldly wisdom, his 'Tract of a Hundred Counsels' (*Risála-i-Sad Pand*) and his 'Definitions' (*Ta'rífát*) are a sufficient proof. Moreover, even those who speak of him as a mere ribald satirist admit that he composed a treatise on Rhetoric (*'Ilm-i-Ma'ání u Bayán*) which he desired to present to the King. The courtiers and favourites, however, told him that the King had no need of such rubbish. Then he composed a fine panegyric, which he desired to recite, but they informed him that His Majesty did not like to be mocked with the lies, exaggerations and fulsome flattery of poets. Thereupon 'Ubayd-i-Zákání said, 'In that case I too will pursue the path of impudence, so that by this means I may obtain access to the King's most intimate society, and may become one of his courtiers and favourites,' which he accordingly did. Then he began recklessly to utter the most shameless sayings and the most unseemly and extravagant jests, whereby he obtained innumerable gifts and presents, while none dared to oppose or contend with him.

"It is said that after 'Ubayd-i-Zákání had despaired of entering the King's assembly, he extemporized the following quatrain :

در علم و هنر مشَو چو من صاحبِ فن'
تا نزدِ عزیزان نشوی خوار چو من'
خواهی که شوی پسندِ اربابِ زمن'
کَنگ آور و کُنگُری کن و کِنگر زن'[1]

[1] The *Farhang-i-Náṣirí* explains کَنگ as امرد قوی جثّه, with a reference to Sa'dí's *Khabíthát* (Calcutta ed. of 1795, vol. ii, f. 470^b, l. 4);

'In arts and learning be not skilled like me,
Or by the great like me despised thou'llt be.
Wouldst earn applause from this base age of thine?
Beg shamelessly, play lute and libertine!'

"One of his acquaintances, hearing this, expressed astonishment that one so talented and accomplished could abandon learning and culture in favour of ribaldry and lewd utterances. To him 'Ubayd-i-Zákání sent the following verse:

'ای خواجه مکن تا بتوانی طلبِ علم'
'کاندر طلبِ راتبِ هر روزه بمانی'
'رَو مسخرگی پیشه کن و مطربی آموز'
'تا دادِ خود از مهتر و کهتر بستانی'

'Keep clear of learning, Sir, if so you may,
Lest you should lose your pittance for the day.
Play the buffoon and learn the fiddler's skill:
On great and small you then may work your will[1]!'.

"It is said that Salmán-i-Sáwají, a contemporary poet, wrote these verses satirizing 'Ubayd-i-Zákání, whom he had never seen:

'جهنّمیّ هجاگو عبیدِ زاکانی' 'مقرّر است ببیدولتی و بیدینی'
'اگرچه نیست ز قزوین و روستا زاده‌است'
'ولیك میشود اندر حدیث قزوینی'

''Ubayd-i-Zákání, the rhymester, whose damnable satirist pen
Hath made him accursed before God, and obnoxious to men;
He's an ignorant oaf from the country, and not a Qazwíní at all,
Though him, and that not without reason, "Qazwíní" they call[2].'

"The point of this verse is that Persian wits affect to regard the people of Qazwín as fools, just as they dub the Khurásánís 'asses,' the

---

کُنگُر as a very importunate type of beggar, who continues to make an intolerable noise outside a house until the householder gives him money to go away; and کِنْگِر as an Indian musical instrument.

[1] Here follow some very coarse verses on a lady named Jahán-Khátún whose hand had been sought in marriage by Khwája Amínu'd-Dín, one of Sháh Abú Isḥáq's ministers. She also was a poetess, and I possess a MS. of her poems, the only copy I ever met with.

[2] The people of Qazwín are reputed (very unjustly) to be the stupidest in Persia.

people of Ṭús 'cows,' those of Bukhárá 'bears,' and those of Transoxiana 'Mashhadís,' that is, heretics (*Ráfiḍís*), all of which attributions are of the nature of disparagement.

"As soon as 'Ubayd-i-Zákání heard this verse, he at once set out for Baghdád. On his arrival there, he found Salmán, surrounded with great pomp and circumstance, on the banks of the Tigris, occupied with pleasure and diversion and the society of learned and accomplished men. When by some means he succeeded in entering the circle, Salmán had just composed this hemistich descriptive of the Tigris :

'دجله‌را امسال رفتاری عجب مستانه است'

'With drunken frenzy and fury fierce this year the Tigris flows'—

which he asked the bystanders to complete. Thereupon 'Ubayd-i-Zákání extemporized the following complementary hemistich :

'پای در زنجیر و کف بر لب مگر دیوانه است'

'With its foaming lips and its feet in chains, 'twere
mad, you might suppose.'

"Salmán was delighted, and enquired whence he came. He replied, 'From Qazwín.' In the course of the ensuing conversation Salmán asked him whether his name was known or any of his verse familiar in Qazwín, or not. 'Ubayd-i-Zákání replied, 'The following fragment of his poetry is very well known :

'من خراباتیم و باده پرست در خراباتِ مغان عاشق و مست'
'می کشندم چو سبو دوش بدوش'
'می برندم چو قدح دست بدست'

"A frequenter of taverns am I, and a lover of wine,
Besotted with drink and desire at the Magians' shrine.
Like a wine-jar from shoulder to shoulder amongst them I pass,
And go from one hand to another like goblet or glass."'

"'Now although Salmán is an accomplished man,' added 'Ubayd, 'and these verses may perhaps be truly ascribed to him, yet in my opinion they were most probably composed by his wife[1].'

"Salmán perceived from this witty speech that this was none other than 'Ubayd himself, whereupon he made much of him, apologized for his satire, and so long as 'Ubayd remained in Baghdád, fell short in no service which he could render him. And 'Ubayd used often to say to

[1] The implication is, of course, that his wife was a woman of loose morals and bad character.

him, 'O Salmán, fortune favoured you in that you so speedily made your peace with me, and so escaped from the malice of my tongue!'"

Then follows as a postscript the short Introduction ascribed to M. Ferté, who describes therein his devotion to Oriental and especially Persian literature, his desire to contribute something to a fuller knowledge of it, and his appreciation of the works of 'Ubayd-i-Zákání, a manuscript of which happened to come under his notice. From this manuscript he made the selections (amounting to about three-quarters of the whole contents) contained in this volume. These include:

(1) The *Akhláqu'l-Ashráf*, or "Ethics of the Aristocracy" (prose), composed in 740/1340.

(2) The "Book of the Beard" (*Rísh-náma*), in mixed prose and verse, undated.

(3) The "Book of a hundred Counsels" (*Risála-i-Ṣad pand*), composed in 750/1350 (prose).

(4) The "Definitions" (*Ta'rífát*), or "Ten Sections" (*Dah Faṣl*), undated (prose).

(5) Poems of different kinds, mostly obscene, including parodies.

(6) The "Joyous Treatise" (*Risála-i-Dilgushá*), divided into two parts, the one containing Arabic, the other Persian anecdotes and *facetiæ*.

On the other hand, there are omitted from these selections all 'Ubayd's serious poems and panegyrics, as well as the "Book of Lovers" (*'Ushsháq-náma*), "Book of Omens" (*Fál-náma*), etc. Of the three MSS. of this poet's works which I have examined in the British Museum (**Or. 2947**, **Or. 5738**, and **Or. 6303**) the last contains the largest selection of poetry, including panegyrics on Shaykh Abú Isḥáq, Sulṭán Uways, Ruknu'd-Dín 'Amídu'l-Mulk, etc. Among these one of the prettiest is the following:

افتاد بازم در سر هوائی ' دل باز دارد میلی بجائی '
او شهریاری من خاکساری ' او پادشاهی من بی نوائی '
بالا بلندی گیسو کمندی ' سلطان حُسینی فرمان روائی '

ابرو کمانی نازك میانی ' نا مهربانی شنگی دغائی '
زین دلنوازی زین سرو نازی ' زین جَو فروشی گندم نمائی '
بی او نبخشد خورشید نوری ' بی او ندارد عالم صفائی '
هرجا که لعلش در خنده آید ' شکّر نیارد آنجا بهائی '
هرجای دارد دل با خیالش ' خوش گفت و گوئی خوش ما جرائی '
گوئی بیایم جای طبیبی ' باشد که سازم دلرا دوائی '
دارد شکایت هر کس ز دشمن ' مارا شکایت از آشنائی '
چشمِ عُبَیْد ار سیرش نبیند '
دیگر نبیند چشمش بلائی '

(*Translation*)

"Once again a passion has entered my head ; again my heart inclines in a certain direction.
He is of Royal birth, I am of the dust ; he is a King, and I am portionless.
One tall of stature, with locks like lassoes, an autocrat descended from Sulṭán Ḥusayn :
One with eyebrows like bows and slender waist, one unkind, fair and deceitful.
Such a charmer of hearts, such a graceful cypress-tree, such a shower of oats and seller of barley[1] !
Without him the sun gives no light ; without him the world has no lustre.
Wherever his ruby-lip smiles, there sugar is of no account.
Everywhere the heart holds with his vision pleasant speech and sweet discourse
Thou wouldst say that I come to the house of a physician, that perhaps I may procure a remedy for my heart.
Everyone else complains of a foe, but our complaint is of a friend.
Should the eyes of 'Ubayd not look their fill upon him, then his eyes do not regard any other misfortune !"

Another fine manuscript of the works of 'Ubayd-i-Zákání, bearing the class-mark **Suppl. persan 824**, is in the possession

[1] "To show oats and sell barley" means to make specious promises which one cannot fulfil, to let one's practice fall short of one's promises, etc.

of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. It was transcribed in Muḥarram, 834 (Sept.—Oct., 1430), comprises 111 leaves, and contains besides the poems, serious and flippant, the "Book of Lovers" (*'Ushsháq-náma*), in verse and partly in dialect; the "Ethics of the Aristocracy" (*Akhláqu'l-Ashráf*), the "Book of the Beard" (*Rish-náma*), and the "Ten Chapters" (*Dah Faṣl*). The most striking feature of the serious poems is the constant references to Fárs and its capital Shíráz, which evidently held the affection of the poet far more than his native city Qazwín. Thus, to quote a few examples, he says (f. 13b):

بیمنِ معدلتِ پادشاهِ بنده نواز'

بهشتِ روی زمین است خطّهٔ شیراز'

"By the auspicious justice of that King who is so gracious to his servants the region of Shíráz has become an earthly Paradise."

So again he says (f. 23a):

شد ملكِ پارس باز بتأییدِ کردگار'

خوشتر ز صحنِ جنّت و خرّمتر از بهار'

"By the favour of the Creator the Kingdom of Párs hath become pleasanter than the Courts of Paradise and gayer than the Spring."

And again (f. 28a) he says:

رسید رایتِ منصور شاهِ بنده نواز'

بخُرّمی و سعادت بخطّهٔ شیراز'

جهانکشای جوانبخت شیخ ابو اسحق'

خدایگانِ مخالف کُشِ موافق ساز'

"The victorious standard of the King who is so gracious to his servants hath reached with glee and happiness the region of Shíráz:

Shaykh Abú Isḥáq, that world-conqueror of youthful fortune, our liege-lord who slayeth opponents and maketh the fortune of his loyal supporters."

The following verse, again (f. 35b), is strongly reminiscent of, and was probably inspired by, a very well-known verse

of Sa'dí's occurring in a poem quoted in vol. ii of my *Literary History of Persia*, p. 535, lines 13–15:

نسیمِ بادِ مصلّی و آبِ رکن آباد،
غریب‌را وطنِ خویش می برد از یاد،

"The gentle breeze of Muṣallá and the stream of Ruknábád cause the stranger to forget his own native land."

The following verse occurring in a poem in which 'Ubayd bids farewell to Shíráz affords further testimony of his attachment to that place:

رفتم از خطّهٔ شیراز و بجان در خطرم،
وه کزین رفتنِ ناچار چه خونین جگرم،

"I leave the region of Shíráz, being in peril of my life:
Alas, how full of anguish is my heart at this inevitable departure!"

As in the case of Ḥáfiẓ so also in 'Ubayd's *Díwán* we find one disparaging allusion to Hurmuz (Ormuz) in the Persian Gulf which would seem to show that our poet had once visited that place:

در هرمزم افتاده چنین با غم و درد،
از صحبتِ دوستان و مخدومان فرد،

"I am thus cast away in Hurmuz in grief and sorrow, isolated from the companionship of friends and patrons."

Amongst the serious poems is one (f. 30b) in praise of the *Ṣáḥib-Díwán* 'Amídu'l-Mulk, while amongst the satires are two (ff. 54b and 55a) directed against Kamálu'd-Dín Ḥusayn and Shihábu'd-Dín Ḥaydar[1]. One of the religious poems at the beginning of the volume (f. 1b), containing the praise of God, the Prophet, and the Four Orthodox Caliphs, indicates that 'Ubayd was a Sunní, but, apart from his disreputable *facetiæ*, the following verse shows clearly enough that he neither claimed nor desired to lead a virtuous life:

خدایا دارم از لطفِ تو اُمّید، که ملکِ عیشِ من معمور داری،
بگردانی قضاءِ زُهْد از من، بلاءِ توبه از من دور داری،

[1] I have not been able to identify these persons.

"God, of Thy grace one special hope I nourish,
That Thou wilt cause my pleasure-realm to flourish,
And turn from me the Doom of Abstinence,
And save me from the Plague of Penitence!"

As regards 'Ubayd's *facetiæ* (*hazaliyyát*), which are practically the only poems contained in the Constantinople edition of his works, they are, as already stated, almost without exception unfit for translation, and are regarded with disapproval or disgust by all respectable Persians at the present day. Their only point, moreover, lies in the skilful turning to base uses of the serious verses of earlier or contemporary poets, who are thus held up to ridicule and made to afford material for ribaldry by the unscrupulous 'Ubayd-i-Zákání. Amongst the lighter poems which are unobjectionable, however, the following may be cited:

پیش ازین از مِلك هر سالی مرا ' خُردهٔ از هر کناری آمدی '
در وثاقم نانِ خشك و ترّهٔ ' در میان بودی چو یاری آمدی '
گه گهی هم بادهٔ حاضر شدی ' گر ندیمی و نگاری آمدی '
نیست در دستم کنون از خشك و تر '
ز آنچه وقتی در شماری آمدی '
غیرِ من در خانه ام چیزی نماند '
و آن نماندی گر بکاری آمدی '

"Something at least from my small property
Was wont to reach me in the days gone by,
And when friends came to cheer my loneliness
A crust of bread they found, a dish of cress,
And sometimes wine withal, when some new flame
Or some old crony me to visit came.
But now, alas! all that I reckoned on,
Solid or liquid, from my table's gone,
And only I am left, nor would remain
If my removal were another's gain!"

That poverty and debt were our poet's usual lot appears from other verses, such as the following[1]:

مردم بعیش خوشدل و من مبتلای قرض '
هر کس بکار و باری و من در بلای قرض '

[1] Pp. 61–2 of the Constantinople edition.

فرضِ خدا و قرضِ خلایق بگردنم،
آیا ادای فرض کنم یا ادای قرض،

خرجم فزون ز عادت و قرضم برون ز حدّ،
فکر از برای خرج کنم یا برای قرض،

از هیچ خط ننالم غیر از سجلِّ دَیْن،
وز هیچ کس نترسم غیر از گوای قرض،

در شهر قرض دارم و اندر محلّه قرض،
در کوچه قرض دارم و اندر سرای قرض،

از صبح تا بشام در اندیشه مانده‌ام،
تا خود کجا بیابم ناگه رجای قرض،

مردم ز دستِ قرض گریزان و من همی،
خواهم پس از نماز و دعا از خدای قرض،

عرضم چو آبروی گدایان بباد رفت،
از بس که خواستم ز در هر گدای قرض،

گر خواجه تربیت نکند پیش پادشاه،
مسکین عبید چون کند آخر ادای قرض،

خواجه علاء دنیا و دین آنکه جز کفش،
هرگز کسی نداد بگیتی سزای قرض،

"Others rejoice in merriment, while I am afflicted with debt;
Everyone has his affairs and business, while I am in the misfortune of debt.
My duty towards God and my debts to His creatures bow my neck;
Shall I discharge my duty towards God, or my debts?
My expenses are more than usual, and my debts beyond bounds:
Shall I take thought for my expenses or for my debts?
I complain of no documents save summonses for debt,
And I fear no one save the witnesses to my indebtedness.
I have debts in the town and debts in the suburb,
Debts in the street and debts in the store.
From morning until evening I continue in anxiety
As to where I may incontinently beg a loan.
Other people flee from the hands of debt, while I,

After prayer and supplication, pray for a loan from God[1].
My honour, like that of beggars, is cast to the winds,
So often have I sought a loan from the door of every beggar.
If the Master does not bespeak for me the King's favour
How can poor 'Ubayd finally discharge his debts?—
Master *'Alá'u'd-Dunyá wa'd-Dín*, except whose hand
None other in the world hath given Debt its deserts!"

Other poems to the same purport will be found on pp. 58 (ll. 18–23) and 61 (ll. 16–20) of the Constantinople edition, and whether or no the well-known story[2] about 'Ubayd-i-Zákání's death-bed practical joke on his children be true, it certainly accords alike with his character and his circumstances.

The following epigram on a physician is worth quoting:

در عمرِ خود این طبیبك هرزه مقال'

بیمار ندید تا نکُشْتش در حال'

دیشب ملك آلموت در آمد گفتش'

یك روز بخر آنچه فروشی همه‌سال'

"To this fool-doctor no man need apply
For treatment if he does not wish to die.
At last to him the Death-Angel appears
Saying, 'Buy now the goods you've sold for years'!"

"The Mouse and the Cat" (*Músh u Gurba*) is a short *mathnawí* poem of 174 verses, and in the Bombay lithographed edition, with the numerous quaint woodcuts which illustrate it, comprises only 18 pages. It opens with a description of the voracious, keen-eyed, "lion-hunting" cat, with eyes like amber and sharp claws, feet like a scorpion, a forehead like an eagle, a belly like a drum, a breast of ermine, eyebrows like bows, and sharp teeth:

از قضای فلك یکی گربه' بود چون اژدها بکرمانا'

گربهٔ دور بین و شیرشکار' کهربا چشم و تیز مژگانا'

[1] *I.e.* while others fear to become debtors, I pray that I may have the chance of borrowing money and so becoming a debtor.

[2] See my *Year amongst the Persians*, pp. 115–116.

پای کژدم عقاب پیشانی، بود پُر مکر و پر ز دستانا،
شکمش طبل و سینه‌اش قاقم، ابروش قوس و تیز دندانا،

This cat, being in need of a meal, goes to a wine-tavern and conceals itself behind a wine-jar. Presently a mouse appears, leaps on to the edge of one of the jars, and begins to drink the wine, until, filled with the arrogance engendered by alcohol, and ignorant of the proximity of its formidable foe, it begins to boast its prowess, saying: "Where is the cat, that I may wring its neck and bear its head to the market-place? In the day of my munificence at the time of conferring benefits I would distribute the heads of a hundred cats! Cats are but as dogs in my sight, were I to meet them in the open field!"

گفت کو گربه تا سرش بکنم، سرِ اورا برم بمیدانا،
سرِ صد گربه‌را ببخشم من، گاهِ بخشش بروزِ احسانا،
گربه در پیشِ من چو سگ باشد، گر شود رو برو بمیدانا،

Suddenly the cat leaps out upon it, seizes it, and cries, "O miserable mouse, how wilt thou save thy life?"

نا گهان جَسْت و موش‌را بگرفت، گفت موشك کجا بری جانا،

The mouse, effectively sobered now, adopts a tone of piteous entreaty, saying, "I am thy slave: pardon me these sins! If I ate dirt (*i.e.* talked nonsense) I was drunk, and drunkards eat much dirt! I am your slave, your devoted slave...":

موش گفتا که من غلامِ توام، عفو کن بر من این گناهانا،
مست بودم اگر گُهی خوردم، گُه فراوان خورند مستانا،
من غلامم غلامِ حلقه بگوش، طوق بر گردنم غلامانا،

The cat, however, pays no heed to the mouse's supplications, kills and eats it, and then goes to the mosque to pray and repent of its mouse-eating:

گربه آن موش‌را بکشت و بخورد، سوی مسجد بشد خرامانا،
دست و رورا بشُسْت و مسح کشید، وردِ حق‌را بخواند و دیّانا،
بار الٰها که توبه کردم من، ندرم موش‌را بدندانا،
گربه میکرد توبه در مسجد، یا کریم و قدیم و سبحانا،
کارِ من توبه است و استغفار، ای خداوندگار رحمانا،
بهر این خون نا حق ای خلّاق، من تصدّق دهم دو من نانا،
تو ببخشی گناهم ای غفّار، از گُنه گشته‌ام پشیمانا،
درِ مکر و فریب باز نمود، تا بحدّی که گشت گریانا،

Another mouse which was hiding in the pulpit of the mosque hears these edifying utterances and hastens to bear the good news of the cat's repentance to the other mice, saying, in a verse which has become proverbial and is alluded to by Ḥáfiẓ[1]:

مژدگانی که گربه عابد شد، زاهد و مؤمن و مسلمانا،

"Good tidings, for the cat has become devout, an ascetic, a true believer, a Musulmán!"

The mice thereupon decide to express their satisfaction by sending to the cat a deputation of seven mice bearing suitable presents of wine, roasted meats, sweets, nuts, fruits and sherbets. The cat invites them to approach, and then seizes five of them, one in its mouth and one in each of its four paws, while the two survivors escape and carry the sad news of the cat's unchanged nature to the other mice. After a week's mourning for their lost comrades, the mice, 330,000 in number, under the command of their king, march out to do battle with the cats. After a fierce struggle, the cats are defeated, and the chief offender, taken captive, is brought before the king of the mice, who condemns it to die on the gibbet, but at the end the cat breaks away from its captors,

[1] See my *Literary History of Persia*, vol. ii, p. 78, on the figure called *talmíḥ* or "allusion."

kills the king of the mice, and scatters or slays his followers. The poem ends:

هست این قصّهٔ غریب و عجیب، یادگارِ عبیدِ زاکانا

"This strange and wonderful story is a memento of 'Ubayd-i-Zákání."

'Ubayd-i-Zákání's "Ethics of the Aristocracy"

Passing now to 'Ubayd-i-Zákání's prose works, we shall first consider his "Ethics of the Aristocracy" (*Akhláqu'l-Ashráf*), which is a very bitter satire on the morals of his time, composed in 740/1340, and comprising a Preface and seven chapters, each of which deals with one of the virtues in the following order: (1) Wisdom; (2) Courage; (3) Chastity; (4) Justice; (5) Generosity; (6) Clemency and Fidelity; (7) Modesty, Mercy, etc. In each chapter the author treats first of the old or "abrogated" conception of the virtue in question (*madh-hab-i-mansúkh*), and then of the new or "adopted" view (*madh-hab-i-mukhtár*) of the moderns, whom he ironically extols for their discovery, that, for instance, Courage is not really a virtue, as the ancients taught, but a very dangerous and harmful quality. Concerning the purpose of his book he thus speaks in the Preface:

"Just as the physicians have expended their energies on removing the ailments of the body and maintaining its health, so likewise the prophets have concentrated their attention on removing the maladies and misfortunes of the spirit, so that they may bring it out of the perilous gulfs and whirlpools of ignorance and imperfection to the shores of salvation and perfection. When the wise man regards with attentive gaze, it will become plain to him that the object of the mission of those on whom has devolved the Prophet's trust is the refining of the qualities and purification of the attributes of God's servants, a truth thus enunciated in the words of the poet:

گر نبی آید و گرنه تو نکو سیرت باش،
که بدوزخ نرود مردمِ پاکیزه سیر،

'Whether or no a Prophet comes, be thou virtuous in conduct,
For he whose conduct is virtuous will not go to Hell.'

"His Holiness the Prophet himself has removed the veil from the virgin face of this idea, and has revealed the beauty implicit therein

on the bridal throne of this assurance—'*I have been sent to complete virtuous qualities*,' while learned men of former times have committed to writing, in lengthy treatises, most of which the defective intelligence of this humble writer fails to comprehend, the laws of this science, known as 'Ethics' or 'Practical Philosophy,' whereby, in the best and safest way, human nature may be perfected. From the auspicious time of the pure Adam until these days the noblest of mankind, with much trouble and extreme endeavour, have made the most strenuous efforts to acquire the four cardinal virtues of Wisdom, Courage, Chastity and Justice, which they account the chief means to happiness in this world and salvation in the world to come, and concerning which they say:

'بهر مذهب که باشی باش نیکو کار و بخشنده'
'که کفر و نیکخوئی به ز اسلام و بد اخلاقی'

'Of whatever creed thou art, be a well-doer and a giver,
For Infidelity combined with good character is better than Islám combined with immorality.'

"But now in this age, which is the cream of all the ages and the crown of all times, the nature of the leaders of mankind has been sublimated, and great and powerful thinkers have appeared who have concentrated their luminous thoughts and salutary meditations on all matters appertaining to this life and the next, and in their clear vision the ancient laws and practices appeared contemptible and unsubstantial. Moreover, by the lapse of ages and passage of time, most of these rules had become obsolete, and the observance of these ethical principles and practices proved burdensome to the powerful minds and luminous intellects of these people. Therefore they manfully trampled under foot these principles and practices; adopted instead, for their guidance in this life and the next, the method now current amongst the great and noble (to the elucidation of some portion of which this epitome is devoted); and based on it their conduct of the affairs of this world and the next. The portals of thought being thus opened and the chain of speech extended, let us enter upon the matter in hand.

"It is now some time since this humble writer 'Ubayd-i-Zákání conceived the ambition of writing a compendious treatise dealing with certain ethical conceptions of the ancients, which the people of our time regard as 'obsolete,' and some portion of the principles and practices of the leaders of thought in this age, which they regard as 'adopted,' in order that this treatise might benefit students of this science and neophytes in this path. Now at last, in this year 740 of the Flight (A.D. 1339–1340) he hath hastily penned this epitome, entitled 'Ethics of the Aristocracy,' dividing it into seven chapters, each of which

contains two views, first the 'obsolete' view, in accordance with which our forefathers regulated their lives; and second the 'adopted' view, now discovered by our great thinkers, whereby they regulate their affairs here and hereafter. And although this treatise borders on ribaldry, yet—

'آن کس که ز شهر آشنائیست' داند که متاعِ ما کجائیست'

'He who is familiar with the city will know whence our goods are obtained.'

"The humble author's hope in striving to complete this brief treatise is that—

'مگر صاحبدلی روزی بجائی' کند در کارِ این مسکین دعائی'

'Perchance somewhere and somewhen some man of heart
May utter a prayer on behalf of this poor fellow.'"

After these preliminary remarks, the author proceeds to discuss in turn each of the seven virtues already enumerated, beginning in each case with the "obsolete view" (which is exactly modelled on what is set forth at greater length in such well-known treatises on Ethics as the earlier *Akhláq-i-Náṣirí* or the later *Akhláq-i-Jalálí* or *Akhláq-i-Muḥsiní*), and then passing on to the "adopted" view of his contemporaries. As a specimen we may take the first chapter, which is less ribald than most.

"*First Chapter. On Wisdom.*

First chapter of the "Ethics of the Aristocracy," on Wisdom

"Philosophers in defining Wisdom say that this consists in '*seeking to perfect the human soul in its intellectual and practical aptitudes; whereof the former is effected by an apprehension of the true nature of things as they really are, and the latter by the acquisition of a psychical habit or faculty, whereby the soul is able to perform virtuous actions and to abstain from evil actions, which is called Character.*' In other words[1], there are centred in the Rational Soul two faculties, on the perfecting of which its perfection depends; one, the speculative faculty, the other the practical faculty. The first is that which craves after the apprehension of knowledge and the acquisition of science, so that, impelled by its promptings, the soul acquires a power of knowing things as they truly are, whereby eventually it attains the felicity of knowing that true

[1] The preceding words in italics are in the original in Arabic. In what follows they are explained in Persian.

Object of all Search and Universal Goal Who (Exalted and Holy is He !) is the Consummation of all Existences. So, guided by this knowledge, the soul attains to the Realm of Unity, nay, even to the Precincts of Union, and becomes tranquil and composed (for '*are not hearts composed by the remembrance of God*[1]*?*'), while the dust of doubt and the rust of uncertainty are cleansed from the visage of its mind and the mirror of its heart, even as the poet says :

'بهر کجا که در آمد یقین گمان بر خاست'

'Wherever Certainty entered, Doubt departed.'

"Now as for the Practical Faculty, it is that which coordinates and arranges the powers and actions of the soul, so that they cooperate and agree with one another, by virtue of which equipoise and accord its qualities become pleasing in God's sight. And when such knowledge and practice are combined in this degree in any person, he may fitly be entitled the 'Perfect Man' and 'Vicar[2] of God,' and his rank becomes the highest attainable by the human race, even as God Most High hath said : '*He giveth Wisdom to whom He will, and whosoever is given Wisdom hath been given abundant good*[3].' Moreover his spirit, after its separation from the body, becomes fitted to dwell in Paradise, to enjoy everlasting happiness, and to become receptive of God's grace...

"Thus far is the view of the ancient philosophers."

The writer now passes immediately to the

"*Adopted View.*

"When the great and wise men of subtle understanding, with whose honoured persons the face of the earth is now adorned, reflected on the perfecting of the human soul and its future destiny, and examined the practices and opinions of the famous men of former times, they soon formulated a complete and categorical denial of all these beliefs. They say : 'It has been revealed to us that the "Rational Soul" is a thing of no consideration ; that its continuance absolutely depends on the continuance of the body, and that its destruction is involved in the destruction of the body.' They further say : 'What is asserted by the Prophets as to its having perfections and defects, and as to its subsisting and continuing in itself after its separation from the body is impossible, as is also the Resurrection. Life consists in the just

[1] *Qur'án*, xiii, 28.

[2] *Khalífa* ("Caliph"), or Representative, alluding to God's saying, when He created man (*Qur'án*, ii, 28), "*Verily I am placing a Representative* (or Vice-Gerent) *on Earth.*"

[3] *Qur'án*, ii, 272.

equipoise of the elements comprising the body, and when this is decomposed its owner becomes for ever extinct and null. What is intended by the joys of Paradise and the torments of Hell must be in this world, as the poet says:

'آن‌را که داده اند همینجاش داده اند'

'و آنرا که نیست وعده بفرداش داده اند'

'He to whom they give receives his gift even here,
And he who has nothing [here] is put off with promises for "to-morrow[1]."'

"Consequently our leaders of thought are entirely unconcerned with such matters as the Resurrection, Future Punishment, Nearness to or Remoteness from God, the Divine Approval or Wrath, Perfection and Imperfection, and the like; and the result of this conviction is that they spend every day of their life in satisfying their lusts and pursuing their pleasures, saying:

'ای آنکه نتیجهٔ چهار و هفتی'

'وز هفت و چهار دائم اندر تفتی'

'مَی خور که هزار بار بیشت گفتم'

'باز آمدنت نیست چو رفتی رفتی'

'O Final Outcome of the Seven and Four[2],
Who by the Four and Seven art vexéd sore,
Drink wine! A thousand times I've told thee this—
When once thou'rt gone, thou shalt return no more!'

"While they commonly inscribe this quatrain on their fathers' tombstones:

'زین سقف برون رواق و دهلیزی نیست'

'جز با من و تو عقلی و تمییزی نیست'

'ناچیز که وهم کرده کآن چیزی هست'

'خوش بگذر ازین خیال کآن چیزی نیست'

'No mansions lie beyond this earth and sea;
No reason dwells outside of me and thee:
That Nothing which is deemed by some men All,
O pass it by; 'tis but vain phantasy!'

[1] *I.e.* promises of a future life.

[2] *I.e.* the Seven Planets and the Four Elements called the "Seven Celestial Fathers" and the "Four Mundane Mothers."

"And it is for this reason that in their eyes attacks on men's lives, property and honour seem insignificant and of small account.

بر او یك جُرعه مَی همرنگِ آذر ' گرامی‌تر ز صد خونِ برادر '

'To such one draught of wine in hue like fire
Outweighs the blood of brethren or of sire.'

"In truth our applause is the just meed of these our great and favoured guides to whom matters which, notwithstanding the cultivation of the reasoning powers, remained hidden for several thousand years have been made plain without trouble."

So in like manner 'Ubayd-i-Zákání deals with the other virtues. Thus in speaking of the "adopted" or current view about Courage, which is the subject of the second chapter, he says:

'Ubayd-i-Zákání on Courage

"Our teachers say that when one confronts a dangerous enterprise, or engages in combat and conflict with another, one of two things will happen: either his adversary will prevail and slay him, or the contrary. If he slays his adversary, he will have on his neck the burden of innocent blood, and as a consequence thereof will undoubtedly sooner or later be overtaken by punishment. If, on the other hand, his adversary prevails, that person will assuredly go the road to Hell. How, then, can a wise man undertake an action presenting such alternatives? What proof, indeed, is clearer than this, that whenever there is a wedding, or a dance, or any social function where delicate meats, sweets, robes of honour and money are in evidence, rakes, effeminate persons, minstrels and jesters are invited there, while when arrows and spears are the entertainment provided, some stupid fool is persuaded that he is a man, a hero, a defeater of armies, a captain courageous, and is thus induced to confront the swords, so that when the poor wretch is slain in battle the rakes and effeminates of the town wag their tails, saying:

تیر و تبر و نیزه نمی آرم خورد ' لوت و می و مطربم نکو میسازد '

'Scant attraction have arrow and axe and spear for me;
Minstrels, wine and delicate meats far better agree!'"

The third chapter, dealing with Chastity, hardly lends itself to translation, but the "adopted view" concerning Justice in the fourth chapter is worth quoting.

"The view of our teachers is that this quality is the worst of all attributes, and that Justice involves much loss; a thesis which they have proved by the clearest arguments. For they say: 'The founda-

Ubayd-i-Zákání on Justice

tion of sovereignty, lordship and mastery is punishment, since men will not obey any one until they fear him; all will feel themselves equal; the foundations of administration will be undermined, and the order of public business disorganized. He who practices Justice (which God forbid!) refrains from beating, killing and fining any one, and does not intoxicate himself and quarrel or be angry with his subordinates, him none will fear. Then the people will not obey their kings, nor sons their sires, nor servants their masters, while the affairs of the lands and the people will lapse into chaos. Hence it is that they say:

پادشاهان از پی یك مصلحت صد خون كنند'

'Kings to gain a single object oft will slay a hundred souls.'

"And they further say: '*Justice bequeaths disaster.*'

What proof, indeed, can be more convincing than this, that so long as the Kings of Persia played the tyrant, like Ḍaḥḥák the Arabian and Yazdigird 'the Sinner' (who now confer distinction on the chief seats of Hell, together with other later potentates who followed them), their Empire increased and their realm flourished; but when the reign of Khusraw Anúsharwán came, who, by reason of his weak judgement and the policy of his feeble-minded ministers chose the attribute of Justice, in a little while the pinnacles of his Palace fell to the ground, the Fire Temples, which were their places of worship, were extinguished, and all trace of them disappeared from the face of the earth[1]. The Commander of the Faithful and Confirmer of the Laws of Religion 'Umar ibnu'l-Khaṭṭáb (may God be well pleased with him), who was noted for his justice, made bricks and ate barley-bread, while his cloak, as they relate, weighed seventeen maunds. Mu'áwiya, by the blessing of Injustice, wrested the kingdom from the hands of the Imám 'Alí (may God ennoble his countenance). Nebuchadnezzar did not establish his authority, nor become eminent in both worlds, nor did his empire increase, until he slew twelve thousand innocent prophets in the Holy City and cast into bondage many thousand more. Chingíz Khán, who to-day, in despite of his enemies, stands supreme in the lower depths of Hell as the exemplar and guide of all the Mongols, ancient and modern, did not attain to the sovereignty of the whole world until with ruthless sword he had destroyed millions of innocent persons.

"*Anecdote.*

"It is recorded in the histories of the Mongols that when Baghdád was conquered by Húlágú Khán he ordered the remnant of the in-

[1] These were some of the portents said to have heralded the Arab Invasion and the overthrow of the Sásánian Empire.

habitants who had escaped the sword to be brought before him. He then enquired into the circumstances of each class, and, when he was acquainted with them, he said: 'Artisans are indispensable,' and gave them permission to go about their business. To the merchants he commanded that some capital should be given, so that they might trade for him. From the Jews he was content to take a poll-tax, declaring them to be an oppressed people; while the effeminates he consigned to his gynœcia. He then set apart the judges, *shaykhs*, Ṣúfís, Ḥájjís, preachers, persons of note, beggars, religious mendicants, wrestlers, poets and story-tellers, saying, 'These are superfluous creatures who waste God's blessings,' and ordered all of them to be drowned in the Tigris, thus purifying the face of earth from their vile existence. As a natural consequence sovereignty continued in his family for nearly ninety years, during which time their Empire daily increased; until, when poor Abú Sa'íd conceived in his mind a sentimental passion for Justice, and branded himself with the stigma of this quality, his Empire shortly came to an end, and the House of Húlágú Khán and all his endeavours were brought to naught through the aspirations of Abú Sa'íd...

"Blessings rest on those great and well-directed persons who guided mankind out of the dark delusion of Justice into the light of right guidance!"

The "Book of the Beard" (*Rísh-náma*) is a fantastic dialogue between 'Ubayd-i-Zákání and the beard considered as the destroyer of youthful beauty.

The "Book of the Beard"

The "Hundred Counsels" (*Sad Pand*) was composed in 750/1350, and, as its name implies, comprises a hundred aphorisms, some serious, such as: "O dear friends, make the most of life"; "Do not defer until to-morrow the pleasure of to-day"; "Profit by the present, for life will not return a second time"; and some ironical and ribald, such as: "So far as you are able, refrain from speaking the truth, so that you may not be a bore to other people, and that they may not be vexed with you without due cause"; "Do not believe the words of pious and learned men, lest you go astray and fall into Hell"; "Do not take lodgings in a street where there is a minaret, so that you may be safe from the annoyance of cacophonous *mu'adhdhins*"; "Despise not ribaldry, nor regard satirists with the eye of scorn."

The "Hundred Counsels"

'Ubayd-i-Zákání's "Definitions"

The "Definitions" (*Ta'rífát*), or "Ten Sections" (*Dah Faṣl*) is, like the "Hundred Counsels" just mentioned, a tract of only a few pages. A few specimens from it will suffice to show its character.

"*First Section: on the World and what is therein.*

"*The World.* That place wherein no creature can enjoy peace.
The Wise Man. He who does not concern himself with the world and its inhabitants.
The Perfect Man. He who is not affected by grief or gladness.
Thought. That which wearies men to no purpose.
The Man of Learning. He who has not sense enough to earn his own livelihood.
The Ignorant Man. Fortune's favourite.

* * * *

"*Second Section: on the Turks and their friends.*

"*Gog and Magog.* The Turkish tribes when they set out for a country.
The Infernal Guards. Their leaders.
Famine. The result of their advent.
The Constable. He who robs by night and demands payment from the shop-keepers by day.

* * * *

"*Third Section: on the Judge and his appanages.*

"*The Judge.* He whom all men curse.
The Advocate. He who renders the truth of no effect.
Bribery. That which does the business of the helpless.
The Lucky Man. He who never sees the Judge's countenance.
The Preacher. An ass.
The Prelector. An ass's tail.
The Poet. A greedy coxcomb.

* * * *

"*Fourth Section: on Shaykhs and their dependents.*

"*The Shaykh.* Iblís (the Devil).
The Devils. His followers.
The Ṣúfí. He who eats what he has not earned.
The Ḥájjí. He who swears falsely by the *Ka'ba*.

* * * *

"*Fifth Section: on the Gentry.*

"*Boasting and impudence.* The Gentry's stock-in-trade.
Nothing. Their existence.
Hollow. Their politeness.
Vanity and folly. Their talk.
Fault-finding, greed, avarice and envy. Their characteristics.
The Fool. He who hopes any good of them.

* * * *

"*Sixth Section: on Artisans and Officials.*

"*The Shopman.* He who fears not God.
The Druggist. He who wants to make everyone ill.
The Doctor. An executioner.
The Liar. The astrologer.
The Athlete. An idle rogue.
The Broker. The chartered thief of the market-place.
One per cent. What does not reach the landlord from his crops.
Complaint. What is carried to the landlord.

* * * *

"*Seventh Section: on Wine and its appurtenances.*

"*Wine.* The source of disturbance.
Backgammon, beauties, candles and desert. Its instruments.
The Harp, Lute and Dulcimer. Its music.
Soup and roasted meat. Its food.
The Garden and Parterre. Its appropriate place.
The 'Destroyer of Joys.' Ramaḍán.
The 'Night of Worth.' The eve of the festival.

* * * *

"*Eighth Section: on Bang and its accessories.*

"*Bang.* That which fills the Ṣúfí with ecstasy.
The Bejewelled, or the Noble on both sides. He who indulges simultaneously in bang and wine.
The Disappointed. He who enjoys neither.

* * * *

"*Ninth Section: the Householder and what appertains to him.*

"*The Bachelor.* He who laughs at the world's beard.
The Unfortunate. The householder.
The Two-horned (Dhu'l-Qarnayn). He who has two wives.
The most unfortunate of the unfortunate. He who has more.
The Futile. The householder's life.

The Wasted. His time.
The Dissipated. His wealth.
The Distracted. His mind.
The Bitter. His life.
The Abode of Mourning. His house.
The Enemy in the House. His son.
The Ill-starred. He who is afflicted with a daughter.
The Adversary. His brother.
The Kinsman. His deadly foe.
Joy after sorrow. The triple divorce.

* * * *

"*Tenth Section: on the true nature of Men and Women.*

"*The Lady.* She who has many lovers.
The House-wife. She who has few.
The Virtuous. She who is satisfied with one lover.
The Maiden. A name denoting what does not exist."

* * * *

'Ubayd-i-Zákání's "Joyous Treatise"

The "Joyous Treatise" (*Risála-i-Dilgushá*) is a collection of short Arabic and Persian stories and *facetiæ*, mostly of a somewhat ribald character, preceded by a short Preface. A few specimens of both parts are here appended.

(*Arabic Stories.*)

"Juḥá once went to *al-Kinása* ('the Dust-heap') to buy a donkey. A man met him and asked him where he was going. He replied, 'To *al-Kinása* to buy a donkey.' 'Say, "Please God,"' answered the other. 'There is no "Please God" about it,' responded Juḥá: 'the donkey is in the market and the money is in my sleeve.'

"Now when he entered the market, some pickpockets fell upon him and stole his money. And as he returned, the man met him again, and enquired whence he came. He replied, 'From the market, Please God. My money has been stolen, Please God. So I did not buy the donkey, Please God. And I am returning to my house disappointed and despoiled, Please God.'"

"A certain man met another riding on a sorry ass, and enquired of him, 'Whither away?' He replied, 'To try to reach the Friday prayer.' 'Out on thee!' exclaimed the other; 'To-day is Tuesday!' 'I shall be lucky,' answered the rider, 'if my ass gets me to the mosque by Saturday!'"

"A man came to Iyás ibn Mu'áwiya and asked him: 'If I should eat dates, would it harm me?' He replied, 'No.' 'What would happen,' he continued, 'if I were to eat fennel with bread?' 'Nothing would happen,' he answered. 'And if I then drank a little water?' he asked. 'What forbids?' replied the other. Said the questioner, 'Date-wine is compounded of these things: how then can it be unlawful?' 'If I threw some earth at you,' said Iyás, 'would it hurt?' 'No,' said the man. 'And if a little water was poured upon you, would any of your bones be broken?' continued Iyás. 'No,' said the man. 'But if,' said Iyás, 'out of the earth and the water I made a brick, and dried it in the sun, and then struck you on the head with it, how would it be?' 'It would kill me,' answered the other. Said Iyás, 'This case is like that.'"

(*Persian Stories.*)

"A certain Shí'ite entered a mosque and saw the names of the [four] Companions[1] written up on the wall. He wished to spit on the names of Abú Bakr and 'Umar, but his spittle fell on the name of 'Alí. He was greatly annoyed at this, and exclaimed, 'This is only what you deserve for keeping such company!'"

"A certain man claimed to be God. He was brought before the Caliph, who said to him, 'Last year someone here claimed to be a prophet, and he was put to death.' 'It was well done,' replied the man, 'for I did not send him.'"

"Juḥá in his childhood was apprenticed for some days to a tailor. One day his master brought a jar of honey to the shop. Desiring to go out on some business, he said to Juḥá, 'There is poison in this jar: beware lest you partake of it, or you will perish!' Said Juḥá, 'What have I to do with it?' When his master had gone, Juḥá gave a piece of cloth to a money-changer and bought a piece of baker's bread, which he ate with all the honey. When his master returned, he demanded the piece of cloth. 'Don't beat me,' said Juḥá, 'so that I may tell you the truth. A thief stole the piece of cloth while I was not paying attention. I was afraid that when you came back you would beat me, so I said to myself that I would take poison, so that when you returned I should be dead. So I ate all the poison which was in the jar, but I am still alive. The rest you know.'"

"A Qazwíní armed with an enormous shield went out to fight the Heretics[2]. A stone fired from their stronghold struck him and broke

[1] *I.e.* the four Orthodox Caliphs, Abú Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmán and 'Alí, of whom the Shí'ites regard the first three as usurpers.

[2] *Maláḥida*, *i.e.* the Assassins, whose chief fortress, Alamút, was situated near Qazwín.

his head. He was much annoyed and exclaimed, 'O fellow, are you blind that you cannot see so large a shield and must needs hit me on the head?'"

"The son of a certain Qazwíní fell into a well. 'O my dear boy,' he exclaimed, 'don't move from where you are until I go and fetch a rope and pull you out!'"

"A certain *mu'adhdhin* was running along shouting the call to prayer. They asked him why he was running. He replied, 'They tell me that my voice sounds best from a distance, so I am running away from it to see if this is true.'"

"Sulṭán Maḥmúd saw a feeble old man carrying on his back a load of firewood. Being moved to pity, he said, 'Old man, would you prefer that I should give you two or three gold *dínárs*, or a donkey, or two or three sheep, or a garden, so that you may be delivered from this misery?' 'Give me money,' said the old man, 'so that I may put it in my girdle, and ride on the donkey, and drive the sheep before me, and go to the garden, and rest there, through your favour, for the rest of my life.' The Sulṭán was pleased at his reply, and gave orders that this should be done."

"A man said to his friend, 'My eye hurts me. What should I do?' 'Last year,' replied his friend, 'one of my teeth hurt me and I pulled it out.'"

"A bald man coming out from the bath found that his hat had been stolen, and had a violent altercation with the bathman, who declared that he had no hat on when he came. 'O Musulmáns!' exclaimed the man, 'is mine the kind of head which goes about hatless?'"

"A certain Qazwíní was asked if he knew about 'Alí, the Commander of the Faithful. 'Of course I know about him,' he replied. 'Which of the Caliphs was he in order?' they asked. 'I know nothing about Caliphs,' he answered, 'but it was he whom Ḥusayn caused to die a martyr's death on the Plain of Karbalá[1]!'"

"A certain gipsy reproached his son, saying, 'You do nothing, and spend your life in idleness. How often must I tell you that you should

[1] 'Alí, the first Imám of the Shí'ites and Fourth Caliph of the Sunnites, was assassinated by Ibn Muljam in A.D. 661. His younger son, Ḥusayn, the third Imám, called by the Persians "the Chief of Martyrs," was slain at Karbalá by Yazíd's myrmidons some twenty years later. The anecdote is intended to illustrate the stupidity and ignorance of the Qazwínís. For a similar anecdote given by Zamakhsharí see the English Preface to the *Chahár Maqála* ("E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series, Vol. xi), pp. xxi–xxii.

learn to turn somersaults, make dogs jump through hoops, or walk on the tight-rope, so that you may derive some profit from life. If you won't listen to me, by Heaven, I will send you to college to learn their moth-eaten science and to become a learned man, so that all your life you may continue in abasement, poverty and evil fortune, and be unable to earn a single barleycorn anywhere.'"

"A certain Qazwíní was returning from Baghdád in the summer. They asked him what he was doing there. He replied, 'Sweating.'"

With the "Joyous Treatise," from which the few anecdotes given above are taken, the printed edition of 'Ubayd-i-Zákání's works ends, except for two letters—models of unintelligible vulgarity and full of solecisms—ascribed to Shaykh Shihábu'd-Dín Qalandar and Mawláná Jalálu'd-Dín b. Ḥusám of Herát, but no doubt written by 'Ubayd himself in order to hold them up to ridicule.

Reasons for devoting so much space to 'Ubayd-i-Zákání

I have devoted to 'Ubayd-i-Zákání more space than he may be deemed by many students of Persian literature to deserve, but, in spite of his coarseness and cynicism, his strong originality and boldness of speech appear to me to entitle him to more consideration than he has hitherto received. His "Ethics of the Aristocracy" is valuable for the light it throws on the corrupt morals of his age, and it is at least conceivable that, as 'Ubayd's biographer suggests, it was really written with serious purpose to awaken his countrymen to the lamentable deterioration in public and private life which had taken place in Persia during the Mongol ascendancy. In style and subject-matter 'Ubayd-i-Zákání stands almost alone amongst the older poets, though he bears some resemblance to his predecessor Súzaní, and to his successors Abú Isḥáq (Busḥaq) of Shíráz, the parodist and poet of the kitchen, and Maḥmúd Qárí of Yazd, the poet of clothes. Amongst the moderns, the learned Mírzá Ḥabíb of Isfahán, the editor of his books, who died in Constantinople towards the end of the nineteenth century, rivals and even surpasses him in *hazaliyyát* or ribald poems.

4. *'Imádu'd-Dín Faqíh (the Jurisconsult) of Kirmán.*

'Imád of Kirmán

Such fame as this poet enjoys arises chiefly from the fact that he was a rival of the great Ḥáfiẓ, and is supposed to be aimed at in a rather spiteful poem[1] by the latter, especially in the verse:

ای کبکِ خوش خرام کجا میروی بأیست
غرّه مشو که گربهٔ عابد نماز کرد

"O gracefully-walking partridge, whither goest thou? Stop!
Be not deceived because the zealot's cat says its prayers!"

The story is[2] that 'Imád stood high in the favour of Sháh Shujá' the Muẓaffarí, with whom, on the other hand, Ḥáfiẓ was by no means a *persona grata*. 'Imád, who, as his title *Faqíh* indicates, was a theologian, had a tame cat which he had taught to go through the appropriate postures and genuflections when he prayed, and this art of mimicry was regarded by the Prince as miraculous, but by Ḥáfiẓ as a piece of hypocritical cunning.

Notices of 'Imád are given by Dawlatsháh[3] and Jámí (in the *Baháristán*, chapter vii), and in the *Átash-kada*[4], the *Haft Iqlím* and the *Ḥabíbu's-Siyar* (as mentioned above), and most other biographies of poets, but these contain very little indeed about his life. He is said to have been highly respected at Kirmán, and to have had a college or retreat there. "He was wont," says Jámí, "to recite his verses to all who visited the rest-house (*khánqáh*), requesting them to criticize and amend them, whence it is that they say that his poetry is really the

[1] See Rosenzweig-Schwannau's edition of the *Díwán of Ḥáfiẓ*, vol. i, pp. 316–317, in the note to which, however, the allusion is otherwise explained. See also p. 243, n. 1 *supra*.

[2] See *Habibu's-Siyar*, vol. iii, pt. 2, p. 37; and the *Haft Iqlím*.

[3] Pp. 254–6 of my edition.

[4] P. 110.

poetry of all the people of Kirmán." Dawlatsháh quotes the opinion of Ádharí, author of the "Gems of Mysteries" (*Jawáhiru'l-Asrár*), who says:

"Critical scholars hold that some redundancy ('stuffing'—*ḥashw*) is to be observed at times in the poetry of all the ancients and moderns except in that of Khwája 'Imád-i-Faqíh, in which, as they agree, there is absolutely no such lapse, either in words or ideas."

'Imád's extant work comprises a *Díwán* of lyric poetry, of which copies are not common[1], and at least five *mathnawí* poems, of which the earliest, entitled *Maḥabbat-náma-i-Ṣáḥib-dilán*, was composed in 722/1322, and the latest, the *Múnisu'l-Abrár*, in 766/1364. According to Dawlatsháh, he died in 773/1371–2, evidently at a fairly advanced age. The following is a translation of the first of the two odes of 'Imád quoted by this biographer[2]:

"The poor patient in the hospital of Religion who details his
symptoms to the physicians who sit by the road,
What cares he for the road, the pain, the trouble and the sickness
Who has Khiḍr for his friend and Christ for his companion?
On the first day of Eternity Past I inscribed on the Tablet of my Soul
Of the words of my father (may his tomb be fragrant!) these:
'O child, if thou meetest with one who is fallen,
Do not mock him, nor look on him with the eyes of scorn!'
For this reason did the great religious leaders ride on lions,
Because they trod the earth more gently than ants.
If no heart in the world is cheered by thee,
At least do not so act that any spirit may be saddened by thee.
O 'Imád, one cannot seek for any friend but God:
Help, O Helper! 'From Thee do we seek assistance[3]'!"

[1] See the excellent *Bankipore Catalogue*, prepared under the supervision of Sir E. Denison Ross by Mawlawí 'Abdu'l-Muqtadir, and printed at Calcutta in 1908. ("Persian Poets," Firdawsí to Ḥáfiẓ, pp. 217–219.)

[2] See p. 254, l. 14, to p. 255, l. 4, of my edition for the text.

[3] The last words are from the opening *súra* of the *Qur'án*, v. 4.

5. *Salmán of Sáwa*
(*Jamálu'd-Dín Muḥammad Salmán b. 'Alá'u'd-Dín Muḥammad*).

Salmán of Sáwa

Salmán of Sáwa, who has been already mentioned in connection with 'Ubayd-i-Zákání, is another poet whose eminence has been certified by the great Ḥáfiẓ in the following verse:

سرآمدِ فضلای زمانه دانی کیست،
ز راهِ صدق و یقین نی ز راهِ کذب و گمان،
شهنشهِ فضلا پادشاهِ مُلْکِ سخن،
جمالِ ملّت و دین خواجهٔ جهان سلمان،

"Dost thou know who is the chief of the scholars of this age
In the way of truth and certainty, not in the way of doubt and falsehood?
That monarch of the accomplished and king of the realm of verse
That ornament of Church and State (*Jamálu'd-Dín*), the Master of the World Salmán."

He was essentially a court-poet and panegyrist, and was attached during the greater part of his long life to the Íl-khání or Jalá'ir dynasty, his special patrons being Shaykh Ḥasan-*i-Buzurg*, the founder of that dynasty, his consort Dilshád Khátún, and their son Shaykh Uways. Apart from the notices of him given by the biographers cited throughout this chapter[1], attention should be called to two excellent biographies by Indian scholars, one in English and the other in Urdú. The first, in the *Catalogue of...the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore, Firdawsí to Ḥáfiẓ* (pp. 219–225), is by Mawlawí 'Abdu'l-Muqtadir, and gives a very good critical summary of the data furnished by the Persian biographers. The second is contained in an admirable collection of studies of some twenty eminent

[1] See Dawlatsháh (my edition), pp. 257–263; *Átash-kada* (lith. ed., A.H. 1277), pp. 208–211; *Ḥabíbu's-Siyar* (Bombay lith. ed., A.D. 1857), vol. iii, pt. 1, pp 130, 135, 137; Jámí's *Baháristán*, ch. vii, etc.

Persian poets by Shiblí Nu'mání entitled *Shi'ru'l-'Ajam* ("Poetry of the Persians")[1], compiled in 1324–5/1906–7, and lithographed at 'Aligaṛh.

Materials for the biography of Salmán

That Salmán was born in or about the year 700/1300 is proved, as pointed out by Mawlawí 'Abdu'l-Muqtadir, by a verse in the *Firáq-náma* ("Book of Separation"), composed in 761/1360, in which the poet says that his age had then passed sixty-one; and the same scholar gives good reason for believing that he died on Monday, Ṣafar 12, 778 (July 1, 1376). He composed two *mathnawí* poems, the above-mentioned *Firáq-náma* and another entitled *Jamshíd u Khurshíd*, and a number of odes (*ghazaliyyát*), fragments (*muqaṭṭa'át*), and quatrains (*rubá'iyyát*), but it is as a *qaṣída*-writer and panegyrist that he excels, often surpassing, as Jámí says, the earlier masters, such as Kamál Isma'íl, Ẓahír of Fáryáb, Athír-i-Awmání, Saná'í, etc., whom he took for his models. Of his odes (*ghazaliyyát*) Jámí says that they too are very agreeable and highly finished, but that, "being devoid of the savour of love and passion which is the essence of the *ghazal*, they are not very highly esteemed by men of taste." In the Bombay lithographed edition of Salmán's *Kulliyyát*, the *qaṣídas*, with two *tarjí'-bands*, fill the first 135 pages, the *ghazals* pp. 136–230, and the quatrains the last six pages.

Jámí's criticism of Salmán's lyric poetry

Salmán's earliest poems, as 'Abdu'l-Muqtadir observes, are apparently his elegies on the death of Sulṭán Abú Sa'íd (Nov.—Dec., 1335), and of his great minister Khwája Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Muḥammad, who was put to death on Ramaḍán 21, 736 (May 3, 1336). In this same year Shaykh Ḥasan-*i-Buzurg* established the dynasty known as Íl-khání, with its capital at Baghdád, and thither Salmán, attracted by the fame of that ruler's generosity to men of letters, made his way, probably soon after the cruel and

[1] The notice of Salmán is in the second part of this work, pp. 196–211.

violent death of his earlier patron Ghiyáthu'd-Dín. It is related by Dawlatsháh and other writers that he first won Shaykh Ḥasan's favour by the following verses which he extemporized on some occasion when that Prince was exhibiting his skill with the bow[1]:

"When the King lifted his Chách[2] bow
Thou would'st have said that the Moon was in the Sign of Sagittarius.
I saw the two 'crows' of the bow and the three-winged eagle[3]
Bring their heads together in one corner[4].
They laid their heads on the King's shoulder:
I know not what they whispered in the King's ear.
When the King loosed the bow-string from the finger-stall
From every side arose the twang of the string.
O King, the arrow is subject to thy schemes,
And fortune follows the flight of thy arrow.
In thy time complaints arise from none
Save from the bow, which it is but right should lament.
For, in the reign of this auspicious Sultan
None does violence save to the bow."

It was, however, according to the biographers, chiefly to the beautiful and accomplished Queen Dilshád Khátún, and to the amiable Prince Uways, that Salmán owed the favours which he enjoyed at the Íl-khání court, of which he says:

من از یُمْنِ اقبالِ این خاندان ' گرفتم جهان‌را بتیغِ زبان '
من از خاوران تا درِ باختر ' ز خورشیدم امروز مشهورتر '

"Through the auspicious fortune of this House I have captured the world with the sword of my tongue.
To-day from the East to the West I am more famous than the Sun."

Shaykh Uways succeeded to the throne in 757/1356 and reigned nearly twenty years, and to him a great

[1] For the text, see my edition of Dawlatsháh, p. 257, ll. 15–21.

[2] Chách, or Shásh, the modern Táshkand, is a place in Turkistán celebrated for its bows.

[3] Each of the two horns or tips of a bow is called *zágh*, "crow." The "three-winged eagle" is the arrow.

[4] This indicates metaphorically the full drawing of the bow.

number of Salmán's *qaṣídas* are addressed, while anecdotes given by Dawlatsháh and reproduced by Ouseley in his *Biographical Notices of the Persian Poets*[1] show the intimacy which prevailed between the two. This prince is said by Dawlatsháh to have been of such striking beauty that when he rode out the people of Baghdád used to flock into the streets to gaze upon a countenance which seemed to reincarnate the legendary comeliness of Joseph. When overtaken by untimely death, he is said to have composed the following fine verses:

ز دار آلملكِ جان روزی بشهرستانِ تن رفتم
غریبی بودم اینجا چند روزی با وطن رفتم
غلامِ خواجهٔ بودم گریزان گشته از خواجه
در آخر پیشِ او شرمنده با تیغ و کفن رفتم
الا ای همنشینانِ منِ محروم ازین دنیا
شمارا عیشِ خوش بادا درین خانه که من رفتم

"From the spirit-world one day to the realms of Body and Sense did I roam;
I sojourned here for a few brief days, and now I am going home.
The servant was I of a mighty Lord, and I fled from my Liege and Lord,
Whom now in shame I am going to meet with a winding-sheet and a sword[2].
Comrades of mine, I leave you now to joys which I may not share,
And that you may enjoy this banquet long is my parting hope and prayer!"

As is usually the case with panegyrists, many of Salmán's *qaṣídas* refer to definite historical events, and can therefore be dated. Mawlawí 'Abdu'l-Muqtadir gives a list of ten such poems, with their dates and the occasions

[1] Pp. 117 *et seqq.*

[2] A fugitive and repentant slave, to show his readiness to surrender himself unconditionally and submit to even the extremest punishment, goes back to his master bearing a sword, wherewith he may be slain, and a winding-sheet for his burial.

which called them forth, from the *Ḥabíbu's-Siyar*[1]. The earliest of them, composed in 739/1338 on the occasion of the flight of Shaykh Ḥasan-*i-Buzurg* to Baghdád, begins[2]:

وقتِ صُبْحست و لبِ دجله و انفاسِ بهار،

ای پسر کَشْتِیِ مَی تا شطِ بغداد بیار،

"It is the time of morning, and the brink of the Tigris, and the breath of Spring;
O, boy, bring the wine-boat to the estuary of Baghdád!"

The two latest, composed in 777/1375, celebrate a victory of Sháh Shujá' in Ádharbáyján[3]. The second of them, which won that Prince's high approval, begins[4]:

سخن بوصفِ رُخش چون ز خاطرم سر زد،

ز مطلع سخنم آفتاب سر بر زد،

and it was after hearing it that Sháh Shujá' observed: "We had heard the fame of three notable persons of this country, and found them differing in their circumstances. Salmán exceeded all that was said in his praise; Yúsuf Sháh the minstrel agreed with his reputation; and Shaykh Kajahání fell short of his."

One of the most celebrated of Salmán's *qaṣídas*, however, was written to commemorate the death of Shaykh Uways, which took place in Jumáda ii, 776 (November, 1374). It begins[5]:

ای فلك آهسته رَو کاری نه آسان کردهٔ،

مُلْكِ ایران‌را بمرگِ شاه ویران کردهٔ،

آسمانی‌را فرود آوردهٔ از اوجِ خویش،

بر زمین افگندهٔ با خاك یکسان کردهٔ،

[1] *Bankipore Catalogue*, pp. 222–3.

[2] This poem will be found on pp. 87–8 of the lithographed edition of the *Kulliyyát* of Salmán.

[3] *Ḥabíbu's-Siyar*, vol. iii, pt 2, p. 35.

[4] See pp. 57–8 of the lithographed edition.

[5] It does not seem to be included in the lithographed edition.

نیست کاری مختصر گر با حقیقت میروی ‘
قصدِ خون و مال و عرضِ هر مسلمان کرده ‘

“O Heaven, go gently! It is no slight thing that thou hast done:
Thou hast made desolate the land of Persia by the death of the King.
Thou hast brought down a heaven from its zenith,
And hast cast it on the earth and made it level with the dust.
If thou walkest with truth, this is no insignificant matter:
Thou hast attacked the life and property and honour of every Musulmán!”

As already stated, Salmán probably died in 778/1376, a year after the composition of two of the *qaṣídas* mentioned above, so that he evidently continued to write poetry until the end of his long life, and did not, as stated by Dawlat-sháh[1], actually retire into seclusion, though he implies his desire and intention of so doing in an interesting poem cited by Shiblí Nu‘mání in his *Shi‘ru’l-‘Ajam* (vol. ii, pp. 198–200). In this poem he says that for nearly forty years he has celebrated his Royal patron’s praises in the East and in the West; that he is now old and feeble, lame, and weak of sight, and wishes to retire from Court and spend the remainder of his days in praying for the King; that having been the master of the realm of poets, he desires to become the servant of the poor; that he has no doubt that the King will continue his allowance, but that he would like its source and amount to be definitely fixed; and finally that he owes considerable sums of money which he cannot pay, and prays the King to discharge these debts for him. In reply the King is said to have written two couplets on the poet’s versified petition, in the first of which he orders his allowance to be continued as heretofore, while in the second he assigns him the revenues of the village of Írín near Ray.

Shiblí Nu‘mání concludes his notice of Salmán with a fairly detailed and wholly favourable appreciation of his skill in the different forms of verse. His skill is chiefly

[1] P. 261, l. 21, of my edition.

apparent in his *qaṣídas*, which are remarkable for grace and fluency of language, and for a felicity of diction possessed by none of the earlier poets, and peculiar to those of this middle period, between which two groups Salmán marks the transition. Shiblí gives the following examples to illustrate his assertion :

خندهٔ زد دهنت تُنْگِ شکر پیدا کرد،
سخنی گفت لبت لؤلؤی تر پیدا کرد،
بود نا یافت میانِ تو و لیکن کمرت،
چُسْت بر بست میان‌را و بزر پیدا کرد،
پرده از چهره بر انداز که آن زلفِ سیاه،
در سپیدیِ عذارِ تو اثر پیدا کرد،

"Thy mouth smiled, and produced a jar of sugar :
Thy lip spoke, and revealed glistening pearls.
Thy waist was undiscoverable[1], but thy girdle
Deftly clasped it round, and revealed it in gold.
Cast aside the veil from thy face, for those black tresses
Have affected the fairness of thy cheeks."

بادِ نوروز نسیمِ گُلِ رعنا آورد،
گَرْدِ مشکِ خُتن از دامنِ صحرا آورد،
شاخ‌را باغ بنقشِ دُمِ طاوس نگاشت،
غنچه‌را باد بشکلِ سرِ ببغا آورد،
لاله از دامنِ کوه آتشِ موسی بنمود،
شاخ بیرون ز گریبان یدِ بیضا آورد،
از پی خسروِ گُل بلبلِ شیرین گفتار،
نغمهٔ باربد و صوتِ نکیسا آورد،

[1] On account of its extreme slenderness.

سَرْورا بادِ صبا منصبِ بالا بخشید‘

لالهرا لطفِ هوا خلعتِ والا آورد‘

"The breeze of the *Naw-rúz*[1] brings the aroma of the beautiful rose,
[And] brings the dust of the musk of Tartary from the borders of the desert.
The garden has decked the branch with the patterns of a peacock's tail;
The wind hath fashioned the bud into the likeness of a parrot's head.
The [red] anemone hath displayed from the mountain-slopes the fire of Moses;
The branch hath brought forth 'the White Hand' from its bosom[2].
The sweet-voiced nightingale, for the [delectation of the] Rose-Prince,
Hath contributed the strains of Bárbad and the songs of Nikísá[3].
The zephyr-breeze hath conferred high rank on the cypress;
The sweetness of the air hath endowed the anemone with a noble robe."

Shiblí next gives examples of Salmán's skill in inventing those graceful and subtle conceits in which the poets of the middle and later periods take pride. The following specimens may suffice:

در دُرجِ دُر عقیقِ لبت نقدِ جان نهاد‘

جنسِ نفیس بود بجائی نهان نهاد‘

قُفلی ز لعل بر درِ آن درج زد لبت‘

خالت ز عنبر آمد و مُهْری بر آن نهاد‘

باریکتر ز مو کمرترا دقیقهٔ‘

ناگاه در دل آمد و اسمش میان نهاد‘

[1] The Persian New Year's Day, or *Naw-rúz*, falls on March 21 and corresponds with the Vernal Equinox.

[2] "The White Hand" is the hand that Moses drew forth from his garment "as white as snow." Here the allusion is to the white blossoms.

[3] Bárbad was the famous minstrel of Khusraw Parwíz the Sásánian, and Nikísá his harper.

"The cornelian of thy lip placed the coin of life in a casket of pearls;
It was a precious stuff, so it put it in a hidden place[1].
Thy lips put a ruby lock on the lid of that casket;
Thy mole, which was of ambergris, set a seal upon it.
A subtle thought, finer than a hair, suddenly came
Into the heart of thy girdle, and named it 'waist[2]'."

بعد ازین از گرهِ زلفِ مغان کن تسبیح ‘
پس ازین از خَمِ ابروی بُتان کن محراب ‘
خوش برآ همچو حباب از مَیِ گلگون و منه ‘
هیچ بنیاد برین گُنْبدِ گردان چو حباب ‘

"Henceforth make your rosary from the knots of the Magian's tresses;
Henceforth take as your *miḥráb* the arch of the idols' (fair ones') eyebrows.
Arise joyous like the bubbles from the rose-red wine, and base no hopes
On this bubble-like revolving dome [of sky]."

مُدّتی گردشِ این دائره مارا از هم ‘
همچو پرکار جدا کرد و بهم باز آورد ‘

"For some while the revolution of this circle parted us from one another like the [points of a] compass, but at last brought us together [once more]."

غنچه‌را پیشِ دهانِ تو صبا خندان یافت ‘
آنچنان بر دهنش زد که دهن پُر خون شد ‘

"The Zephyr found the rose-bud laughing before thy mouth,
And smote it so sharply in the mouth that its mouth was filled with blood."

پا ازین دائره بیرون ننهم یك سرِ مو ‘
گر سراپای چو پرکار کنندم بدو نیم ‘

[1] This means that the life of the lover is in his sweetheart's mouth, which, on account of the brilliant teeth, he compares to a casket of pearls, and, on account of its smallness, to "a hidden place."

[2] A slender waist and a small mouth are accounted amongst the chief charms of Persian beauties. Both are here described in the most exaggerated terms.

"I will not set my foot one hair's breadth outside this circle[1],
Even though they should split me like a compass into two halves
from head to foot."

Other points in Salmán's poetry noted by Shiblí Nu'mání are his skill in the successful manipulation of difficult rhymes and awkward refrains. Thus he has long *qaṣídas* in which each verse ends with such words as *dast* ("hand"), *páy* ("foot"), *rú* ("face"), *bar sar* ("on the head") preceded by the rhyming word, yet which maintain an easy and natural flow of words and ideas.

Shiblí Nu'mání next deals with the poet's "fragments" (*muqaṭṭa'át*), or occasional verses, which, as usual with this class of verse, are connected with various incidents in his life, and therefore have a more personal note than the odes (*ghazaliyyát*) and elegies (*qaṣá'id*), but which are unfortunately omitted from the Bombay lithographed edition.

On one occasion the King gave Salmán a black horse, which he did not like and wished to exchange for one of another colour, but the Master of the Horse apparently would not permit this. Thereupon he wrote as follows to his patron:

شاها مرا بـه اسپی موعود کرده بودی،
در قولِ پـادشاهان قیلی دگر نباشد،
اسپی سیاه و پیرم دادند و من بر آنم،
کاندر جهان سیاهی زآن پیرتر نباشد،
آن اسپ بـاز دادم تـا دیـگری ستانم،
در صورتیکه کس‌را زین سِر خبر نباشد،

[1] My friend Muḥammad Iqbál has called my attention to the following parallel verse by Ḥáfiẓ, from which it appears that the circle formed by the down on the cheeks is here intended:

هرکرا با خطِ سبزت سر سودا باشد،
پای ازین دائره بیرون ننهد تا باشد،

See Rosenzweig-Schwannau's edition of the *Díwán*, vol. i, p. 510.

اسپِ سیه بدادم رنگِ دگر ندادند،

آری پس از سیاهی رنگِ دگر نباشد،

"O King, thou didst promise me a horse: no further discussion is possible about the word of Kings.

They gave me an old, black horse, and I am of opinion that no more aged black is to be found in the world.

I gave back that horse so that I might get another in such wise that none should have knowledge of this secret.

I gave back a black horse, but they would not give me one of another colour; yes, indeed, 'There is no colour beyond black[1]!'"

Salmán further satirized this unfortunate horse as follows:

شاها امید بود که خواهم بدولتت،

بر مرکبی بلند و جوان و روان نشست،

اسپیم پیر و کاهل و کوته همی دهند،

اسپی نه آنچنان که توانم برآن نشست،

چون کلك مرکبی سیه و سُست و لاغرست،

جهلِ مرکّبست بر اسپی چنان نشست،

از بنده مهترست به سی سال راستی،

گستاخی است بر زبرِ مهتران نشست،

"O King, I had hopes that, through thy good fortune, I might mount a tall, young and ambling horse.

They give me an old, lazy, undersized horse, not such a horse as I can ride.

It is a horse black, feeble and lean as a pen: it would be the height of folly to mount such a beast.

In truth it must be thirty years older than myself, and it is disrespectful to sit upon one's elders."

In another fragment Salmán excuses his absence from the Court on the plea that his eyes are bad, and that though the dust of the King's threshold is a collyrium, yet the evil eye must be kept far from him:

خسروا خاكِ درگهِ تو مراست، از غبارِ زرور نیکوتر،

[1] This is a common proverbial saying in Persian.

لیك در عینِ حالتی که مراست ' غیبتم از حضور نیکوتر '
حالِ چشمم بد است دور از تو ' چشمِ بد از تو دور نیکوتر '

On another similar occasion he pleads the pain in his feet (probably gout), to which he elsewhere alludes in his poems, as the cause of his absence, wittily observing that foot-ache prevents him from giving the King headache, which in the Persian idiom means trouble:

بهر استقبالِ شاه از فرق و سر کردم قدم '
خواستم تا رو بدرگاهِ همایون آورم '
دردِ پایم گشت ازان مانع که آرم دردِ سر '
من که دردِ پای دارم دردِ سر چون آورم '

Shiblí's summing up of Salmán's talents

Finally Shiblí Nu'mání speaks of the innovations introduced by Salmán, and especially of his skilful use of the figure called *ihám* or "ambiguity." The general conclusion seems to be that Salmán deserves to be ranked amongst the great panegyrists and *qaṣída*-writers; that he was an ingenious, skilful and to a certain extent original poet, but that he lacks the fire, passion and conviction which make a poet great and famous beyond the limits of his own time and country.

6. *Ḥáfiẓ of Shíráz*
(*Shamsu'd-Dín Muḥammad Ḥáfiẓ*).

Ḥáfiẓ of Shíráz

What has been already said generally at the beginning of this chapter as to the extraordinary dearth of trustworthy information concerning the poets of this period applies especially to the most eminent and famous of them, and indeed of all the poets of Persia, the immortal and incomparable Ḥáfiẓ of Shíráz, entitled by his admirers *Lisánu'l-Ghayb* ("the Tongue of the Unseen") and *Tarjumánu'l-Asrár* ("the Interpreter of Mysteries"). Notices of him naturally occur in all the numerous bio-

graphies of poets composed subsequently to his death, beginning with Dawlatsháh, who wrote just a century after this event, down to quite modern compilations, like Riḍá-qulí Khán's *Majma'u'l-Fuṣaḥá* and *Riyáḍu'l-'Árifín*; but these contain few trustworthy biographical details, and consist for the most part of anecdotes connected with certain verses of his poems, and probably in most cases, if not all, invented to explain or illustrate them. The only contemporary mention of Ḥáfiẓ with which I am acquainted is contained in the Preface of his friend and the collector and editor of his poems, Muḥammad Gulandám, who, after expatiating on the poet's incomparable genius, his catholic sympathy, and the celebrity attained by his verse even in his lifetime, not only in Persia, from Fárs to Khurásán and Ádharbáyján, but in India, Turkistán and Mesopotamia, proceeds as follows:

Muḥammad Gulandám's account of Ḥáfiẓ

"However, diligent study of the *Qur'án*, constant attendance to the King's business, the annotation of the *Kashsháf*[1] and the *Miṣbáḥ*[2], the perusal of the *Maṭáli'*[3] and the *Miftáḥ*[4], the acquisition of canons of literary criticism and the appreciation of Arabic poems prevented him from collecting his verses and odes, or editing and arranging his poems. The writer of these lines, this least of men, Muḥammad Gulandám, when he was attending the lectures of our Master, that most eminent teacher Qiwámu'd-Dín 'Abdu'lláh, used constantly and repeatedly to urge, in the course of conversation, that he (Ḥáfiẓ) should gather together all these rare gems in one concatenation and assemble all these lustrous pearls on one string, so that they might become a necklace of great price for his contemporaries or a girdle for the brides of his time. With this request, however, he was unable to comply, alleging lack of appreciation on the part of his contemporaries as an excuse, until he bade farewell to this life...in A.H. 791" (A.D. 1389).

[1] The celebrated commentary on the *Qur'án* of az-Zamakhsharí.

[2] Of the many works of this name that of al-Muṭarrizí (d. 610/1213) on Arabic grammar is probably intended.

[3] The *Maṭáli'u'l-Anẓár* of al-Bayḍáwí (d. 683/1284) is probably meant.

[4] The *Miftáḥu'l-'Ulúm* of as-Sakkakí (d. 626/1229) is probably intended.

Notices of the life of Ḥáfiẓ

The notice of Ḥáfiẓ contained in that agreeable work of Sir Gore Ouseley, the *Biographical Notices of Persian Poets*[1], gives most of the anecdotes connected with verses in his *Díwán* to which I have already alluded; while an admirable account of the times in which he lived and the general character of his poetry is to be found in the Introduction to Miss Gertrude Lowthian Bell's *Poems from the Divan of Hafiz* (London, 1897), which must be reckoned as the most skilful attempt to render accessible to English readers the works of this poet. On the whole, however, the best and most complete critical study of Ḥáfiẓ with which I am acquainted is contained in Shiblí Nu'mání's Urdú work on Persian Poetry entitled *Shi'ru'l-'Ajam*[2], already repeatedly quoted in this chapter. I feel that I cannot do better than summarize at any rate that portion of this notice which deals with the poet's life, and the few facts concerning his personal circumstances and relations with his contemporaries which can be deduced from his poems, indicating at the same time the Persian biographical sources to which the learned author refers. Amongst these he specially mentions the well-known *Ḥabíbu's-Siyar* of Khwándamír[3] and the *May-khána* ("Wine-tavern") of 'Abdu'n-Nabí Fakhru'z-Zamán (compiled in 1036/1626–7, in the reign of Jahángír), of which latter I have no copy at hand. The Persian biographical works which I have consulted, and which yield but scanty results (since, as Shiblí points out, they generally copy from one another and often make statements not merely unsupported by any respectable evidence but mutually destructive) are Dawlatsháh's "Memoirs of the Poets"; Jámí's *Baháristán*[4] and *Nafaḥátu'l-*

Shiblí's critical study of Ḥáfiẓ

Persian biographies of Ḥáfiẓ

[1] Pp. 23–42.

[2] Vol. ii, pp. 212–297.

[3] See vol. iii, pt 2, p. 37 of the Bombay lithographed edition of 1857.

[4] P. 90 of the Constantinople printed ed. of 1294/1877.

Uns[1]; Luṭf 'Alí Beg's *Átash-kada* ("Fire-temple"), which mainly follows Dawlatsháh; the *Haft Iqlím*; and the quite modern *Majma'u'l-Fuṣaḥá* ("Assembly of the Eloquent"), which gives several fresh particulars of doubtful authenticity, such as that Ḥáfiẓ came originally from Túysirkán and that he composed a commentary on the *Qur'án*.

Parentage and childhood of Ḥáfiẓ

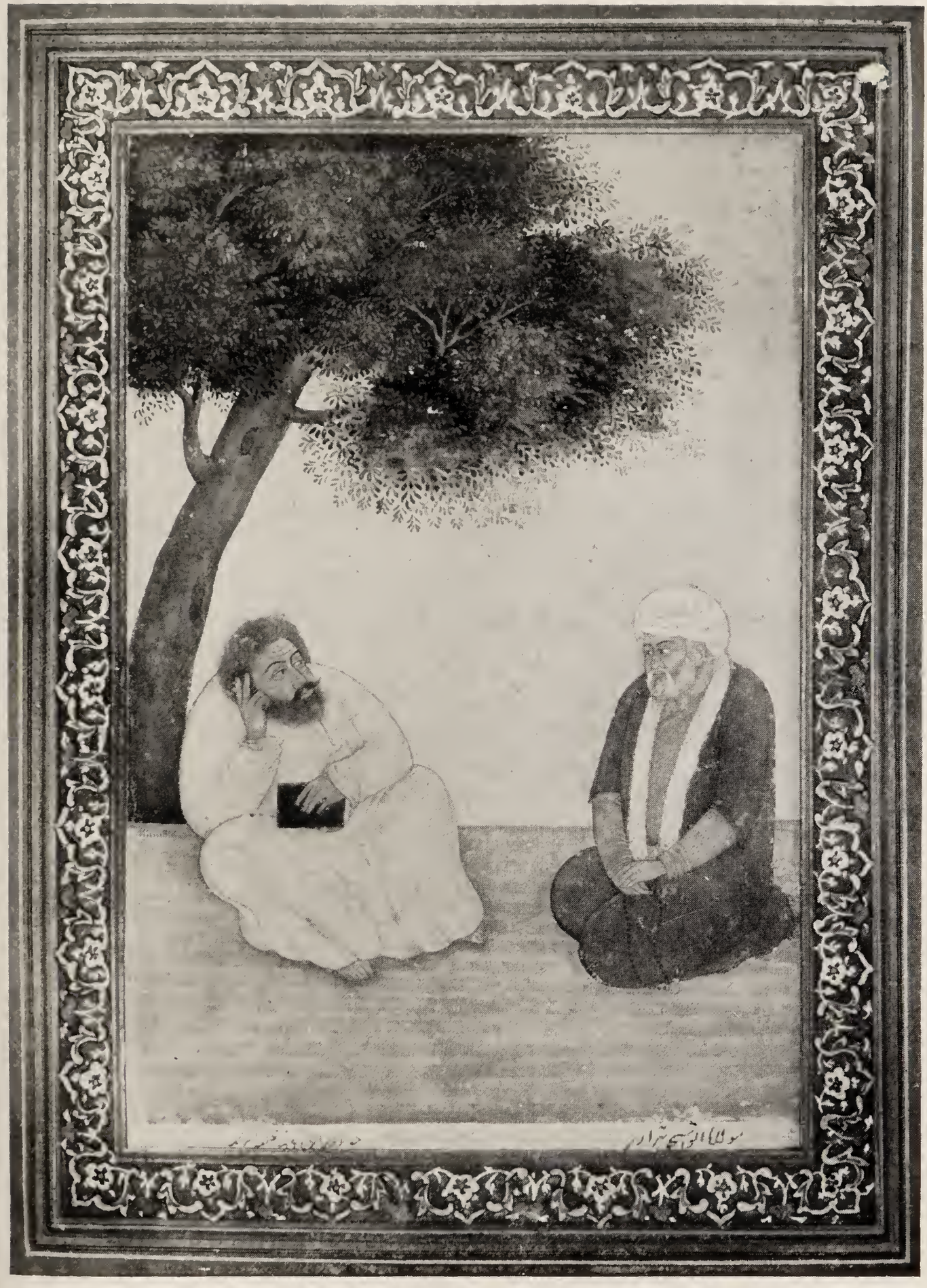
Shiblí Nu'mání arranges his matter systematically, beginning with an account of the poet's parentage and education derived from the above-mentioned *May-khána*, to which, however, he apparently attaches little credence. According to this account, the father of Ḥáfiẓ, who was named Bahá'u'd-Dín, migrated from Iṣfahán to Shíráz in the time of the Atábeks of Fárs, and there enriched himself by commerce, but died leaving his affairs in confusion, and his wife and little son in penury, so that the latter was obliged to earn a livelihood by the sweat of his brow. Nevertheless he found time and means to attend a neighbouring school, where he obtained at least a respectable education and learned the *Qur'án* by heart, in consequence of which he afterwards adopted in his poems the *nom de guerre* of "Ḥáfiẓ" ("Rememberer"), a term commonly applied to those who have committed to memory and can recite without error the sacred book of Islám. He soon began to compose and recite poems, but with small success until in a vigil at the shrine of Bábá Kúhí on a hill to the north of Shíráz he was visited by the Imám 'Alí, who gave him to eat some mysterious heavenly food and told him that henceforth the gift of poetry and the keys of all knowledge should be his.

Patrons of Ḥáfiẓ

Shiblí Nu'mání next passes to the enumeration of the several kings and princes whose favour and patronage Ḥáfiẓ enjoyed. Of these the first was Sháh (or Shaykh) Abú Isḥáq Injú, the son of Maḥmúd Injú[2] who was appointed governor of Fárs in the reign of

[1] W. Nassau Lees' Calcutta printed ed. of 1859, p. 715.

[2] According to the *Fárs-náma* he was put to death by Arpa (in 736/1335–6), who was in turn put to death by his son Mas'úd Injú.



ḤÁFIẒ (*left*) and ABÚ ISḤÁQ (*right*)

Add. 7468 (Brit. Mus.), f. 34^{b}

To face p. 274

Gházán Khán. This Abú Isḥáq[1] was a poet and friend of poets, heedless, pleasure-loving, and so negligent of the affairs of state that when he was at last induced by his favourite Shaykh Amínu'd-Dín to fix his attention on the Muẓaffarí hosts who were investing his capital, he merely remarked that his enemy must be a fool to waste the delicious season of Spring in such fashion, and concluded by reciting the verse:

Shaykh Abú Isḥáq Injú

بیآ تا یك امشب تماشا کنیم، چو فردا شود کارِ فردا کینم،

"Come, let us make merry just for this one night,
And let us deal tomorrow with tomorrow's business."

Concerning Abú Isḥáq's brief but genial reign at Shíráz, Ḥáfiẓ says:

راستی خاتمِ فیروزهٔ بو اسحاقی،
خوش درخشید ولی دولتِ مستعجل بود،

"In truth the turquoise ring of Abú Isḥáq
Flashed finely, but it was a transitory prosperity."

The following verses, commemorating five of the chief ornaments of Shaykh Abú Isḥáq's court, also belong to this period:

The five ornaments of Shaykh Abú Isḥáq's court

بعهدِ سلطنتِ شاه شیخ ابو اسحق،
بپنج شخص عجب ملكِ فارس بود آباد،
نُخُسْت پادشهی همچو او ولایت بخش،
که گوئی فضل ربود او بعدل و بخشش و داد،
دوم بقیّهٔ ابدال شیخ امین الدّین،
که بود داخلِ اقطاب و مجمع اوتاد،
سوم چو قاضی عادل اصیلِ ملّت و دین،
که قاضئی به ازو آسمان ندارد یاد،

[1] According to the *Fárs-náma* he captured Shíráz in 743/1342–3, was besieged there by Mubárizu'd-Dín Muḥammad b. Muẓaffar in 753/1352–3, when, after losing his little son 'Alí Sahl, he was driven back to Iṣfahán, and was finally captured and put to death by his rival in 758/1357.

دگر چو قاضیِ فاضل عضد که در تصنیف ‘
بنای شرح مواقف بنامِ شاه نهاد ‘
دگر کریم چو حاجی قوامِ دریا دل ‘
که او بجود چو حاتم همی صلا در داد ‘
نظیرِ خویش نه بگذاشتند و بگذشتند ‘
خدای عزّ و جلّ جمله‌را بیامرزاد ‘

"During the period of Sháh Shaykh Abú Isḥáq's rule
The kingdom of Fárs throve wondrously through five persons.
First, a king like him, a giver of governments,
Who, thou would'st say, snatched preeminence by justice, bounty and equity.
Secondly, that Remnant of the *Abdál*[1], Shaykh Amínu'd-Dín,
Who was numbered amongst the 'Poles' and was the meeting-place of the *Awtád*[1].
Thirdly, one like that just judge Aṣílu'l-Millat wa'd-Dín,
Than whom Heaven remembers no better judge.
Again one like that accomplished judge *'Aḍud* [*u'd-Dín al-Íjí*][2],
Who dedicated his explanation of the *Mawáqif* to the King.
Again one so generous as Ḥájji Qiwám[3], whose heart is as the Ocean,
Who, like Ḥátim, invited all men to partake of his bounty.
These departed, leaving none like unto themselves:
May God most Great and Glorious forgive them all!"

[1] The *Abdál* ("Substitutes"), *Aqṭáb* ("Poles"), and *Awtád* (literally "Tent-pegs") are three classes of the *Rijálu'l-Ghayb*, or "Men of the Unseen World," who are supposed by the Ṣúfís to watch over the order of the world and the welfare of mankind. Their number and functions are discussed in the "Definitions" (*Ta'rífát*) of ash-Sharíf al-Jurjání, who was appointed by Sháh Shujá' to a Professorship in Shíráz, and must have been acquainted with Ḥáfiẓ. He died in 816/1413.

[2] 'Aḍudu'd-Dín 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán b. Aḥmad al-Íjí composed a number of works on theology, ethics, philosophy, etc., amongst which the *Mawáqif fí 'Ilmi'l-Kalám* (on which al-Jurjání, mentioned in the preceding note, wrote a commentary) is the most celebrated. He died in 756/1355. See Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. Arab. Litt.*, ii, pp. 208–9.

[3] Ḥájji Qiwám is celebrated by Ḥáfiẓ in other poems, as in the well-known verse:

دریای اخضرِ فلك و کشتی هلال ‘
هستند غرقِ نعمتِ حاجی قوامِ ما ‘

He died, according to the *Fárs-náma*, in 753/1352.

Mubárizu'd-Dín b. Muẓaffar

Mubárizu'd-Dín Muḥammad b. Muẓaffar, who ruled over Fárs from 754/1353 to 759/1357, was of a very different type to his pleasure-loving predecessor and victim. Harsh, stern and ascetic in character, he had no sooner taken possession of Shíráz than he caused all the taverns to be closed, and put a stop, as far as possible, to the drinking of wine, to the great annoyance of Ḥáfiẓ, who refers to these lean days in the following amongst other passages of his poems:

Closing of the taverns in his reign

اگرچه باده فرح بخش و باد گلبیزست،
ببانگِ چنگ مخور می که محتسب تیزست،
درِ آستینِ مرقّع پیاله پنهان کن،
که همچو چشمِ صُراحی زمانه خونریزست،
ز رنگِ باده بشوئید خرقه‌ها از اشك،
که موسمِ ورع و روزگارِ پرهیزست،

"Though wine gives delight and the wind distils the perfume of the rose,
Drink not wine to the strains of the harp, for the constable[1] is alert.
Hide the goblet in the sleeve of the patch-work cloak,
For the time, like the eye of the decanter, pours forth blood.
Wash your dervish-cloak from the wine-stain with tears,
For it is the season of piety and the time of abstinence."

بُوَد آیا که درِ میکده‌ها بکشایند،
گره از کارِ فرو بستهٔ ما بکشایند،
گیسوِ چنگ ببُرّید بمرگِ می ناب،
تا همه مغبچه‌ها زلفِ دوتا بکشایند،
نامهٔ تعزیتِ دخترِ رز بنویسید،
تا حریفان همه خون از مژه‌ها بکشایند،

[1] *Muḥtasib*, a police officer charged with the superintendence of the weights, measures and morals of a town. His activities in certain aspects correspond with those of a University Proctor.

در میخانه ببستند خدایا مپسند ‘

که در خانهٔ تزویر و ریا بکشایند ‘

اگر از بهرِ دلِ زاهدِ خود بین بستند ‘

دل قوی دار که از بهرِ خدا بکشایند ‘

"O will it be that they will reopen the doors of the taverns,
And will loosen the knots from our tangled affairs?
Cut the tresses[1] of the harp [in mourning] for the death of pure wine,
So that all the sons of the Magians[2] may loosen their curled locks!
Write the letter of condolence for the [death of the] Daughter of the Grape[3],
So that all the comrades may let loose blood [-stained tears] from their eyelashes.
They have closed the doors of the wine-taverns; O God, suffer not
That they should open the doors of the house of deceit and hypocrisy!
If they have closed them for the sake of the heart of the self-righteous zealot
Be of good heart, for they will reopen them for God's sake!"

Sháh Shujá‘ allows the taverns to be reopened

Sháh Shujá‘, who succeeded his father Mubárizu'd-Dín and relaxed his oppressive restrictions, composed the following quatrain on the same subject:

در مجلسِ دهر سازِ مستی پست است ‘

نه چنگ بقانون و نه دف بر دست است ‘

رندان همه ترکِ می پرستی کردند ‘

جُز محتسبِ شهر که بی مَی مست است ‘

"In the assembly of the time the concomitants of wine-bibbing are laid low;
Neither is the hand on the harp, nor the tambourine in the hand.
All the revellers have abandoned the worship of wine
Save the city constable, who is drunk without wine."

[1] *I.e.* strings or chords.

[2] The sale of wine in Muhammadan countries is carried on by non-Muslims, Jews, Christians, or Zoroastrians. With Ḥáfiẓ and his congeners the "Elder of the Magians" (*Pír-i-Mughán*) and the "Magian boys" (*Mugh-bacha-há*) are familiar concomitants of the tavern.

[3] *I.e.* Wine, similarly called by the Arabs *Bintu 'l-'Inab.*

The reopening of the taverns is celebrated by Ḥáfiẓ in the following verses:

سحر ز هاتفِ غیبم رسید مژده بگوش،
که دَوْرِ شاه شجاع است می دلیر بنوش،
شد آنکه اهلِ نظر بر کناره میرفتند،
هزار گونه سخن بر دهان و لب خاموش،
ببانگِ چنگ بگوئیم آن حکایتها،
که از شنیدنِ آن دیگِ سینه میزد جوش،
رموزِ مملکتِ خویش خسروان دانند،
گدای گوشه نشینی تو حافظا مخروش،

"At early dawn good tidings reached my ear from the Unseen Voice:
'It is the era of Sháh Shujá': drink wine boldly!'
That time is gone when men of insight went apart
With a thousand words in the mouth but their lips silent.
To the sound of the harp we will tell those stories
At the hearing of which the cauldron of our bosoms boiled.
Princes [alone] know the secrets of their kingdom;
O Ḥáfiẓ, thou art a beggarly recluse; hold thy peace!"

In another poem Ḥáfiẓ says:

قسم بحشمت و جاه و جلالِ شاه شجاع،
که نیست با کسم از بهرِ مال و جاه نزاع،
ببین که رقص کُنان میرود بنالهٔ چنگ،
کسی که اذن نمی داد استماعِ سماع،

"I swear by the pomp and rank and glory of Sháh Shujá'
That I have no quarrel with anyone on account of wealth and position.
See how he who [formerly] would not permit the hearing of music
Now goes dancing to the strains of the harp."

In another poem he says:

چنگ در غلغله آمد که کجا شد مُنکِر،
جام در قهقهه آمد که کجا شد منّاع،

عمرِ خسرو طلب ار نفعِ جهان می طلبی ‘
که وجودیست عطا بخش و کریمی نفّاع ‘
مظهرِ لطفِ ازل روشنی چشمِ امل ‘
جامعِ علم و عمل جانِ جهان شاه شجاع ‘

"The harp began to clamour 'Where is the objector?'
The cup began to laugh 'Where is the forbidder?'
Pray for the King's long life if thou seekest the world's welfare,
For he is a beneficent being and a generous benefactor,
The manifestation of Eternal Grace, the Light of the Eye of Hope,
The combiner of theory and practice, the Life of the World, Sháh Shujá'."

Sháh Shujá' is jealous of Ḥáfiẓ

In spite of this and other verses in praise of Sháh Shujá', the relations between the Prince and the Poet are said to have been somewhat strained. Sháh Shujá' had a great opinion of a poet named 'Imád-i-*Faqíh* ("the Jurisconsult") of Kirmán, who is said to have taught his cat to follow him in its genuflections when he performed his prayers. This achievement was accounted by the Prince almost a miracle, but by Ḥáfiẓ a charlatan's trick, concerning which he said:

صوفی بجلوه آمد و آغازِ ناز کرد ‘
بُنیادِ مکر با فلکِ حُقّه‌باز کرد ‘
ای کبکِ خوش خرام که خوش میروی بناز ‘
غرّه مشو که گربهٔ عابد نماز کرد ‘

"The Ṣúfí hath made display of his virtues and begun his blandishments;
He hath inaugurated his schemings with the juggling heavens.
O gracefully-moving partridge who walkest with so pretty an air,
Be not deceived because the cat of the ascetic hath said its prayers[1]!"

[1] The reference in this line is otherwise explained on p. 243 *supra*. *Cf.* also p. 258. The text given in Rosenzweig-Schwannau's edition (vol. i, p. 316: No. 8 in د) differs somewhat from that adopted by Shiblí which is here given.

The scorn expressed by Ḥáfiẓ for 'Imád is said to have been the original cause of Sháh Shujá''s dislike for him, but the Prince himself was his not very successful rival in the field of poetry, and jealousy appears to have increased that dislike. On one occasion the Prince criticized Ḥáfiẓ's verse on the ground of its many-sided aspects: no one motive, he complained, inspired it; it was at one moment mystical, at another erotic and bacchanalian; now serious and spiritual, and again flippant and worldly, or worse. "True," replied Ḥáfiẓ, "but in spite of all this everyone knows, admires and repeats my verses, while the verses of some poets whom I could name never go beyond the city gates."

Contempt of Ḥáfiẓ for 'Imád of Kirmán

Sháh Shujá' was greatly incensed at this answer, and soon afterwards came across the following verse of Ḥáfiẓ which seemed to deliver the poet into his hands:

'گر مسلمانی از آنست که حافظ دارد

وای اگر از پی امروز بود فردائی'

"If Muḥammadanism be that which Ḥáfiẓ holds,
Alas if there should be a to-morrow after to-day!"

Ḥáfiẓ, being warned that this verse was to be made the ground of a charge of heresy or agnosticism against him, went in great perturbation to Mawláná Zaynu'd-Dín Abú Bakr Táyabádí, who happened at that time to be in Shíráz, and asked his advice. The latter recommended him to add another verse placing the words to which exception was taken in the mouth of another, on the principle that "the reporting of blasphemy is not blasphemy." Thereupon Ḥáfiẓ prefixed the following verse to the one cited above:

Ḥáfiẓ ingeniously extricates himself from a charge of heresy

'این حدیثم چه خوش آمد که سحرگه میگفت

بر درِ میکدهٔ با دف و نی ترسائی'

"How pleasant to me seemed this saying which at early morn
A Christian was reciting at the door of the tavern with tambourine and flute:"

On being charged with atheism he produced this verse along with the other, and said that he was not responsible for the opinions expressed by a Christian[1].

Sháh Shujá' died in 785/1383–4 or 786[2], and was succeeded by his son Zaynu'l-'Ábidín, who, however, was deposed and imprisoned by his cousin Sháh Manṣúr in 789/1387. Ḥáfiẓ celebrated his triumph in a poem beginning:

Sháh Manṣúr

بیآ که رایتِ منصور پادشاه رسید
نویدِ فتح و ظفر تا بمهر و ماه رسید

"Come, for the standard of King Manṣúr has arrived;
The good tidings of conquest and victory have reached the Sun and the Moon."

The deposed ruler Zaynu'l-'Ábidín (who was subsequently blinded) had accepted the suzerainty of Tímúr, received his ambassador, Quṭbu'd-Dín, and inserted his name in the *khuṭba* and on the coins, and Tímúr himself entered Shíráz in 789/1387, some time before Zaynu'l-'Ábidín's deposition. It must have been at this time, if at all, that the meeting between Tímúr and Ḥáfiẓ, described by Dawlatsháh[3] and those who follow him in connection with Tímúr's second entry into Shíráz in 795/1393, three or four years after the poet's death, actually took place. The story, which is more celebrated than authentic, has been already given on pp. 188–189 *supra*. Dawlatsháh, with characteristic inaccuracy, first gives the date of this supposed meeting as 795/1393, and then states (incorrectly) that Ḥáfiẓ died in the previous year, 794/1392. As a matter of fact he died in 791/1389, or possibly in the following year. The former date is that given by

The alleged meeting between Tímúr and Ḥáfiẓ

Date of the death of Ḥáfiẓ

[1] This anecdote is given by the *Ḥabíbu's-Siyar*, vol. iii, pt 2, pp. 37 *et seqq.*

[2] The latter is the date given by the *Mujmal* of Faṣíḥí in the chronogram حیف از شاه شجاع

[3] See pp. 305–306 of my edition.

the chronogram on his tombstone, so ingeniously paraphrased by Herman Bicknell[1] as follows:

تاريخ

چراغِ اهلِ معنی خواجه حافظ، که شمعی بود از نورِ تجلّی،
چو در خاكِ مصلّی ساخت منزل، بجو تاريخش از خاكِ مصلّی،

Chronogram.

"On spiritual man the lamp of Ḥáfiẓ gleamed;
'Mid rays from Glory's Light his brilliant taper beamed;
Muṣallá was his home: a mournful date to gain.
Thrice take thou from MOSALLA'S EARTH ITS RICHEST GRAIN."

The sum of the letters composing the words خاك مصلّی is 791, and the same date is obtained by subtracting three times CIII (= 309) from MLL (= 1100)[2]. The same date is given by Muḥammad Gulandám, the editor of Ḥáfiẓ's *Díwán*; while the following year (792) is given by Jámí in the *Nafaḥátu'l-Uns*, by Khwándamír in the *Ḥabíbu's-Siyar*, and by Faṣíḥí of Khwáf in his *Mujmal* or Compendium of History and Biography.

Celebrity of Ḥáfiẓ during his lifetime

Mention has already been made of the celebrity achieved by Ḥáfiẓ even during his lifetime. As he himself says:

بشعرِ حافظِ شيراز می گويند و می رقصند،
سيه چشمانِ كشميری و تركانِ سمرقندی،

"The black-eyed beauties of Cashmere and the Turks of Samarqand
Sing and dance to the strains of Ḥáfiẓ of Shíráz's verse."

In another passage[3] he says, speaking of a poem he had just composed:

شكّر شكن شوند همه طوطيانِ هند،
زين قندِ پارسی كه به بنگاله ميرود،

[1] *Ḥáfiẓ of Shíráz: Selections from his Poems, translated from the Persian by Herman Bicknell* (Trübner and Co., London, 1875), p. xvi.

[2] See my *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, vol. ii, pp. 76–7.

[3] Ed. Rosenzweig-Schwannau, vol. i, p. 416.

طیّ مکان ببین و زمان در سلوکِ شعر،

کین طفلِ یکشبه رهِ یکساله میرود،

"All the parrots of India become sugar-breakers
Through this Persian candy which is going to Bengal.
Behold the annihilation of space and time in the pilgrimage of Poetry,
For this infant, though but one night old, is going on a year's journey!"

Not only with the Muẓaffarí rulers of Shíráz, but with many other contemporary princes, Ḥáfiẓ entered into relations. Sulṭán Aḥmad ibn Uways-i-Jalá'ir, the accomplished Íl-khání ruler of Baghdád, himself a poet, musician, painter and artist, repeatedly strove to induce Ḥáfiẓ to visit his court, but, as the poet himself sang:

نمی دهند اجازت مرا به سیر و سفر،

نسیمِ بادِ مُصلّی و آبِ رکناباد،

"The zephyr-breeze of Muṣallá and the stream of Ruknábád
Do not permit me to travel or wander afield."

However he composed verses in this Prince's praise, amongst others the following:

أَحْمَدُ اللهَ علی معدلة ٱلسّلطان،

احمدِ شیخ اُوَیْسِ حسنِ ایلخانی،

خان بن خان و شهنشاهِ شهنشاه نژاد،

آنکه میزیبد اگر جانِ جهانش خوانی،

از گِلِ فارسیم غُنچهٔ عیشی نشگفت،

حبّذا دجلهٔ بغداد و می روحانی،

بر شکن کاکلِ ترکانه که در طالعِ تُست،

دولتِ خسروی و منصب چنگیز خانی،

"I praise God for the justice of the King
Aḥmad the son of Shaykh Uways the son of Ḥasan Íl-khání;
A Khán and the son of a Khán, a King of kingly descent,
Whom it were meet that I should call the Soul of the World.

No rose-bud of delight bloomed for me from the earth of Fárs :
O for the Tigris of Baghdád and the spiritual wine !
Curl your locks in Turkish fashion, for in thy fortune lie
The Empire of Khusraw and the status of Chingíz Khán."

But, though Ḥáfiẓ never achieved the journey to Baghdád, he seems often to have thought of it :

ره نبُردیم بمقصودِ خود اندر شیراز،
خُرّم آن روز که حافظ رهِ بغداد کُند،

"In Shíráz we did not find our way to our goal ;
Happy that day when Ḥáfiẓ shall take the road to Baghdád !"

Invitations to Ḥáfiẓ to visit India

Two kings of India also sought to persuade Ḥáfiẓ to visit their courts. One of these was Maḥmúd Sháh Bahmaní of the Deccan, a liberal patron of poets, who, through his favourite Mír Faḍlu'lláh, invited Ḥáfiẓ to his capital, and sent him money for his journey. Ḥáfiẓ spent a considerable portion of this sum before leaving Shíráz, and on arriving at Lár on his way to the Persian Gulf met with a destitute friend to whom he gave the remainder. Two Persian merchants, Khwája Zaynu'd-Dín of Hamadán, and Khwája Muḥammad of Kázarún, who were on their way to India, offered to defray the poet's expenses in return for the pleasure of his company. He went with them as far as the port of Hurmuz, where a ship was waiting to convey him to India, but a tempest which arose just as he was embarking caused him such lively consternation that, abandoning his intention, he returned to Shíráz and sent to Maḥmúd Sháh the poem beginning :

دمی با غم بسر بُردن جهان یکسر نمی ارزد،
بمی بفروش دلقِ ما کزین بهتر نمی ارزد،
شکوهِ تاجِ سلطانی که بیمِ جان درو درجست،
کلاهِ دلکش است امّا بترکِ سر نمی ارزد،

بکوی میفروشانش بجامی در نمی گیرند،

زهی سجّادهٔ تقوی که یك ساغر نمی ارزد،

بس آسان می نمود اوّل غمِ دریا ببوی سود،

غلط کردم که یك موجش بصد من زر نمی ارزد،

A verse-translation of the whole of this poem (though the verses stand in an order different from that given above) will be found amongst Miss Gertrude Lowthian Bell's graceful renderings of *Poems from the Divan of Hafiz*[1] (No. xxi, pp. 91–93), in which the stanzas corresponding to the four couplets cited above are as follows:

"Not all the sum of earthly happiness
Is worth the bowed head of a moment's pain,
And if I sell for wine my dervish dress
Worth more than what I sell is what I gain!

* * * *

The Sultan's crown, with priceless jewels set,
Encircles fear of death and constant dread;
It is a head-dress much desired—and yet
Art sure 'tis worth the danger to the head?

* * * *

Down in the quarter where they sell red wine
My holy carpet scarce would fetch a cup—
How brave a pledge of piety is mine,
Which is not worth a goblet foaming up!

* * * *

Full easy seemed the sorrow of the sea
Lightened by hope of gain—hope flew too fast!
A hundred pearls[2] were poor indemnity,
Not worth the blast[3]."

Another Indian king, Sulṭán Ghiyáthu'd-Dín ibn Sulṭán Sikandar of Bengal, stated by Shiblí Nu'mání (who is

[1] London: William Heinemann, 1897.

[2] This translation corresponds with the alternative reading بصد گوهر in place of بصد من زر.

[3] This story rests on the authority of the historian of India, Muḥammad Qásim Firishta of Astarábád, who wrote in 1015/1606–7.

responsible for the story[1]) to have ascended the throne in 768/1366–7, is said to have corresponded with Ḥáfiẓ, who wrote for him the ode beginning :

ساقی حدیثِ سرو و گل و لاله میرود
وین بحث با ثلاثهٔ غسّاله میرود
شکّر شکن شوند همه طوطیانِ هند
زین قند پارسی که ببنگاله میرود
حافظ ز شوقِ مجلسِ سلطان غیاثِ دین
غافل مشو که کارِ تو از ناله میرود

"O cup-bearer there is talk of the cypress, the rose and the anemone,
And this discussion goes on with 'the three cleansing draughts[2].'
All the parrots of India will crack sugar
Through this Persian candy which is going to Bengal.
O Ḥáfiẓ, be not heedless of the enthusiasm of the Court of Sulṭán Ghiyáthu'd-Dín,
For thy affair will be furthered by thy lamentation."

Domestic circumstances of Ḥáfiẓ

Having spoken of Ḥáfiẓ's relations with contemporary princes, we pass now to the little that is known or conjectured as to his personal circumstances. For the statement that he fell in love with and ultimately married a girl called *Shákh-i-Nabát* ("Branch of Sugar-cane") there is no weighty authority, nor are such domestic particulars to be expected from Persian biographers, in view of their reticence on all

[1] In Mawlawí 'Abdu'l-Muqtadir's excellent *Bankipore Catalogue* (Persian Poets : Firdawsí to Ḥáfiẓ : pp. 253–4) the King in question in this anecdote is the same as in the last, *viz.* Maḥmúd Sháh Bahmaní, who reigned 780–799/1378–1396, and the anecdote assumes a different and fuller form.

[2] This is generally explained as meaning three draughts of wine taken in the morning after a debauch to "break the headache" caused by previous excess. The author of the *Catalogue* cited in the last note makes it refer to three of the Sulṭán's handmaidens called respectively Cypress, Rose, and Anemone, and named collectively, for reasons which he gives, "the three washerwomen."

matrimonial matters. That he married and had several children is probable. To the death of his wife he is supposed to allude in a poem beginning[1]:

آن یار کزو خانهٔ ما جای پری بود،
سر تا قدمش چون پری از عیب بری بود،

"That sweet-heart through whom our home was Fairyland,
And who, from head to foot, was like a fairy, free from blemish,"

but there is nothing in the poem to show that his wife is the person referred to. There is, however, a clearer reference to the premature death of a son in the following verses:

دلا دیدی که آن فرزانه فرزند،
چه دید اندر خمِ این طاقِ رنگین،
بجای لوحِ سیمین در کنارش،
فلك بر سر نهادش لوحِ سنگین،

"O heart, thou hast seen what that clever son
Has experienced within the dome of this many-coloured vault:
In place of a silver tablet[2] in his bosom
Fate hath placed a stone tablet[3] on his head."

The following fragment[4], also believed to refer to the death of this or another son, gives the date of this loss as Friday, 6th of Rabí' I, 764 (Dec. 24, 1362):

صباحِ جمعه بُد و سادسِ ربیعِ نُخُسْت،
که از دلم رخِ آن ماه روی شد زائل،
بسالِ هفصد و شصت و چهار از هجرت،
چو آب گشت بمن حل حکایتِ مشکل،

[1] Ed. Rosenzweig-Schwannau, vol. i, pp. 596–8, and note on p. 819.

[2] Corresponding to a slate on which a child does sums and exercises.

[3] *I.e.* a tombstone.

[4] Ed. Rosenzweig-Schwannau, iii, p. 280.

دریغ و درد و تأسّف کجا دهد سودی ‘

کنون که عمر ببازیچه رفت بی حاصل ‘

"It was the morning of Friday and the sixth of the first *Rabí‘*
When the visage of that moon-faced one declined from my heart.
In the year seven hundred and sixty four of the Flight
This difficult story became clear to me like [limpid] water.
How can regret, grief or sorrow profit
Now that life has passed in vanity without result?"

According to a biography of poets entitled *Khizána-i-‘Ámira*, composed in India by Mír Ghulám ‘Alí Khán *Ázád* in 1176/1762–3, a son of Ḥáfiẓ named Sháh Nu‘mán came to India, died at Burhánpúr, and is buried in the Asír-Garh.

Intellectual attainments of Ḥáfiẓ

As regards Ḥáfiẓ's intellectual attainments, his bilingual poems alone show that he had a good knowledge of Arabic, apart from the statements of his editor, Muḥammad Gulandám[1], as to his more scientific work in the language. He himself says:

ز حافظانِ جهان کس چو بنده جمع نکرد ‘

لطائفِ حکما با کتابِ قرآنی ‘

"No one of the *Ḥáfizes*[2] in the world hath combined as I have
The aphorisms of the Philosophers with the Scripture of the *Qur'án*."

That he knew the *Qur'án* by heart is proved by the verse:

ندیدم خوشتر از شعرِ تو حافظ ‘ بقُرآنی که اندر سینه داری ‘

"I have never seen any poetry sweeter than thine, O Ḥáfiẓ,
[I swear] by that *Qur'án* which thou keepest in thy bosom."

Mawlawí Shiblí Nu‘mání points out that the oft-made assertion that Ḥáfiẓ was indifferent to the favour of kings and princes is not borne out by his poems, in which there occur incidentally praises of the majority of contemporary rulers, including Sháh

Ḥáfiẓ not indifferent to royal favour

[1] See p. 272 *supra*.

[2] *I.e.* those who have learned the *Qur'án* by heart.

Shujá', Shaykh Abú Isḥáq, Sulṭán Maḥmúd, Sháh Manṣúr, and the rulers of Yazd and Hurmuz:

شاهِ هرموزم ندید و بی سخن صد لطف کرد'

شاهِ یزدم دید و مدحش گفتم و هیچم نداد'

کارِ شاهان اینچنین باشد تو ای حافظ مرنج'

داورِ روزی‌رسان توفیق و نصرتشان دهاد'

"The King of Hurmúz did not see me, yet showed me a hundred favours without a word [of praise on my part];
The King of Yazd saw me, and I praised him, but he gave me nothing.
Such is the conduct of Kings: be not thou vexed, O Ḥáfiẓ;
May God, the Giver of daily bread, vouchsafe them His Grace and Aid!"

To the King of Yazd's failure to reward him, he again alludes in a very famous and beautiful ode[1]:

عمرتان باد و مراد ای ساقیانِ بزمِ جم'

گرچه جامِ ما نشد پرُ می بدورانِ شما'

ای صبا با ساکنانِ شهر یزد از ما بگو'

کای سرِ حق ناشناسان گوی چوگانِ شما'

گرچه دوریم از بساطِ قُرب همّت دور نیست'

بندهٔ شاهِ شمائیم و ثناخوانِ شما'

These lines are thus rendered by Herman Bicknell[2]:

"Many a year live on and prosper, *Sáqís*[3] of the Court of Jam[4],
E'en though I, to fill my wine-cup, never to your circle come:
East-wind, when to Yazd thou wingest, say thou to its sons from me:
'May the head of every ingrate ball-like 'neath your mall-bat be!
'What though from your daïs distant, near it by my wish I seem;
'Homage to your King I render, and I make your praise my theme.'"

[1] Ed. Rosenzweig-Schwannau, vol. i, pp. 4–7.
[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 6–7.
[3] Cup-bearers.
[4] Jam or Jamshíd, a legendary king of Persia, whose reign is associated with much glory. He corresponds to the mythical Yima of the Avesta. The king of Yazd and his courtiers are here alluded to.

Wherein Ḥáfiẓ differs from other panegyrists

The difference between Ḥáfiẓ and most Persian panegyrists is, however, as Mawlawí Shiblí Nu'mání well points out, that, unlike even such great poets as Anwarí, Ẓahír of Fáryáb and Salmán of Sáwa, he never employs mean and despicable methods to extort money, or has recourse to satire when panegyric fails.

We have already seen how devoted Ḥáfiẓ was to Shíráz, and he never wearies of singing the stream of Ruknábád and the rose-gardens of Muṣallá:

بده ساقی مَیِ باقی که در جنّت نخواهی یافت
کنارِ آبِ رکناباد و گلگشتِ مصلّارا

"Bring, Cup-bearer, all that is left of thy wine!
In the Garden of Paradise vainly thou'lt seek
The lip of the fountain of Ruknábád
And the bowers of Muṣallá where roses twine[1]."

And again:

فرق است ز آب خضر که ظلمات جای اوست
تا آبِ ما که منبعش الله اکبرست

"There is a difference between the Water of Khiḍr, which dwells in the Darkness[2],
And our water, of which Alláhu Akbar[3] is the source."

Although it is chiefly of the Spring, the Rose, the Nightingale, Wine, Youth and Beauty that Ḥáfiẓ sings, and at times of the Eternal Beauty of which all fair and desirable things are but the pale reflection, he sometimes

[1] Miss G. L. Bell's *Poems from the Divan of Hafiz*, pp. 71–2.

[2] *I.e.* the Water of Life, said to be situated in the Land of Darkness. It was sought in vain by Alexander the Great, but found by his saintly companion and guide Khiḍr (sometimes identified with Ilyás or Elias), who drunk of it and became immortal.

[3] The *Tang-i-Alláhu Akbar* is the narrow defile whence the traveller approaching from the North first sees Shíráz. See the plate on p. xxi of Herman Bicknell's translation of Ḥáfiẓ.

makes incidental mention of various statesmen and scholars whose favour and patronage he has enjoyed[1]. Amongst these are Ḥájji Qiwám, Qiwámu'd-Dín Ḥasan[2], Khwája Jalálu'd-Dín, Sháh Yaḥyá Nuṣratu'd-Dín and others, besides the kings and princes already mentioned. And though he wrote *mathnawís*, "fragments" (*muqaṭṭa'át*), *qaṣídas* and quatrains (*rubá'iyyát*), it is in the ode or *ghazal* that he especially excels. To his incomparable skill in this branch of verse many of his successors have borne testimony, amongst them Ṣá'ib, Salím and 'Urfí[3]; but no one has better expressed it than Sir Gore Ouseley, who says[4]:

Sir Gore Ouseley on the genius of Ḥáfiẓ

"His style is clear, unaffected and harmonious, displaying at the same time great learning, matured science, and intimate knowledge of the hidden as well as the apparent nature of things; but above all a certain fascination of expression unequalled by any other poet."

It is, however, to Miss Gertrude Lowthian Bell that we are indebted for the best estimate of Ḥáfiẓ, at once critical, sympathetic, and full of insight. In particular she compares and contrasts him in the most illuminating manner with his elder contemporary Dante, after characterizing whose poetry she says[5]:

Miss Gertrude Lowthian Bell on Ḥáfiẓ and Dante

"To Ḥáfiẓ, on the contrary, modern instances have no value; contemporary history is too small an episode to occupy his thoughts. During his life-time the city which he loved, perhaps as dearly as Dante loved Florence, was besieged and taken five or six times; it changed hands even more often. It was drenched with blood by one conqueror, filled with revelry by a second, and subjected to the hard rule of asceticism by a third. One after another Ḥáfiẓ saw kings and princes rise into power and vanish 'like snow upon the desert's dusty face.' Pitiful tragedies, great rejoicings, the fall of kingdoms and the clash

[1] The verses in question are given by Shiblí on p. 232 of vol. ii of his *Shi'ru'l-'Ajam*.

[2] See the Introduction to Miss G. L. Bell's *Divan of Hafiz*, pp. xxii–iii.

[3] See p. 234 of Shiblí's above-mentioned work.

[4] *Biographical Notices of Persian Poets* (London, 1826), p. 23.

[5] *Op. cit.*, pp. 58–60.

of battle—all these he must have seen and heard. But what echo of them is there in his poems? Almost none. An occasional allusion which learned commentators refer to some political event; an exaggerated effusion in praise first of one king, then of another; the celebration of such and such a victory and of the prowess of such and such a royal general—just what any self-respecting court-poet would feel it incumbent upon himself to write; and no more.

"But some of us will feel that the apparent indifference of Ḥáfiẓ lends to his philosophy a quality which that of Dante does not possess. The Italian is bound down within the limits of his philosophy, his theory of the universe is essentially of his own age, and what to him was so acutely real is to many of us merely a beautiful or a terrible image. The picture that Ḥáfiẓ draws represents a wider landscape, though the immediate foreground may not be so distinct. It is as if his mental eye, endowed with wonderful acuteness of vision, had penetrated into those provinces of thought which we of a later age were destined to inhabit. We can forgive him for leaving to us so indistinct a representation of his own time, and of the life of the individual in it, when we find him formulating ideas as profound as the warning that there is no musician to whose music both the drunk and the sober can dance."

What the *ghazal*, or ode, owes to Ḥáfiẓ

Shiblí Nu'mání ascribes the perfecting of the *ghazal* and the extension of its scope to Ḥáfiẓ, and in a lesser degree to his contemporaries Salmán and Khwájú. With the earlier masters, such as Sa'dí, Amír Khusraw and Ḥasan of Dihli, its almost invariable theme was love. Khwájú sang of other matters as well, such as the transitoriness of the world, while Salmán excelled in rhetorical artifices and novel comparisons and similes. Ḥáfiẓ combined the merits of all, adding to them a charm all his own, and often it pleased him to take from their *Díwáns* a couplet or hemistich and modify it so as to add to its beauty. In the case of Sa'dí I have given some instances of this in the second volume of my *Literary History of Persia*[1], and Shiblí Nu'mání gives others as between Ḥáfiẓ and Khwájú and Salmán respectively. Amongst these latter are the following:

Parallel passages of Ḥáfiẓ and Khwájú.

[1] Pp. 536–9. See Mawlawí 'Abdu'l-Muqtadir's remarks on this at p. 255 of the *Bankipore Catalogue* (Firdawsí to Ḥáfiẓ).

(1)

Ḥáfiẓ.

دوش از مسجد سوی میخانه آمد پیرِ ما،
چیست یارانِ طریقت بعد ازین تدبیرِ ما،
در خراباتِ مغان ما نیز همدستان شویم،
کاینچنین رفتست از روز ازل تقدیرِ ما،
عقل اگر داند که دل در بندِ زلفش چون خوش است،
عاقلان دیوانه گردند از پی زنجیرِ ما،
تیرِ آهِ ما ز گردون بگذرد حافظ خموش،
رحم کن بر جانِ خود پرهیز کن از تیر ما،

Khwájú.

خرقه رهنِ خانهٔ خمّار دارد پیر ما،
ای همه یاران مریدِ پیر ساغر گیرِ ما،
گر شدیم از باده بدنامِ جهان تدبیر چیست،
همچنین رفتست از روز ازل تقدیرِ ما،
ما دلِ دیوانه در زنجیر زلفت بسته ایم،
ای بسا عاقل که شد دیوانهٔ زنجیر ما،
از خدنگِ آهِ عالم سوزِ ما غافل مشو،
کز کمانِ نرم زخمش سخت باشد تیرِ ما،

(2)

نسیمِ صبح سعادت برآن نشان که تو دانی،
گذر بکوی فلان کن در آن زمان که تو دانی،
تو پیکِ حضرتِ شاهی مرا دو دیده براهست،
بمردمی نه بفرمان چنان بران که تو دانی،

ایا صبا خبری کن مرا ازآن که تو دانی،
بدان زمین گذری کن بدان زمان که تو دانی،
چو مرغ در طَیَران آی و چون به اوج رسیدی،
نزول ساز درآن آشیان چنان که تو دانی،

Ḥáfiẓ.	*Khwájú.*
بگو که جانِ ضعیفم ز دست رفت خدارا،	چنان مرو که غباری بدو رسد ز گذارت،
ز لعلِ روح فزایت ببخش از آنکه تو دانی،	بدان طرف چو رسیدی چنان بدان که تو دانی،
من این دو حرف نوشتم چنانکه غیر ندانست،	
تو هم ز روی کرامت بخوان چنانکه تو دانی،	

(3)

مجو درستی عهد از جهانِ بی بُنیاد،	دل درین پیره‌زنِ عشوه گرِ دهر مبند،
که این عجوزه عروسِ هزار داماد است،	کین عروسی است که در عقد بسی داماد است،

(4)

همه کس طالبِ یارند چه هُشیار و چه مست،	منزل ار یار قرین است چه دوزخ چه بهشت،
همه جا خانهٔ عشق است چه مسجد چه کنشت،	سجدهٔ گر به نیاز است چه مسجد چه کنشت،

(5)

عشقِ تو در وجودم و مهرِ تو در دلم،	کی برِ کنم دل از رخِ جانان که مهرِ او،
با شیر در بدن شد و با جان بدر شود،	با شیر در دل آمد و با جان بدر شود،

Parallel passages of Ḥáfiẓ and Salmán

Shiblí Nu'mání says that he could give many other parallels between Ḥáfiẓ and Khwájú, but deems these few examples sufficient. In each case he discusses the relative merit of the parallel couplets, generally, but not always, giving the verdict in favour of Ḥáfiẓ. He then passes to a similar comparison between Ḥáfiẓ and Salmán.

(1)

Ḥáfiẓ.	*Salmán.*
عید است و موسمِ گُل ساقی بیار باده،	آوازهٔ جمالت تا در جهان فتاده،
هنگامِ گُل که دیدست بی مَی قدح نهاده،	خلقی بجستجویت سر در جهان نهاده،
گل رفت ای حریفان غافل چرا نشینید،	سودایِ زهد خشکم بر باد داده حاصل،
بی بانگِ رود و چنگی بی یار و جام و باده،	مطرب بزن ترانه ساقی بیار باده،
زین زُهد و پارسائی بگرفت خاطرِ من،	مائیم بسته دل‌را در لعلِ دلکشایت،
ساقی پیالهٔ ده تا دل شود کشاده،	آن لب بخنده بکشا تا دل شود کشاده،
در مجلسِ صبوحی دانی چه خوش نماید،	سودائیانِ زلفت گردِ تو حلقه بسته،
عکسِ عذارِ ساقی بر جامِ مَی فتاده،	شوریدگانِ مویت در یکدگر فتاده،

(2)

Háfiẓ.

عاشق و رند و نظر بازم و میگویم فاش،
تا بدانی که بچندین هنر آراسته ام،

Salmán.

رندی و عاشقی و قلّاشی،
هیچ شك نیست که در ما همه هست،

(3)

رازِ درونِ پرده ز رندانِ مست پرس،
کین حال نیست زاهدِ عالی مقام را،

درونِ صافی از اهلِ صلاح و زهد مجوی،
که این نشانهٔ رندانِ دردی آشام است،

(4)

گرچه بد نامیست نزدِ عاقلان،
ما نمی خواهیم ننگ و نام را،

مکن ملامتِ رندان دگر ببدنامی،
که هرچه پیشِ تو ننگ است نزدِ ما نام است،

(5)

جلوه بر من مفروش ای ملك الحجّ که تو،
خانه می بینی و من خانه خدا می بینم،

غرض از کعبه و بُت خانه توئی سلمان را،
چکنم خانهٔ بی خانه خدا باید رفت،

(6)

Ḥáfiẓ.	*Salmán.*
فاش میگویم و از گفتهٔ خود دلشادم؛	من از آن روز که در بندِ توام آزادم؛
بندهٔ عشقم و از هر دو جهان آزادم؛	پادشاهم چو بدستِ تو اسیر افتادم؛

(7)

یا رب این با که توان گفت که آن نوشین لب؛	ای گنجِ نوش دارو در خستگان نظر کُن؛
کشت مارا و دمِ عیسی مریم با اوست؛	مرهم بدست و مارا مجروح می گذاری؛

Shiblí Nu'mání gives a great number of other instances of parallels between Ḥáfiẓ and Salmán and Ḥáfiẓ and Khwájú, but the specimens cited above suffice to establish the fact of this parallelism, which, so far as I know, has not been hitherto noticed by any European Orientalist. It is interesting to note another fact to which reference has been previously made in vol. ii of my *Literary History of Persia* (pp. 83–9), *viz.* the tendency of most Oriental literary critics to show less interest in the diversity of ideas of two poets than in the diversity of form in which they have expressed an idea common to both. And it is because this same tendency exists in the poets themselves that we find so great a poet as Ḥáfiẓ, for instance, taking a couplet or a whole ode from one of his elder contemporaries, such as Salmán or Khwájú, and endeavouring to give a new and more attractive turn to the phraseology, while keeping the form, the rhyme and the general sense. Such appropriation of the work of others is regarded as entirely legitimate, and is not reckoned as plagiarism, when the object of the appropriating poet is to show that he can better the work of

his predecessor or contemporary. This, of course, is quite different from parody, such as that indulged in by 'Ubayd-i-Zákání and Bushḥáq, where the object is not to surpass but to deride.

Commentators of Ḥáfiẓ

The number of commentaries on the poems of Ḥáfiẓ, not only in Persian but also in Turkish, and possibly in Urdú also, is very considerable, but few of those which I have had occasion to examine are either very critical or very illuminating. The three best-known Turkish commentaries are those of Surúrí, Shem'í and Súdí, of which the last is the most accessible[1] and the most useful, since the author very wisely confines himself to the elucidation of the literal meaning, and avoids all attempts at allegorical interpretation and the search for the "inner meaning." That many of the odes are to be taken in a symbolic and mystical sense few will deny; that others mean what they say, and celebrate a beauty not celestial and a wine not allegorical can hardly be questioned; that the spiritual and the material should, as Sháh Shujá' complained, be thus mingled will not surprise any one who understands the character, psychology and *Weltanschauung* of the people of Persia, where it is common enough to meet with persons who in the course of a single day will alternately present themselves as pious Muslims, heedless libertines, confirmed sceptics and mystical pantheists, or even incarnations of the Deity[2]. The student of Ḥáfiẓ who cannot decide for himself which verses are to be taken literally and which

[1] His commentary on the first 80 odes is included in Brockhaus's Leipzig edition of the *Díwán* (1854–6), and the whole has been printed with the text and another Turkish commentary at Constantinople about 1870. The English reader who desires to acquaint himself with Súdí's methods may consult W. H. Lowe's *Twelve Odes of Ḥáfiẓ done literally into English together with the corresponding portion of the Turkish Commentary of Súdí, for the first time translated* (Cambridge, 1877, pp. 80). See also Lieut.-Col. H. Wilberforce Clarke's English prose translation (2 vols, London, 1891).

[2] I have endeavoured to depict this type of Persian in the chapter of my *Year amongst the Persians* entitled "Amongst the Qalandars."

symbolically is hardly likely to gain much from a commentator who invariably repeats that Wine means Spiritual Ecstasy, the Tavern the Ṣúfí Monastery, the Magian elder the Spiritual Guide, and so forth. To the English reader who desires to pursue this method of study, however, Lieut.-Colonel H. Wilberforce Clarke's complete prose translation of the *Díwán* of Ḥáfiẓ "with copious notes and an exhaustive commentary[1]" may be recommended. On the symbolical meaning of the erotic and Bacchanalian phraseology of the mystic or pseudo-mystic poets of Persia generally E. H. Whinfield's excellent edition and annotated translation of Maḥmúd Shabistarí's *Gulshan-i-Ráz* ("Rose-garden of Mystery") and the late Professor E. H. Palmer's little work on *Oriental Mysticism* may be consulted with advantage. On the origin, doctrines and general character of Ṣúfíism I must refer the reader to chapter xiii (pp. 416–444) of the first volume of my *Literary History of Persia.*

The *Laṭífa-i-Ghaybiyya* of Muḥammad of Dáráb

One little Persian treatise on Ḥáfiẓ, to which my attention was first called by Mr Sidney Churchill, formerly Oriental Secretary of the British Legation at Ṭihrán, deserves a brief mention, chiefly because it formulates and subsequently endeavours to refute certain adverse criticisms on his poetry made by some of his compatriots. This little book is entitled *Laṭífa-i-Ghaybiyya* and was written by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad of Dáráb, concerning whose life and date I have been unable to learn anything. It comprises 127 pages of small size, was lithographed at Ṭihrán in 1304/1886–7, and chiefly consists of explanations of different verses. The three hostile criticisms which it seeks to refute are stated as follows on p. 5 :

Defence of Ḥáfiẓ against his critics

(1) That some of his verses are meaningless, or that, if they have any meaning, it is very far-fetched and enigmatical. The following instance is given :

[1] See n. 1 on the preceding page.

ما جرا کم کن و باز آ که مرا مردمِ چشم‘

خرقه از سر بدر آورد و بشکرانه بسوخت‘

“Cease your recriminations and return, for the pupil of my eye
Hath pulled off the cloak over its head and burned it as a thank-offering[1].”

(2) That some of his verses are evidently secular and profane, and refer to the pleasures of the senses in a manner which cannot be explained as allegorical, as for instance:

دلِ من در هوای روی فرّخ‘ بود آشفته همچون موی فرّخ‘

“My heart, in love with Farrukh’s face, is agitated like Farrukh’s hair.”

And again:

هزار آفرین بر مَیِ سُرْخ باد‘ که از روی ما رنگ زردی ببُرْد‘

“A thousand blessings be on the red wine which hath removed the sallow complexion from my face!”

(3) That many of his verses smack of the Ash‘arí (Sunní) doctrines, which are repudiated and execrated by the Imámí (Shí‘a) doctors, *e.g.*:

در کوی نیکنامی مارا گذر ندادند‘

گر تو نمی پسندی تغییر کُن قضارا‘

“They did not suffer me to pass through the street of good repute:
If thou dost not approve, then change Destiny[2].”

این جانِ عاریت که بحافظ سپرد دوست‘

روزی رُخش ببینم و تسلیمِ وی کنم‘

“This borrowed life which the Friend hath entrusted to Ḥáfiẓ—
One day I shall see His Face and shall yield it up to Him[3].”

[1] For Súdí’s explanation of this verse, see Rosenzweig-Schwannau’s edition of Ḥáfiẓ, vol. i, No. 26 in ت, p. 769 in the notes. It is not very convincing, and I have never met with any other allusion to the custom there alleged.

[2] It is worth noting that the extreme Fatalism commonly regarded in Europe as characteristic of Islám is repudiated by Muslims of the Shí‘a sect.

[3] The doctrine called *Rúyatu’lláh* (“The Vision of God”) belongs, I think, especially to the Ḥanbalí sect, but is held in detestation by the Shí‘a.

Why the Turks are better editors of Persian poetry than the Indians

Although manuscripts of Ḥáfiẓ offer as many variants as is usually the case with Persian texts, there exists of this poet's works an established and generally accepted text which we owe, I think, to the Turkish commentator Súdí, and which has been popularized in Europe by the editions of Brockhaus and Rosenzweig-Schwannau, so that it is usual to refer to the odes of Ḥáfiẓ by the numbers they bear in the latter edition. Turkish editions of Persian poetry, such as the *Mathnawí* of Jalálu'd-Dín Rúmí, the *Díwán* of Ḥáfiẓ, etc., are generally more accurate and trustworthy than those produced in India, which commonly contain many spurious and interpolated lines composed by the editors, lines which a Persian would be ashamed and a Turk unable to produce; for the Persian editor has in most cases enough taste (*dhawq*) to know that he cannot produce verses likely to be accepted as those of the master whom he is editing; while the Turkish editor is generally conscientious and laborious, but incapable of producing any Persian verses at all. The Indian editor, on the other hand, often has a certain facility of versifying without much critical taste.

Translations of Ḥáfiẓ

This "authorized version" of the *Díwán* of Ḥáfiẓ (which could probably be much improved by a fresh and careful collation of all the best and oldest manuscripts) contains in all 693 separate poems; to wit, 573 odes (*ghazaliyyát*); 42 fragments (*muqaṭṭa'át*); 69 quatrains (*rubá'iyyát*); 6 *mathnawís*; 2 *qaṣídas*, and one "five-some" or *mukhammas*. Of all of these poems German verse-translations are given by Rosenzweig-Schwannau, and English prose translations by Wilberforce Clarke. There exist also many translations of individual odes or groups of odes in English, German, Latin, French, etc., either in verse or prose[1]. Of English verse translations the largest and most sumptuous collection is that of Herman Bicknell,

[1] For a list of the chief of these, see Dr H. Ethé's *Catalogue of the Persian MSS in the India Office*, No. 1246 (col. 720), and the *Bankipore Catalogue* (Firdawsí to Ḥáfiẓ), pp. 256–7.

who was born in 1830, studied Medicine at St Bartholomew's Hospital and took the degree of M.R.C.S. in 1854, entered the Army Medical Service, went through the Indian Mutiny, travelled widely in Europe, Asia, Africa and America, made the pilgrimage to Mecca under the name of 'Abdu'l-Waḥíd in 1862, and spent some time at Shíráz "with the object of clearing up doubtful points [in the *Díwán*], and of becoming personally acquainted with the localities mentioned by the Poet." He died in 1875, and his posthumous work was brought out with loving care by his brother, A. S. Bicknell, in the same year. It contains, besides the Preface, Introduction, Appendix and Indices, and nine illustrations, translations, complete or partial, of 189 *ghazaliyyát*, all the 42 *muqaṭṭa'át* and 69 *rubá'iyyát*, 2 out of the 6 *mathnawís*, and the one *mukhammas*.

Of most of these translations of Ḥáfiẓ, from the Latin renderings of Meninski (1680), Thomas Hyde (1767) and Revisky (1771); the French (1799) and English (1792) versions of Sir William Jones; the numerous German versions from Wahl (1791) to Bodenstedt (1877); and the later English efforts of Payne, Justin McCarthy and Wilberforce Clarke, I do not propose to speak here; but I shall say something of three of the English verse-translations which seem to me the most worthy of attention. Of the oldest of these three, that of Herman Bicknell, published in 1875, I have already spoken above. The next in point of time is that of Miss Gertrude Lowthian Bell (London, 1897), which contains, besides an admirable Introduction on the life, times and character of the poet, verse-translations of 43 of the odes. These, though rather free, are, in my opinion, by far the most artistic, and, so far as the spirit of Ḥáfiẓ is concerned, the most faithful renderings of his poetry. Lastly, in 1898 Mr Walter Leaf published 28 "Versions from Ḥáfiẓ," in which he endeavoured to reproduce the form as well as the sense of the original poems, with as much success, probably, as is attainable

under these conditions. The existence of these three versions exonerates me from attempting, as I have done in the case of other less known Persian poets, to produce versions of my own. In their different ways they are all good: Herman Bicknell's are accurate as regards the sense, and often very ingenious, especially the chronograms; Walter Leaf's give an excellent idea of the form; while Miss Bell's are true poetry of a very high order, and, with perhaps the single exception of FitzGerald's paraphrase of the Quatrains of 'Umar Khayyám, are probably the finest and most truly poetical renderings of any Persian poet ever produced in the English language; for, though some of Sir William Jones's verse-translations are pretty enough, they can hardly be dignified by the name of poetry, and are, moreover, so free that they can scarcely be called translations.

For the sake of comparison I gave elsewhere[1] five different English verse-translations of one of the best-known of the odes of Ḥáfiẓ, that beginning[2]:

اگر آن ترکِ شیرازی بدست آرد دلِ مارا ،

بخالِ هندوش بخشم سمرقند و بخارارا ،

which has been rendered into English verse by Sir William Jones, Herman Bicknell, Miss Bell, Walter Leaf, and myself. I cannot find so many English verse-renderings of any other of the odes of Ḥáfiẓ, for, though many of those translated by Miss Bell are also to be found in Herman Bicknell's translation, only three or four of the former are included amongst the 28 published by Walter Leaf. The one fault to be found with Miss Bell's versions is that they are not arranged in any order, nor is any indication given of the opening words of the original, nor reference to its position in the text of Rosenzweig-Schwannau which she has followed;

[1] In a lecture on the *Literature of Persia* delivered to the Persia Society on April 26, 1912, and afterwards published for that Society by John Hogg, 13, Paternoster Row, London, E.C., price one shilling.

[2] See Rosenzweig-Schwannau's ed., vol. i, p. 24 (No. 8 in *alif*).

and only after I had succeeded, with considerable labour, in identifying the originals of all but nine or ten of her translations did I ascertain that my friend Mr Guy le Strange possessed an annotated copy of her book containing all the references I required save one (No. xv), which was wrongly given, and which I am still unable to identify. For the convenience, therefore, of other readers of her admirable book, I give below the reference to each original in Rosenzweig-Schwannau's edition, specifying the volume, page, and number under each rhyming letter, and adding a reference to Bicknell and Leaf in cases where an ode has also been rendered by them.

Comparative table of odes translated by Miss Bell and other translators.

(No. in Miss Bell's transl.)	(Reference to original in Rosenzweig's ed.)	(Reference to H. Bicknell's transl.)
[1]No. i (p. 67)	vol. i, p. 2 (ا 1)	No. i (p. 3)
No. ii (p. 68)	vol. i, p. 194 (ت 58)	No. li (p. 83)
No. iii (p. 69)	vol. i, p. 204 (ت 63)	No. liv (p. 85)
No. iv (p. 70)	vol. i, p. 100 (ت 19)	——
[2]No. v (p. 71)	vol. i, p. 24 (ا 8)	No. viii (p. 20)
No. vi (p. 73)	vol. ii, p. 86 (س 6)	No. cxxvi (p. 172)
No. vii (p. 74)	vol. i, p. 152 (ت 41)	——
No. viii (p. 75)	vol. i, p. 110 (ت 24)	No. xxxi (p. 60)
No. ix (p. 76)	vol. i, p. 8 (ا 3)	No. iii (p. 9)
[3]No. x (p. 78)	omitted	No. clxxii (p. 240)
No. xi (p. 79)	vol. i, p. 138 (ت 36)	No. xxxix (p. 71)
No. xii (p. 80)	vol. i, p. 32 (ا 12)	No. xii (p. 29)
No. xiii (p. 81)	vol. i, p. 276 (ت 90)	No. lxv (p. 99)
No. xiv (p. 83)	vol. i, p. 302 (د 3)	No. lxx (p. 107)
No. xv (p. 84)		
No. xvi (p. 85)	vol. i, p. 222 (ت 69)	No. lvi (p. 88)
No. xvii (p. 86)	vol. i, p. 148 (ت 40)	No. xliii (p. 75)
No. xviii (p. 88)	vol. i, p. 360 (د 23)	——
No. xix (p. 89)	vol. i, p. 368 (د 26)	——
No. xx (p. 90)	vol. ii, p. 18 (ر 6)	——

[1] See also Palmer's *Song of the Reed*, pp. 53–4.

[2] W. Leaf, No. iv, pp. 27–8.

[3] W. Leaf, No. i, p. 23; Palmer, pp. 49–50.

(No. in Miss Bell's transl.)	(Reference to original in Rosenzweig's ed.)	(Reference to H. Bicknell's transl.)
No. xxi (p. 91)	vol. i, p. 374 (د 28)	——
No. xxii (p. 93)	vol. i, p. 410 (د 41)	No. lxxx (p. 122)
No. xxiii (p. 94)	vol. i, p. 596 (د 113)	No. ciii (p. 147)
No. xxiv (p. 95)	vol. iii, p. 86 (ی 31)	——
No. xxv (p. 97)	vol. i, p. 502 (د 78)	——
No. xxvi (p. 98)	vol. i, p. 520 (د 85)	No. xc (p. 133)
No. xxvii (p. 100)	vol. i, p. 256 (ت 82)	——
No. xxviii (p. 101)	vol. i, p. 490 (د 73)	——
No. xxix (p. 102)	vol. ii, p. 8 (ر 3)	No. cxv (p. 158)
No. xxx (p. 103)	vol. ii, p. 104 (ش 7)	No. cxxviii (p. 176)
No. xxxi (p. 104)	vol. i, p. 560 (د 99)	No. xcvii (p. 140)
No. xxxii (p. 106)	vol. ii, p. 32 (ر 11)	No. cxvii (p. 162)
No. xxxiii (p. 107)	vol. i, p. 576 (د 105)	——
No. xxxiv (p. 108)	vol. i, p. 584 (د 108)	No. ci (p. 144)
No. xxxv (p. 109)	vol. i, p. 662 (د 139)	No. cvii (p. 151)
No. xxxvi (p. 110)	vol. ii, p. 78 (س 2)	——
No. xxxvii (p. 111)	vol. ii, p. 68 (ز 10)	No. cxxi (p. 166)
No. xxxviii (p. 112)	vol. i, p. 650 (د 135)	——
No. xxxix (p. 114)	vol. i, p. 416 (د 44)	No. lxxxi (p. 123)
No. xl (p. 115)	vol. ii, p. 120 (ش 15)	——
No. xli (p. 116)	vol. iii, p. 296 (*qiṭ'a* No. 33)	Qiṭ'a xxxiii (p. 292)
No. xlii (p. 117)	vol. i, p. 586 (د 109)	——
No. xliii (p. 118)	vol. ii, p. 398 (م 74)	No. clxiii (p. 227)

As already noted, only three or four of the odes have been rendered in English verse by Miss Bell, Herman Bicknell and Walter Leaf, and of one of them (*Agar án Turk-i-Shírází*...) the parallel renderings were published in my paper on *Persian Literature*, to which reference has been already made, together with others. Another ode rendered by the three writers above mentioned is that beginning[1]:

شگفته شد گلِ حمرا و گشت بلبل مست

[1] See Rosenzweig-Schwannau's ed., vol. i, p. 110, No. 24 in ت; Miss Bell, No. viii, pp. 75–6; Bicknell, No. xxxi, p. 60; and Walter Leaf, No. v, p. 29.

Of this also, for the sake of comparison, I here reprint the three versions, beginning with Herman Bicknell's, which is as follows:

Bicknell's translation (No. xxxi, p. 60).

(1) "In blossom is the crimson rose, and the rapt *bulbul* trills his song;
A summons that to revel calls you, O Ṣúfís, wine-adoring throng!

(2) The fabric of my contrite fervour appeared upon a rock to bide;
Yet see how by a crystal goblet it hath been shattered in its pride.

(3) Bring wine; for to a lofty spirit, should they at its tribunal be,
What were the sentry, what the Sultan, the toper or the foe of glee?

(4) Forth from this hostel of two portals as finally thou needst must go,
What if the porch and arch of Being be of high span or meanly low?

(5) To bliss's goal we gain not access, if sorrow has been tasted not;
Yea, with *Alastu's*[1] pact was coupled the sentence of our baleful lot.

(6) At Being and Not-being fret not, but either with calm temper see:
Not-being is the term appointed for the most lovely things that be.

(7) Áṣaf's display, the airy courser, the language which the birds employed,
The wind has swept; and their possessor no profit from his wealth enjoyed[2].

(8) Oh! fly not from thy pathway upward, for the winged shaft that quits the bow
A moment to the air has taken, to settle in the dust below.

(9) What words of gratitude, O Ḥáfiẓ,
Shall thy reed's tongue express anon,
As its choice gems of composition
From hands to other hands pass on?"

[1] "It is maintained by certain interpreters of the Koran that Adam and the whole of his future race appeared before their Creator on the first day of the world. God said to them: '*A-lastu bi-Rabbi-kum*,' 'Am I not your Lord?' All responded '*Balá*,' 'Yes.' But the word '*balá*' has the additional signification of 'bale' or 'evil.' Hence the sentence of bale, or evil, was annexed to the pact of the 'Day of *Alast*,' and was constituted a condition of existence."

[2] "How vain were the glories of Solomon! Áṣaf was his minister, the East-wind his courser, and the language of birds one of his accomplishments; but the blast of Time has swept them away."

Walter Leaf's translation (No. v, p. 29).

(1) "Aflame with bloom is the red rose, the bulbul drunk with Spring;
What ho, adorers of Wine! Hear the call to mirth that they fling.

(2) The corner-stone of repentance that seemed a rock firm-set
Is rent and riven asunder by touch of glasses a-ring.

(3) Fill high the bowl with the red wine, for here is Liberty Hall,
The sage is one with the toper, the ploughman e'en as the king.

(4) From out this Hostel of Two Doors the signal calls us away,
Alike if low be the roof-tree or lofty dome upspring.

(5) We conquer only through anguish the resting-place of delight;
To life, by bond of *Alast*-vow, the long '*Alas*' must cling[1].

(6) With IS and IS NOT annoy not thy heart; be merry of soul,
For IS NOT is but the last end of every perfect thing.

(7) The fame of Asaph, the wind-steed, the speech with birds of the air
As wind have passed; to their master no more avail shall they bring.

(8) No pinion heavenward soaring desire; the arrow aloft
Shall sink to dust in the end, howsoe'er it leap on the wing.

(9) What thanks and praises, O ḤÁFIẒ, shall yield the tongue of thy pen,
That all the songs of thy singing from mouth to mouth men sing?"

Miss Bell's translation (No. viii, p. 75).

(1) "The rose has flushed red, the bud has burst,
And drunk with joy is the nightingale—
Hail, Ṣúfís, lovers of wine, all hail!
For wine is proclaimed to a world athirst.

(2) Like a rock your repentance seemed to you;
Behold the marvel! Of what avail
Was your rock, for a goblet has cleft it in two!

(3) Bring wine for the King and the slave at the gate!
Alike for all is the banquet spread,
And drunk and sober are warmed and fed.

(4) When the feast is done and the night grows late,
And the second door of the tavern gapes wide,
The low and the mighty must bow the head
'Neath the archway of Life, to meet what...outside?

[1] See note 1 on previous page. Mr Leaf has here sought to paraphrase the word-play on *balá* ('Yea') and *balá* (Woe) in the original.

(5) Except thy road through affliction pass,
None may reach the halting-station of mirth ;
God's treaty : Am I not Lord of the earth ?
Man sealed with a sigh : Ah yes, alas !

(6) Nor with IS nor IS NOT let thy mind contend ;
Rest assured all perfection of mortal birth
In the great IS NOT at the last shall end.

(7) For Assaf's pomp, and the steeds of the wind,
And the speech of birds down the wind have fled,
And he that was lord of them all is dead ;
Of his mastery nothing remains behind.

(8) Shoot not thy feathered arrow astray !
A bow-shot's length through the air it has sped,
And then...dropped down in the dusty way.

(9) But to thee, oh Ḥáfiẓ, to thee, oh tongue
That speaks through the mouth of the slender reed,
What thanks to thee when thy verses speed
From lip to lip, and the song thou hast sung ?"

This one example of three parallel translations will suffice to show generally the style of work of the three translators. Miss Bell's is the least literal, but by far the most poetical, and is a wonderful interpretation of the spirit of the original. Walter Leaf aims especially at exactly reproducing the form (both as regards rhyme and metre), as well as the sense, of the original. Herman Bicknell steers a middle course, making each verse of his translation correspond with its original, but not attempting to preserve the same rhyme throughout the poem.

In view of these and other excellent translations of Ḥáfiẓ into verse and prose in English and other European languages, I will content myself with quoting here the renderings by Miss Bell and Herman Bicknell of one more ode of Ḥáfiẓ, which has a certain special interest because it is engraved on his tombstone[1], and which begins :

مژدهٔ وصلِ تو کو کز سرِ جان بر خیزم
طایرِ قُدْسم و از دامِ جهان بر خیزم

[1] For a complete translation of the inscription on the tombstone, see the plate facing p. xvi of Herman Bicknell's work above mentioned.

Bicknell's translation (p. 227, No. clxiii).

"Where doth Thy love's glad message echo for my rapt soul
To rise?
This sacred bird from the world's meshes yearns to its goal
To rise.
I swear, wilt Thou Thy servant name me, by all my love sublime
Higher than my desire of lordship o'er space and time
To rise.
Vouchsafe, Lord, from Thy cloud of guidance to pour on me Thy rain,
Ere Thou command me as an atom from man's domain
To rise.
Bring minstrels and the wine-cup with thee, or at my tomb ne'er sit:
Permit me in thy perfume dancing from the grave's pit
To rise.
Though I am old, embrace me closely, be it a single night:
May I, made young by thy caresses, at morn have might
To rise!

Arouse thee! show thy lofty stature,
Idol of winning mien:
Enable me, as soul-reft Ḥáfiẓ,
From Nature's scene
To rise!"

Miss Bell's translation (No. xliii, pp. 118–119).

"Where are the tidings of union? that I may arise—
Forth from the dust I will rise up to welcome thee!
My soul, like a homing bird, yearning for Paradise,
Shall arise and soar, from the snares of the world set free.
When the voice of love shall call me to be thy slave,
I shall rise to a greater far than the mastery
Of life and the living, time and the mortal span:
Pour down, oh Lord! from the clouds of Thy guiding grace
The rain of a mercy that quickeneth on my grave,
Before, like dust that the wind bears from place to place,
I arise and flee beyond the knowledge of man.
When to my grave thou turnest thy blessed feet,
Wine and the lute shalt thou bring in thy hand to me,
Thy voice shall ring through the folds of my winding-sheet,
And I will arise and dance to thy minstrelsy.
Though I be old, clasp me one night to thy breast,
And I, when the dawn shall come to awaken me,
With the flash of youth on my cheek from thy bosom will rise.

THE TOMB OF ḤÁFIẒ AT SHÍRÁZ

By kind permission of Professor A. V. Williams Jackson and Messrs Macmillan

To face p. 310

Rise up! let mine eyes delight in thy stately grace!
Thou art the goal to which all men's endeavour has pressed,
And thou the idol of Ḥáfiẓ's worship; thy face
From the world and life shall bid him come forth and arise!"

The tomb of Ḥáfiẓ

The tomb of Ḥáfiẓ is in a beautiful garden, called after him the "Ḥáfiẓiyya," situated near Shíráz. It was much beautified by Abu'l-Qásim Bábur[1], the great-grandson of Tímúr, when he conquered Shíráz in 856/1452, the work being entrusted by him to Mawláná Muḥammad *Mu'ammá'í*[2]. At a later date (1226/1811) it was further embellished by Karím Khán-i-Zand, one of the best rulers that Persia has ever had[3], by whom the present tombstone, a slab of fine alabaster, was contributed. The *Ḥáfiẓiyya* is much honoured and much frequented by the people of Shíráz and by visitors to that city, and the poet's grave is surrounded by the graves of many others who have sought proximity to those illustrious ashes, so that his own words have been fulfilled when he said:

بر سرِ تربتِ ما چون گذری همّت خواه
که زیارتگهِ رندانِ جهان خواهد شد

"When thou passest by our tomb, seek a blessing, for it shall become a place of pilgrimage for the libertines of all the world."

Taking auguries from the *Díwán* of Ḥáfiẓ

Before passing on to the mention of other poets, something must be said as to the practice of taking an augury (*tafá'ul*) from the *Díwán* of Ḥáfiẓ which is so prevalent in Persia, where the only other book used for this purpose (and that much more rarely) is the *Qur'án* itself, just as the ancient Romans used to use Vergil (*Sortes Vergilianæ*). It has been already mentioned that Ḥáfiẓ is often entitled *Lisánu'l-Ghayb*

[1] Not the great Bábur who was the great-great-great-grandson of Tímúr, and who founded the so-called "Mogul Dynasty" in India.

[2] See Dawlatsháh, p. 308 of my edition.

[3] See Sir John Malcolm's *History of Persia*, vol. ii, p. 147.

("The Tongue of the Unseen") and *Tarjumánu'l-Asrár* ("The Interpreter of Mysteries"), and it is generally believed by his fellow-countrymen that, in case of doubt as to the course of action to be pursued, valuable indications may be obtained by opening the *Díwán* at random, after the utterance of suitable invocations, and taking either the first verse on which the eye falls, or the last ode on the open page, with the first line of the succeeding ode. Tables, called *Fál-náma*, comprising a number of squares (always a multiple of some number such as 7 or 9) each containing one letter are also employed for the same purpose; and one of these, with instructions for its use, is often prefixed to Oriental editions of the *Díwán*[1]. These tables, however, in spite of their mysterious and impressive appearance, only give a very limited number of answers—seven when the squares are a multiple of seven, nine when they are a multiple of nine, and so on; and as Lane has well observed, in speaking of similar squares used by the Egyptians, in consequence of the view prevailing in the East generally that, if in doubt, it is better, as a rule, to refrain from action, a majority of the answers provided for are generally distinctly discouraging or of a negative character, and only a few encouraging.

Analysis of a *fál-náma*

The table referred to in the last foot-note comprises $15 \times 15 = 225$ squares, each containing one letter. Nine hemistichs each containing 25 letters are chosen (9×25 also $= 225$). In the first square is placed the first letter of the first hemistich; in the second square the first letter of the second hemistich, and so on to the ninth square, in which is placed the first letter of the ninth hemistich. Next follow the second letters of each hemistich in the same order, the second letter of the first hemistich in the tenth square, the second letter of the second hemistich in the eleventh square, and so on,

[1] A specimen of these tables will be found on p. 233 of the *Bankipore Catalogue*, in the volume consecrated to *Persian Poetry from Firdawsí to Ḥáfiẓ*.

until the table concludes at the 225th square with the last (25th) letter of the last (ninth) hemistich. In using the table, the finger is placed at random on one of the 225 squares, and the letter it contains is written down, and after it, in a circle, the 24 letters obtained by taking each 9th square from the point of departure until the cycle is completed. By beginning at the proper point, these 25 letters give the first hemistich of one of the odes, which can then be readily found in the *Díwán*. The table in question gives the following nine hemistichs, to each of which I have added the second hemistich (not included in the table, but needed to complete the verse), the reference to Rosenzweig's edition, and the English translation.

1. No. 17 in ش. R.-Schw., vol. ii, p. 121.

ما آزموده ایم درین شهر بختِ خویش‘

بیرون کشید باید ازین ورطه رختِ خویش‘

"We have tried our fortune in this city; we must withdraw our gear from this gulf."

This would supply an answer to one who was hesitating as to whether he should emigrate from the place where he was, or not.

2. No. 62 in م. R.-Schw., vol. ii, p. 364.

مرحبا طائرِ فرّخ پیِ فرخنده پیام‘

خیر مقدم چه خبر یار کجا راه کدام‘

"Welcome, O bird of auspicious advent and fortunate message! Good is thy arrival! What news? Where is the Friend? Which is the road?"

3. No. 57 in م. R.-Schw., vol. ii, p. 352.

گر ازین منزلِ غربت بسوی خانه روم‘

دگر آنجا که روم عاقل و فرزانه روم‘

"If I go home from this abode of exile, then, when I go thither, I shall go wisely and sensibly."

This would supply an answer to a traveller or exile who was wondering whether he would not do well to return home.

4. No. 1 in ف. R.-Schw., vol. ii, p. 160.

طالع اگر مدد کند دامنش آورم بکف‘
گر بکَشَم زهی طرب ور بکُشَد زهی شرف‘

"Should my lucky star aid me, I will lay hold on his skirt;
Should I pluck it, O the delight! And should he slay me, O the honour!"

5. No. 4 in ر. R.-Schw., vol. ii, p. 12.

روی بنما و وجودِ خودم از یاد ببر‘
خرمنِ سوختگان‌را همه گو باد ببر‘

"Show thy face and take away from my memory all thought of my own existence;
Bid the wind bear away all the harvest of those who are burned out!"

6. No. 80 in د. R.-Schw., vol. i, p. 508.

گفتم غمِ تو دارم گفتا غمت سر آید‘
گفتم که ماهِ من شو گفتا اگر بر آید‘

"I said, 'I have longing for thee!' She replied, 'Thy longing will come to an end.'
I said, 'Be thou my Moon!' She replied, 'If it comes off!'"

7. No. 19 in ش. R.-Schw., vol. ii, p. 128.

یا رب آن نو گلِ خندان که سپردی بمنش‘
من سپارم بتو از چشمِ حسودِ چمنش‘

"O Lord, that fresh and smiling rose which Thou didst entrust to me
I now entrust to Thee from the envious eye of the flower-bed."

8. No. 8 in ز. R.-Schw., vol. ii, p. 64.

بر نیامد از تمنّای لبت کامم هنوز‘
بر امیدِ جامِ لعلت دُرْدی آشامم هنوز‘

"My desire hath not yet been fulfilled in respect to my craving for thy lip;
In the hope of the ruby goblet [of thy mouth] I am still a drainer of dregs."

9. No. 24 in م. R.-Schw., vol. ii, p. 270.

خیز تا از درِ میخانه گشادی طلبیم
در رهِ دوست نشینیم و مرادی طلبیم

"Arise, that we may seek an opening through the door of the tavern,
That we may sit in the Friend's path and seek [the fulfilment of] a wish!"

Instances of appropriate auguries drawn from Ḥáfiẓ

As will be seen, the answers supplied by these vague oracles are often of a somewhat uncertain nature, besides being limited in number to nine. The other method of opening the *Díwán* at random gives, of course, much richer results, and there stands on record many a remarkable response, which *si non é vero é ben trovato.* Six of these are recorded at the end (pp. 122–7) of the little treatise entitled *Laṭífa-i-Ghaybiyya* which has been already mentioned[1].

The first refers to Sháh Isma'íl the Great, the founder of the Ṣafawí dynasty, who made the Shí'a doctrine the official creed of Persia, and carried his energy so far in this endeavour that he ordered the tombs of persons of suspected orthodoxy or of known Sunní proclivities to be destroyed. One day, accompanied by a certain ignorant and fanatical priest known as Mullá Magas[2], he visited the tomb of Ḥáfiẓ, and Mullá Magas urged him to have it destroyed, alleging (as had been alleged by the poet's contemporaries) that he was unorthodox in belief and dissolute in life. The King thereupon announced his intention of taking an augury from the *Díwán* of Ḥáfiẓ, which opened at the following verse:

جوزا سحر نهاد حمایل برابرم، یعنی غلامِ شاهم و سوگند میخورم،

"At dawn Orion displayed his belt before me,
As though to say, 'I am the King's slave, and this I swear.'"

[1] See p. 300 *supra.* [2] *Magas* is the Persian for "a fly."

This, it is to be supposed, Sháh Isma'íl took as an expression of the deceased poet's loyalty to himself, and thereupon, well pleased, he again opened the book at random and was confronted by the following verse, which was even more evidently intended for his ecclesiastical companion:

ای مگس حضرتِ سیمُرْغ نه جولانگهِ تُست
عِرْضِ خود میبری و زحمتِ ما میداری

"O fly (*magas*)! the presence of the Símurgh[1] is no fit place for thy evolutions:
Thou dost but dishonour thyself and vex us!"

After this it may be assumed that Mullá Magas effaced himself!

The story referred to above, but not given in the *Laṭífa-i-Ghaybiyya*, is that, when Ḥáfiẓ died, some of his detractors objected to his being buried in the Muslim equivalent of consecrated ground, but that, on an augury being taken from his poems to decide the question, the following very appropriate verse resulted:

قدم دریغ مدار از جنازهٔ حافظ
که گرچه غرقِ گُناهست میرود ببهشت

"Withhold not thy footsteps from the bier of Ḥáfiẓ,
For, though he is immersed in sin, he will go to Paradise!"

The second instance given by the *Laṭífa-i-Ghaybiyya* refers to another king of the same dynasty, Sháh Ṭahmásp[2], who one day, while playing with a ring which he valued very highly, dropped it, and, though he caused an exhaustive search for it to be made under the carpets and cushions,

[1] A mythical bird of great size and wisdom and almost or quite immortal, which is supposed, like its Arabian equivalent the *'Anqá*, to dwell in the Mountains of Qáf or of the Alburz, and which played an important part in the legend of Sám and Zál (the grandfather and father of Rustam respectively) as recounted in the *Sháh-náma* of Firdawsí.

[2] There were two Ṣafawí kings of this name. The first reigned A.D. 1524–1576; the second 1722–1731.

could not find it. An augury taken from Ḥáfiẓ gave the following result:

دلی که غیب نمایست و جامِ جم دارد،

ز خاتمی که دمی گُم شود چه غم دارد،

"What cares a heart which mirrors the Unseen and possesses the Goblet of Jamshíd for a ring which is mislaid for a moment[1]?"

The king clapped his hands on his knees in admiration for the appositeness of this verse, and immediately felt the ring in a fold of his robe into which it had accidentally slipped.

The third anecdote refers to yet another Ṣafawí King, Sháh 'Abbás the Second (A.D. 1642–1667), who obtained the following augury as to a campaign which he was meditating against the province of Ádharbáyján, of which Tabríz is the capital[2]:

عراق و فارس گرفتی بشعرِ خود حافظ،

بیا که نوبتِ بغداد و وقتِ تبریزست،

"Thou hast captured 'Iráq and Fárs by thy verse, O Ḥáfiẓ:
Come, for it is now the turn of Baghdád and the time for Tabríz."

This decided the king in favour of the campaign, which turned out completely successful.

The fourth anecdote refers to the same king as the last. He had a servant named Siyáwush, whom his fellow-servants, through jealousy and malice, desired to destroy, so that they

[1] The original reference is, of course, to Solomon, whose ring, engraved with "the Most Great Name" of God, whereby he exercised authority over birds, beasts, fishes, the winds, men, and the *Jinn*, was stolen for a while by the *Jinní* Ṣakhr. The Persians often seek to identify their legendary King Jamshíd or Jam (the Yima of the Avesta) with Solomon, and attribute to the latter the "World-showing Goblet" (*Jám-i-Jahán-numá*) of the former, which, like Alexander's Mirror (*Á'ína-i-Sikandar*), revealed to its possessor all that was passing in the world.

[2] This story is more often told of Nádir Sháh. See the *Bankipore Catalogue* (Persian Poetry: Firdawsí to Ḥáfiẓ), p. 235.

were constantly striving to convince the King that he was worthy of death. The result of an augury from the *Díwán* of Ḥáfiẓ was this verse:

شاهِ ترکان سخنِ مدّعیان میشنود
شرمی از مظلمهٔ خونِ سیاوشش باد

"The King of the Turks hearkens to the speech of the accusers:
May he be ashamed of the wrong of [shedding] the blood of Siyáwush[1]!"

The fifth instance is from the author's own experience. In 1052/1642–3 he reached Aḥmad-ábád, then the capital of Gujerát in India, and there made the acquaintance of a certain Kan'án Beg, one of the notables of the place, who had a brother named Yúsuf Beg. The latter, who was in the army of Gujerát, had a little time previously been reported missing in a battle fought near Aḥmad-ábád against a hostile force. His brother, Kan'án Beg, was greatly disquieted until the following augury from Ḥáfiẓ assuaged his anxiety, which was soon afterwards dispelled by his brother's safe return:

یوسفِ گُمگشته باز آید بکنعان غم مخور
کُلبهٔ احزان شود روزی گلستان غم مخور

"Lost Joseph (*Yúsuf*) will return to Canaan (*Kan'án*): grieve not!
The house of sorrows will one day become a rose-garden: grieve not!"

The sixth and last instance refers to a certain Fatḥ-'Alí Sulṭán, the son of Imám-qulí Khán, a youth remarkable for his beauty, who was the author's contemporary. One day, flushed with wine, and clad in a green coat (*qabá*) embroidered with gold, he visited the tomb of Ḥáfiẓ on the day specially set apart for this, which falls in the latter part of the month of Rajab, and while there took an augury from the *Díwán*, which gave the following verse:

[1] See ed. Rosenzweig-Schwannau, vol. i, p. 620, and the note on p. 823, which explains the allusion to the old legend in question.

سر مست با قبای زر افشان چو بگذری ‘
یك بوسه نذرِ حافظِ پشمینه پوش کن ‘

“When thou passest by, drunk with wine and clad in a gold-embroidered coat,
Vow one kiss to Ḥáfiẓ who is clad in wool[1]!”

“What is one kiss?” exclaimed Fatḥ-‘Alí; “I promise two kisses!” A week passed ere he revisited the tomb, and took another augury, which was as follows:

گفته بودی که شوم مست و دو بوست بدهم ‘
وعده از حد بشد و ما نه دو دیدیم و نه یك ‘

“Thou didst say, ‘I will get drunk and give thee two kisses’:
The promise has passed its limit [of time], and we have seen neither two nor even one.”

“What are two kisses?” cried the lad; “I promise three kisses!” And again he went away without discharging his vow, and did not return until another week had elapsed, when he again took an augury, and received the following answer:

سه بوسه کز دو لبت کردهٔ حوالتِ من ‘
اگر ادا نکنی قرضدارِ من باشی ‘

“Those three kisses which thou didst assign to me from thy two lips,
If thou dost not pay them, then thou art my debtor!”

Thereupon Fatḥ-‘Alí Sulṭán leapt from his seat and imprinted kiss after kiss upon the poet’s tombstone.

Other instances of omens taken from the *Díwán* of Ḥáfiẓ by the Moghul Emperor Jahángír, and recorded in his own handwriting in the margins of a manuscript formerly in his possession, are given in the *Bankipore Catalogue* (Persian Poetry: Firdawsí to Ḥáfiẓ), pp. 231–52.

[1] *Pashmína-púsh* (“clad in wool”) is the Persian equivalent of the Arabic *Ṣúfí*. See vol. i of my *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, p. 417.

7. *Kamál of Khujand* (*Kamálu'd-Dín b. Mas'úd*).

Kamál of Khujand

Not much is known concerning this poet, who, however, since his verses won the admiration of Ḥáfiẓ, cannot be passed over. Jámí says[1] that he was a great saint, and that if he deigned to write verse it was to conceal the fullness of his saintly nature and spiritual attainments, to prevent the complete suppression of his exoteric by his esoteric life, and to maintain the position of "servitude" to God against an overmastering tendency to be merged in the Deity; an assertion in support of which he quotes Kamál's verse:

این تکلّفهای من در شعرِ من ' کَلِّمینِی یَا حُمَیْرَای من است '

"These efforts of mine in my poetry are my 'Speak to me O Ḥumayrá'[2]!"

Particulars of Kamál's life

Kamál's spiritual guide was a certain Khwája 'Ubaydu-'lláh who resided for some time at Shásh[2], a place situated like Khujand in Transoxiana. At an unknown but probably fairly early period of his life Kamál migrated to Tabríz, where he made his home, and for which he conceived a great affection. The Jalá'irí Sulṭán Ḥusayn, son of Uways (776–784/1374–1382) showed him much favour and built for him a monastery or rest-house. Jámí says that when after Kamál's death they entered his private room in this rest-house, they found in it no furniture save a mat of coarse reeds on which he used to sit and sleep, and a stone which served him for a pillow. In Tabríz, where he obtained a great reputation for sanctity,

[1] *Nafaḥátu'l-uns*, pp. 712–13.

[2] The Prophet Muḥammad, when recovering from the state of exhaustion into which he used to fall after receiving a revelation, was wont to summon his wife 'Á'isha to come to his side and talk to him, with the words *Kallimí-ni yá Ḥumayrá*, "Speak to me O little red one!"

[3] Or Chách, the modern Táshkand and ancient Banákat or Fanákat. Cf. pp. 100 and 110 *supra*.

he came under the influence of Shaykh Zaynu'd-Dín Khwáfí[1].

In 787/1385 Túqtámish, Khán of Qipcháq, raided Tabríz, and, after the fashion of Tímúr and other conquerors of those days, carried off Kamál amongst other learned and pious persons to his own capital, Saráy. There he remained for four years[2], at the end of which period he returned to Tabríz where he died[3], according to most authorities, in 803/1400–1. Dawlatsháh places his death in 792/1390, a date which Rieu shows reason for regarding as much too early. A still later date (808/1405–6) is given by the *Majálisu'l-'Ushsháq*. On the poet's tomb was inscribed the verse:

کمال از کعبه رفتی بر درِ یار ' هزارت آفرین مردانه رفتی '

"O Kamál! Thou hast gone from the Ka'ba to the door of the Friend: A thousand blessings on thee! Thou hast gone right manfully!"

During his second sojourn at Tabríz Kamál was patronized by Tímúr's son Míránsháh, who was then governor of Ádharbáyján, and who is said to have given the poet, in return for some fruit which he or his soldiers had eaten from his garden, a sum of a thousand *dínárs* wherewith to discharge his debts.

The *Díwán* of Kamál of Khujand has never, so far as I know, been published, and is not common in manuscript, though copies are to be found in most of the larger collections of Persian books. I possess an undated but well-written and fairly ancient manuscript, from which the following selections are taken.

(1)

کمال از هر مژه اشکت مگر همرنگِ سلمان شد '
که از اشعارِ مردم برد معنیهای رنگین را '

[1] See pp. 569–72 of Jámí's *Nafaḥát* and Ibn 'Arabsháh's *'Aja'ibu'l-Maqdúr*, p. 34 of the Calcutta ed. of 1818.

[2] See Rieu's *Pers. Cat.*, pp. 632–3.

[3] The *Átash-kada* alone says that he died at Yazd.

"O Kamál, have thy tears from every eye-lash assumed the hue of Salmán
Because he hath stolen from other people's poetry his brilliant ideas?"

(2)

شانه زد باد زلفِ یارِ مرا، أَصْلَحَ ٱللّٰهُ شَأْنَهُ أَبَدَا،
تا ببالا تو راست چون الفی، ما چو لامیم در میانِ بلا،
چشمِ تر بر لبِ تو اولیتر، که بمرطوب به بود حلوا،
شد چنان پر ز دردِ تو دلِ ریش، که نگنجد درو خیالِ دوا،
دل مرنجان بدردِ دوست کمال، فُوهُ مآءُ ٱلْحَيَاةِ فِيهِ شِفَا،

"The breeze combed the tresses of my Friend; may God keep him in health for ever!
So long as thou art upright in figure like an *alif*, we are like a *lám* in the midst of woe[1]!
The moist eye is best [laid] on thy lips, for sweet-meats are best [eaten] with what is moist.
The wounded heart is so filled with the pain of thy love that the very idea of healing cannot enter it.
Vex not thy heart with grief for the Friend, O Kamál: his mouth is the Water of Life wherein is healing."

(3)

دشوار کشد نقشِ دو ابروی تو نقّاش،
آسان نتوانند کشیدن دو کمان‌را،

"Hardly can the artist draw the picture of thy two eyebrows;
They cannot easily draw a double bow!"

(4)

این چه مجلس چه بهشت این چه مقامست اینجا،
عمرِ باقی لبِ ساقی لبِ جامست اینجا،

[1] A graceful upstanding figure is compared to the letter *alif* (ا), one bent with age or sorrow to *lám* (ل) or *dál* (د). *Lám* is the middle letter of the word *balá* (بلا), "woe."

دولتی کز همه بگریخت ازین در نگذشت‌
شادئ کز همه بگریخت غلامست اینجا‌
چون در آئی بطرب خانهٔ ما با غمِ دل‌
همه گویند مخور غم که حرامست اینجا‌
ما ببامِ فلکیم از برِ ما گر بروی‌
برَو آهسته که جام و لبِ بامست اینجا‌
نیست در مجلسِ ما پیشگه و صفّ نعال‌
شاه و درویش ندانند کدامست اینجا‌
صفتِ عود همه گرم رَو و سوخته ایم‌
بجز از زاهدِ افسرده که خامست اینجا‌
چند پرسی چه مقامست کمال این که تراست‌
این مقامِ که نه منزل نه مقامست اینجا‌

"What company, what paradise, what resting-place are here!
Lasting life, the lip of the cup-bearer, the brim of the goblet are here!
That Fortune which fled from all [others] did not pass by this door;
That joy which escaped all is here a servant!
When thou enterest our joyous abode with sorrow in thy heart
All say, 'Indulge not in sorrow, for it is forbidden here!'
We are on the roof of heaven: if thou passest by us
Go gently, for here is the glass and the edge of the roof[1]!
In our audience-chamber there is neither seat of honour nor threshold[2];
Here King and dervish know not which is which!
Like wood of aloes we are all hot-footed and burning,
Save the ice-cold ascetic, who is here [accounted] raw.
How often, O Kamál, wilt thou ask, 'What station is this which thou possessest?
Whose station is this?' For here is neither abode nor lodging!"

[1] A proverbial expression for what is very precarious. "A glass in a stone-swept way" is another similar idiom.

[2] *Ṣaff-i-ni'ál* ("the shoe-row") is at the lower part of the room, where the servants stand, and visitors kick off their shoes before stepping on to the raised and carpeted dais.

(5)

مهِ من عید شد مبارك باد، عیدیِ عاشقان چه خواهی داد،
عیدیِ ما و عیدِ ما رخ تست، عیدِ ما بی رخ تو عید مباد،
گفتهٔ پرسم از تو عیدِ دگر، آه کین وعده هم بعید افتاد،
جانم ازغم رهان چو عید رسید، عید زندانیان کنند آزاد،
عید شد بگذر از وعیدِ کمال،
عید سازند خاطرِ همه شاد،

"O Moon of mine, the Festival[1] is come: may it bring thee happiness!
What wilt thou give as a festal-gift to thy lovers?
Thy cheek is at once our festal-gift and our Festival:
Without thy cheek may our Festival be no Festival!
Thou hast said: 'I will ask after thee next Festival':
Alas! for this promise is of long standing!
Deliver my soul from grief since the Festival hath come,
For at the Festival they set free captives.
The Festival is come: cease to threaten Kamál;
At the festal season they make glad the hearts of all!"

(6)

آفرین بر عبارتِ تو کمال، خود ترا اختیارِ تحسین نیست،
میوهٔ کز خجند می آرند، این چنین آبدار و شیرین نیست،

"Blessings on thy power of expression, O Kamál!
Thou hast, indeed, no choice as to approval.
The fruit which they bring from Khujand
Is not so sweet and so luscious!"

(7)

دردِ تو به از دواست ای دوست، اندوهِ تو جان فزاست ای دوست،
دریوزه گرِ تو از درِ تو، جز درد و بلا نخواست ای دوست،
با آنکه ز مفلسی ندارم، چیزی که ترا سزاست ای دوست،

[1] The great Persian festival is the *Nawrúz*, or New Year's Day, which corresponds with the vernal equinox (March 21). The two great festivals of Islám are the *'Ídu'l-Fiṭr* at the end of Ramaḍán, and the *'Ídu'l-Aḍḥá* on the 10th of Dhu'l-Ḥijja, the month of the Pilgrimage.

پیشِ تو نهم دو چشمِ روشن ' گویم نظرِ صفاست ای دوست '
گفتی کُشَمت ولی روا نیست ' گر دوست کُشد رواست ای دوست '
دل هرچه بوصفِ قامتت گفت ' آورد خدای راست ای دوست '
کردم بقدِ تو این غزل راست '
بنویس کمال‌راست ای دوست '

"Thy pain is better than balm, O Friend!
Thy sorrow enlargeth the soul, O Friend!
He who begs of thee at thy door
Seeks naught but pain and calamity, O Friend!
Notwithstanding that through poverty I have not
Aught which is worthy of thine acceptance, O Friend.
I will lay before thee my two bright eyes,
I will say, 'It is the gaze of sincerity, O Friend!'
Thou didst say, 'I will slay thee,' but this is not right:
Is it right that a friend should slay, O Friend?
Whatever the heart said in praise of thy stature
God brought true (*or* straight), O Friend!
Straight have I made this ode to thy stature:
Write, 'It is by Kamál,' O Friend!"

Kamál is, so far as I know, the only poet who endeavours as far as possible to make all his odes of a uniform length, namely seven verses, as he expressly declares in the two following fragments:

(8)

مرا هست اکثر غزل هفت بیت ' چو گفتارِ سلمان نرفته ز یاد '
چو حافظ همی خواندش در عراق ' بلند و روان همچو سَبْعٌ شِدَاد '
به بنیاد هر هفت چون آسمان ' کزین جنس بیتی ندارد عماد '

"My odes are for the most part seven verses,
Not forgotten like the utterance of Salmán.
When Ḥáfiẓ recites them in 'Iráq
Fluently and aloud, [they are] like 'the seven hard ones[1]';
All seven [are] like heaven in their foundation,
And of such sort 'Imád [of Kirmán] has not a single verse."

[1] The "Seven Lean Years" are so called in the *Súratu Yúsuf* (*Qur'án*, xii, 48). In another passage (lxxviii, 12) the same expression is used of the Seven Heavens, which is the meaning intended here.

(9)

هفت بیت آمد غزلهای کمال،
پنج گنج از لطفِ آن عُشْرِ عشیر،
هفت بیتیهای یاران نیز هست،
هر یکی پاك و روان و دل پذیر،
لیك از آن هر هفتشان حك کردنی است،
چار بیت از اوّل و سه از اخیر،

"The odes of Kamál are seven verses;
Of the grace thereof the 'Five Treasures[1]' are but a tenth part.
There exist also poems of seven verses by some of my friends,
Each one of which is limpid and fluent and charming,
But of every seven of them there should be erased
Four verses from the beginning and three from the end!"

(10)

چو دیوانِ کمال افتد بدستت،
نویس از شعرِ او چندانکه خواهی،
خیالاتِ غریب و لفظ و حرفش،
اگر خواهی که در یابی کماهی،
ز هر لفظش روان مگذر چو خامه،
بهر حرفی فرو رو چون سیاهی،

"When the Díwán of Kamál falls into thine hand
Copy of his poetry as much as thou wilt.
If thou wishest to understand aright
His rare ideas and expressions and words
Do not pass swiftly over each word like the pen,
But dive down into every letter like the ink."

[1] This (*Panj Ganj*) is the title given to the Five Romantic Poems of Niẓámí of Ganja.

(11)

دو کمالند در جهان مشهور، یکی از اصفهان یکی ز خُجَنْد،
این یکی در غزل عدیم المثل، و آن دگر در قصیده بی مانند،
فی المثل درمیانِ این دو کمال، نیست فرقی مگر بموئی چند،

"There are two Kamáls famous in the world,
One from Iṣfahán[1] and one from Khujand.
This one is incomparable in the ode,
And that one unrivalled in the elegy.
Between these two Kamáls, in a manner of speaking,
There is no more than a few hairs' breadths' difference!"

(12)

یکی شعر سلمان ز من بنده خواست،
که در دفترم ز آن سخن هیچ نیست،
بدو دادم آن گفتهای جواب،
کزان سان دُری در عدن هیچ نیست،
من از بهرِ تو می نوشتم ولی،
سخنهای او پیشِ من هیچ نیست،

"Salmán requested from me a poem, saying, 'In my album there is no specimen of that verse.'
I gave him those answering words like unto which [in value] is no pearl in [the Sea of] Aden.
I wrote them for thee, but his words are naught in my sight."

(13)

بما آن صوفیٔ ببریده بینی، بغیر از عجز و مسکینی ندارد،
نشاید جرمِ خود بینی برو بست، که آن بیچاره خود بینی ندارد،

"That Ṣúfí with his nose cut off hath nothing for us but helplessness and humility;
One cannot accuse him of the fault of self-conceit (*khud-bíní*),
For the poor wretch hath not even a nose (*khud bíní na-dárad*)[2]!"

[1] Some account of Kamálu'd-Dín of Iṣfahán, called "the Creator of [new] ideas" (*Khalláqu'l-Ma'ání*), will be found in vol. ii of my *Literary History of Persia* (pp. 540–42).

[2] The whole point of this verse lies in the untranslateable word-play on *khud-bíní*.

Two or three "fragments" are addressed to a certain *Ḥáfiẓ*, who, however, appears to be a minstrel or harper of that name, not the celebrated poet of Shíráz. The following, however, almost certainly alludes to the contemporary poet 'Aṣṣár of Tabríz[1]:

(14)

عاقبت عصّارِ مسکین مُرْد و رفت ‘
خونِ دیوانها بگردن بُرْد و رفت ‘

"At length poor 'Aṣṣár died and departed: he took upon his neck the blood of the courts[2] and departed."

(15)

The following fragment, to which Rieu refers[3], contains an allusion to an historical event, *viz.* the invasion of Túq-támish:

گفت فرهادِ ما بمیر ولی ‘ که رشیدیّه‌را کنیم آباد ‘
زر بتبریزیان بآجر و سنگ ‘ بدهیم از برای این بنیاد ‘
بود مسکین بشغلِ کوه کَنی ‘ که زمورانِ کوه و دشت زیاد ‘
لشکرِ پادشاه توقتمیش ‘ آمد و هاتف این ندا در داد ‘
لعلِ شیرین نصیبِ خسرَو شد ‘ سنگ بیهوده می کَنَد فرهاد ‘

"Our Farhád said to Mír Walí, 'Let us restore the Rashídiyya[4] quarter; Let us give gold to the Tabrízís for bricks and stone for this building.' The poor fellow was busy with his hill-piercing when, more numerous than the ants of the mountain and the plain,

[1] Some account of him will be found in Ouseley's *Notices of the Persian Poets*, pp. 201–226, and another notice by Fleischer in the *Z.D.M.G.*, xv, 389–396. The date of his death is variously given as A.H. 779 and 784 (A.D. 1377–8 and 1382–3).

[2] I do not understand these words, which suggest that 'Aṣṣár was put to death.

[3] *Pers. Cat.*, p. 633.

[4] This was the quarter of Tabríz originally built by the great minister and historian Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh. See pp. 70–71 *supra*.

The army of King Túqtámish arrived, and the Unseen Voice thus cried :

'Shírín's ruby [lip] became the portion of Khusraw [Parwíz],
While Farhád vainly pierces the rock[1] !'"

The following fragment refers to the poet Humám of Tabríz (a contemporary of Sa'dí) and contains an "insertion" (*Taḍmín*) or citation from his poems:

(16)

گفتم از مصرِ معانی بفرستم بتو باز'
نکتهٔ چند که آید بدهانت چو شکر'
باز ترسیدم ازین نکته که گوئی چو هُمام'
شکّر از مصر بتبریز میآرید دگر'

"I said, 'From the region [or Egypt] of ideas I will send thee
A few sweet trifles which will be like sugar in thy mouth':
Again I feared this criticism, that thou mightest say like Humám
'Do not again bring sugar from Egypt to Tabríz !'"

Other fragments contain allusions to Niẓámí and Sa'dí, while one is addressed to a poet named Ma'jarí of Samarqand, and the following to another (presumably a contemporary rival) called Ma'ádhí:

(17)

دعای من این است در هر نمازی'
بخلوت که یا ملجأی یا معاذی'
نگه دار اصحابِ ذوق و طرب را'
ز چنگِ ملاطی و شعرِ معاذی'

"This is my petition in my every private prayer, 'O my Succour and my Refuge,
Save all people of taste and lovers of music from the harp of Maláṭí and the poetry of Ma'ádhí !"

[1] The allusion in the last verse is to the well-known romance of Khusraw and Shírín.

(18)

The following is a rather original and pretty conceit:

ز چیست قهقههٔ شیشهای مَی دانی،
بریشِ محتسبِ شهر می کند خنده،

"Knowest thou what is the cause of chuckling of the wine-bottles?
They are laughing at the beard of the town-constable!"

(19)

The following fragment seems to show that Kamál's odes were not collected into a *Díwán* until after his death:

گفت صاحبدلی بمن که چراست،
که ترا شعر هست و دیوان نیست،
گفتم از بهرِ آنکه چون دگران،
سخنِ من پُر و فراوان نیست،
گفت هر چند گفتهٔ تو کمست،
کمتر از گفتهای ایشان نیست،

"A certain man of discernment said to me, 'Why is it
That thou hast [composed] poetry, yet hast no *Díwán*?'
I replied, 'Because, like some others,
My verse is not copious and abundant.'
He said, 'Although thy verse is scanty [in amount]
It is not less [in value] than their utterances.'"

As is so often the case with Persian poets, Kamál's fragments are much more intimate and personal, and contain more allusions to contemporary events and persons (though for lack of fuller knowledge these allusions must often remain obscure) than his odes; and for this reason I have here quoted them to a disproportionate extent.

8. *Maghribí*

(*Muḥammad Shírın Maghribí of Tabríz*).

Maghribí

Of the life and circumstances of Maghribí, one of the most thorough-going pantheistic poets of Persia, little is known, though notices of him are given

by most of the biographers[1]. He is generally stated to have died in 809/1406–7 at Tabríz at the age of sixty years, so that he must have been born about 750/1349–1350; but by a minority of the biographers his death is placed two years earlier. The learned modern historian Riḍá-qulí Khán states that he was born at Ná'in, near Iṣfahán, and buried at Iṣṭahbánát in Fárs, but he is generally reckoned a native of Tabríz. His poetical name Maghribí is said to be due to the fact that he travelled in the Maghrib (N.W. Africa), where he was invested with the dervish cloak (*khirqa*) by a Shaykh who traced his spiritual pedigree to the great Maghribí mystic Shaykh Muḥiyyu'd-Dín ibnu'l-'Arabí, whose thought even at the present day has a great influence in Persia, and whose Persian disciples, poets like 'Iráqí, Awḥadu'd-Dín, Maghribí and even the later Jámí, are conspicuous for their thorough-going pantheism. Of Maghribí Riḍá-qulí Khán truly says in his *Majma'u'l-Fuṣaḥá*:

مذهبش وحدتِ وجودست و مشربش لذّتِ شهود و بجز يك معنى در همهٔ گفتارش نتوان يافت، ترجيعات و غزليّاتش همه مشحون بحقايقِ توحيدست،

"His doctrine is the Unity of Being (Pantheism), and his inspiration the rapture of Vision[2], nor can one find throughout all his verse aught save this one idea. His *tarjí'-bands* and *ghazals* are all filled with the verities of the true Unitarianism[3]."

Maghribí is said by Jámí and other biographers to have been personally acquainted with the poet last discussed, Kamál of Khujand, which is probable enough, since the

[1] Jámí's *Nafaḥátu'l-uns*, p. 713; *Átash-kada* and *Haft Iqlím*, under Tabríz; *Ḥabíbu's-Siyar*, vol. iii, pt. 3, p. 91; *Majma'u'l-Fuṣaḥá*, vol. ii, p. 30; *Riyáḍu'l-'Árifín*, pp. 134–5. There is no mention of Maghribí in Dawlatsháh's *Memoirs of the Poets*.

[2] *I.e.* of beholding the infinite manifestations of the Divine Beauty in the beautiful things of the Phenomenal World.

[3] Formal or exoteric Unitarianism is the declaration that there is only One God; esoteric Unitarianism is the conviction that there is only One Being who really exists.

two were contemporaries and spent at any rate a considerable part of their lives at Tabríz. On one occasion he is said to have found fault with the following verse of Kamál's on the ground that it evidently referred to material charms, and was not susceptible of a mystical interpretation[1]:

چشم اگر اینست و ابرو این و ناز و شیوه این
الوداع ای زُهد و تقوی الفراق ای عقل و دین

"If eyes be such, and eyebrows such, and charm and coquetry such,
Farewell, abstinence and piety! Good-bye, reason and religion!"

Kamál, hearing this, sought an interview with Maghribí, and said: "[The Persian] *chashm* is [equivalent to the Arabic] *'ayn*[2]; so it may be that in the language of allusion it is to be interpreted as the Eternal Essence (*'Ayn-i-Qadím*), which is the Divine Personality. So also [the Persian] *abrú* is [equivalent to the Arabic] *ḥájib*[3], so it may be that it may be taken as alluding to the Divine Attributes, which are the veil of the Essence." Maghribí, on hearing this explanation, apologized and withdrew his criticism. If it be true, however, as stated by Rieu[4], that Kamál superseded Maghribí in the favour of Tímúr's son Míránsháh, the Governor of Ádharbáyján, it is possible that the relations of the two poets were not of the most cordial character.

As the above particulars practically exhaust the little we know of Maghribí's life, we may now pass on to his poetry, which is represented by a comparatively small *Díwán*, comprising for the most part odes (*ghazaliyyát*) with a few *tarjí'-bands* and quatrains. It has been several times lithographed in Persia[5], and I also possess a good and well-written, but undated, manuscript. The lithographed

[1] *Nafaḥát*, p. 714.

[2] Both mean "eye," but *'ayn* in Arabic also means the exact counterpart of a thing, or its essence.

[3] Both mean "eyebrow," but *ḥájib* also means a veil or curtain.

[4] *Pers. Cat.*, p. 633.

[5] I have two editions, dated A.H. 1280 and 1287 (A.D. 1863–4 and 1870–1) respectively.

edition comprises 153 smallish pages each containing 17 lines, and the total number of verses may be estimated at about 2300. The poems, so far as I have examined them, are entirely mystical, and contain no allusions to the poet's life and times. The following specimens are typical:

(1)

خورشیدِ رخت چو گشت پیدا، ذرّاتِ دو کَوْن شد هویدا،
مهرِ رخ تو چو سایه انداخت، زآن سایه پدید گشت اشیا،
هر ذرّه ز نورِ مهرِ رویت، خورشید صفت شد آشکارا،
هم ذرّه بمهر گشته موجود، هم مهر بذرّه گشت پیدا،
دریای وجود موج زن شد، موجی بفگند سوی صحرا،
آن موج فرو شد و بر آمد، در کسوت و صورتی دلآرا،
بر رُسْته بنفشهٔ معانی، چون خطِّ خوشِ نگارِ رعنا،
بشگفته شقایقِ حقایق، بنموده هزار سروِ بالا،
این جمله چه بود عینِ آن موج، و آن موج چه بود عینِ دریا،
هر جزو که هست عینِ کلّ است، پس کلّ باشد سراسر اجزا،
اجزا چه بود مظاهرِ کلّ، اشیا چه بود ظلالِ اسما،
اسما چه بود ظهورِ خورشید، خورشیدِ جمالِ ذاتِ والا،
صحرا چه بود زمینِ امکان، کآنست کتابِ حق تعالی،
ای مغربی این حدیث بگذار،
سرِّ دو جهان مکن هویدا،

"When the Sun of Thy Face appeared, the atoms of the Two Worlds became manifest.
When the Sun of Thy Face cast a shadow, from that shadow Things became apparent.
Every atom, through the Light of the Sun of Thy Countenance, became manifest like the Sun.
The atom owes its existence to the Sun, while the Sun becomes manifest through the atom.

The Ocean of Being was tossed into waves; it hurled a wave towards the shore.
That wave sunk and rose in some heart-delighting raiment and form.
Like violets the Ideas sprung up like the pleasant down on some fair beauty's face.
The anemones of the [Eternal] Realities blossomed; a thousand tall cypresses appeared.
What were all these? The counterpart of that Wave; and what was that Wave? Identical [in substance] with the Ocean.
Every particle which exists is identical with the whole; then is the whole altogether the parts.
What are the parts? The manifestations of the All; what are things? The shadows of the Names.
What are the Names? The revelation of the Sun, the Sun of the Beauty of the Supreme Essence.
What is the Shore? The land of Contingent Being, which is the Book of God Most High.
O Maghribí, cease this discourse: do not make plain the Mystery of the Two Worlds!"

(2)

ای جمله جهان در رخ جانبخشِ تو پیدا،
وی روی تو در آینهٔ کون هویدا،
تا شاهدِ حسنِ تو در آئینه نظر کرد،
عکسِ رخِ خود دید بشد واله و شیدا،
هر لحظه رخت داد جمالِ رخِ خودرا،
بر دیدهٔ خود جلوه بصد کسوتِ زیبا،
از دیدهٔ عشّاق برون کرد نگاهی،
تا حسنِ خود از روی بُتان کرد تماشا،
رویت ز پی جلوه‌گری آینهٔ ساخت،
آن آینه‌را نام نهاد آدم و حوّا،
حسنِ رخِ خودرا بهمه روی در او دید،
ز آنروی شد او آینهٔ جملهٔ اسما،

ای حسنِ تو بر دیدهٔ خود کرده تجلّی،
در دیدهٔ خود دیده عیان چهرهٔ خودرا،
چون ناظر و منظور توئی غیرِ تو کس نیست،
پس از چه سبب گشت پدید این همه غوغا،
ای مغربی آفاق پر از ولوله گردد،
سلطانِ جمالم چو زند خیمه بصحرا،

"O Thou in whose life-giving Face all the Universe is manifest,
And O Thou whose Countenance is apparent in the Mirror of the Universe!
Since the Darling of Thy Beauty looked in the Mirror
And saw the reflection of his face, he became wild and mad [with love].
Every instant Thy Countenance displays the beauty of its features
To its own eyes, in a hundred fair vestments.
It looked forth from lovers' eyes
So that it beheld Its Beauty in the faces of Idols[1].
Thy Face wrought a Mirror for Its self-display,
And called that Mirror '*Adam and Eve.*'
He beheld the Beauty of His Face in every face through him[2],
Therefore hath he[2] become the Mirror of all the Names.
O Thou whose Beauty hath shone forth to Thine own eyes,
And who hast plainly seen Thy Face in Thine own eyes,
Since Thou art at once the Seer and the Seen, there is none other than Thee:
Wherefore, then, hath all this strife become apparent?
O Maghribí, the horizons are filled with clamour
When my King of Beauty pitches His tent in the Plain!"

[1] *I.e.* beautiful persons. Both *ṣanam* ("idol") and *nigár* ("picture") are constantly used in this sense. The same idea is also expressed in the following well-known quatrain attributed to 'Umar-i-Khayyám:—

بُت گفت ببتپرست کای عابدِ ما،
دانی ز چه روی گشتهٔ ساجدِ ما،
بر ما بجمالِ خود تجلّی کردست،
آن شخص که زُ تُسْت ناظر ای شاهد ما،

[2] In both cases Adam is meant.

(3)

ای مرکز و مدارِ وجود و محیطِ جود،
وی همچو قطب ثابت و چون چرخ بی ثبات،
گر سوی تو سلام فرستم توئی سلام،
ور بر تو من صلات فرستم توئی صلات،
کس چون دهد ترا بتو آخر بگو مرا،
ای تو ترا مزکّی و ای تو ترا زکات،
یا اشمل المظاهر یا اکمل الظّهور،
یا برزخ البرازخ یا جامع الشّتات،
یا اجمل الجمال و یا املح الملاح،
یا الطف اللّطایف یا نکتة النّکات،
هم درد و هم دوائی و هم حزن و هم فرح،
هم قُفْل و هم کلیدی و هم حبس و هم نجات،
هم گنج و هم طلسمی و هم جسم و هم روان،
هم اسم و هم مُسمّی هم ذات و هم صفات،
هم مغربی و مغرب و هم مشرقی و شرق،
هم عرش و فرش و عنصر و افلاك و هم جهات،

"O Centre and Pivot of Being, and Circumference of Bounty,
O Fixed as the Pole, and Fickle as the Sphere!
If I send greetings to Thee, Thou art the greeting,
And if I invoke blessings on Thee, Thou art the blessing!
How can any one give Thee to Thyself? Tell me now,
O Thou who art Thine own alms-giver and Thine own alms!
O Most Comprehensive of Manifestations, and Most Perfect in Manifestation,
O Gulf of gulfs, and O Combiner of diversities!
O most Beauteous of the beautiful, and O most Fair of the fair,
O most Gracious of the graceful, O most Subtle of subtleties!
Thou art at once both the Bane and the Balm, both Sorrow and Joy,
Both Lock and Key, both Prison and Deliverance!

Thou art both the Treasure and the Talisman, both Body and Soul,
Both Name and Named, both Essence and Attribute!
Thou art both Western (*Maghribí*) and West, both Eastern and East,
Alike Throne, and Carpet, and Element, and Heavens, and Space!"

(4)

ای از دو جهان نهان عیان کیست،
وی عینِ عیان پس این نهان کیست،
آن کس که بصد هزار صورت،
هر لحظه همی شود عیان کیست،
و آن کس که بصد هزار جلوه،
بنمود جمال هر زمان کیست،
گوئی که نهانم از دو عالم،
پیدا شده در یکان یکان کیست،
گفتی که همیشه من خموشم،
گویا شده پس بهر زبان کیست،
گفتی که ز جسم و جان برونم،
پوشیده لباسِ جسم و جان کیست،
گفتی که نه اینم و نه آنم،
پس آنکه بود هم این هم آن کیست،
ای آنکه گرفتهٔ گرانه،
باللّه تو بگو درین میان کیست،
آن کس که همی کند تجلّی،
از حسن و جمالِ دلبران کیست،
و آن کس که نمود حسنِ خودرا،
و آشوب فگنده در جهان کیست،
ای آنکه تو مانده در گمانی،
نا کرده یقین که در گمان کیست،
از دیدهٔ مغربی نهان شو،
وز دیدهٔ او ببین عیان کیست،

"O [Thou who art] hidden from both worlds, who is He who is apparent?
And O [Thou who art] the Essence of the Apparent, who then is the Hidden One?
Who is that One who in a hundred thousand forms
Is apparent every moment?
And who is that One who in a hundred thousand effulgences
Showeth forth His Beauty every moment?
Thou sayest, 'I am hidden from the Two Worlds':
Who then is He who appeareth in each and all?
Thou didst say, 'I am always silent':
Who then is He who speaketh in every tongue?
Thou didst say, 'I stand outside body and soul':
Who then is He who clothes himself in the garment of body and soul?
Thou didst say, 'I am neither this one nor that one':
Who then is He who is both this one and that one?
O Thou who hast withdrawn apart,
I conjure Thee by God tell me who is in the midst?
Who is He whose effulgence shines forth
From the beauty and comeliness of the charmers of hearts?
And who is He who hath shown His beauty
And who hath cast turmoil into the world?
O thou who remainest in doubt,
Not knowing certainly who lurks in thy doubt,
Be hidden from the eyes of Maghribí,
And see who is apparent through his eyes!"

(5)

The opening lines of the following poem strike an almost Christian note:

آن کس که نهان بود ز ما آمد و ما شد،
و آن کس که ز ما بود و شما ما و شما شد،
سلطانِ سرِ تختِ شهی کرد تنزّل،
با آنکه جز او هیچ شهی نیست گدا شد،
آن کس که ز فقر و ز غنا هست مُنزّه،
در کسوتِ فقر از پی اظهارِ غنا شد،

هرگز که شنیده است ازین طرفه که یك کس،
هم خانهٔ خویش آمد و هم خانه خدا شد،
آن گوهرِ پاکیزه و آن دُرِّ یگانه،
چون جوش بر آورد زمین گشت و سما شد،
در کسوتِ چونی و چرائی نتوان گفت،
کآن دلبر بیچون و چرا چون و چرا شد،
بنمود رخ ابروی وی از ابروی خوبان،
تا بر صفتِ ماهِ نو انگشت نما شد،
در گلشنِ عالم چو سهی سرو و چو لاله،
هم سرخ کلاه آمد و هم سبز قبا شد،
آن مهرِ سپهرِ ازلی کرد تجلّی،
تا مغربی و مشرقی و شمس و ضیا شد،

"That One who was hidden from us came and became us,
And He who was of us and you became us and you.
The King of the topmost throne of Sovereignty condescended,
And, notwithstanding that there is no King save Him, became a beggar.
He who is exempted from poverty and wealth
Came in the garb of poverty in order to show forth [true] riches.
Who hath ever heard aught stranger than this, that one and the same person
Became both his own house and his own householder?
That pure substance and that peerless pearl
When it germinated became earth and heaven.
Into the raiment of 'how-ness' and 'why-ness' one cannot say
How and why that 'how-less' and 'why-less' Charmer of hearts entered.
His eyebrow revealed itself from the eyebrows of the beautiful,
Until it was pointed at by every finger, like the new moon.
In the garden of the Universe, like the straight cypress and the anemone,
He became both red-capped and green-robed.
That Sun of the Eternal Sphere shone forth
So that it became Western (*Maghribí*) and Eastern, Sun and Light."

(6)

طریقِ مدرسه و رسمِ خانقاه مپرس،
ز راه و رسم گذر کن طریق و راه مپرس،
طریقِ فقر و فنا پیش گیر و خوش میباش،
ز پس نظر مکن و غیرِ پیشگاه مپرس،
ز تنگنای جسد چون برون نهی قدمی،
بجز حظیرهٔ قدسی و پادشاه مپرس،
ز اهلِ فقر و فنا پرس ذوقِ فقر و فنا،
از آنکه هست گرفتارِ مال و جاه مپرس،
چو چترِ شاه عیان گشت طرّقو بر خاست،
تو شاهرا دگر از لشکر و سپاه مپرس،
چو پا بصدق نهادی و ترکِ سر کردی،
اگر کُلاه ربایندت از کلاه مپرس،
چو نیست حالِ من ای دوست بر تو پوشیده،
دگر چگونگی حالم از گواه مپرس،
گناهِ هستی او محو کن چو محو توئی،
گناهِ هستی او دیگر از گناه مپرس،
چو مغربی برت ای دوست عذر خواه آمد،
بلطف در گذر از جرمِ عذر خواه مپرس،

"Ask not the road to the College or the customs of the Monastery;
Pass by road and custom; ask not about way and road.
Adopt the path of [religious] Poverty and Annihilation, and be happy;
Look not behind thee, and ask not save of what lies before.
When thou steppest forth from the narrow cell of the body
Ask not save of the Holy Precincts and of the King.
Ask about the delights of Poverty and Annihilation from those who have tasted them;
Ask not of him who is the slave of wealth and rank.

When the Royal Umbrella appears, acclamation arises :
Ask no longer then about the King from the army and the host!
When thou hast stepped forth in sincerity and staked thy head,
Ask not of thy cap, if they steal it of thee.
Since my state, O Friend, is not hidden from thee
Do not again enquire of my state from witnesses.
Wipe out the sin of his existence, since thou thyself art obliterated;
Do not again ask of sin concerning the sin of his existence!
O Friend, since Maghribí hath come to Thee to make his excuses
Overlook in Thy Grace, and ask not concerning the sin of him who apologizes!"

(7)

از خانقه و صومعه و مدرسه رستیم،
در کوی مُغان با می و معشوق نشستیم،
سجّاده و تسبیح بیکسوی فگندیم،
در خدمتِ ترسابچه زُنّار ببستیم،
در مصطبه‌ها خرقهٔ سالوس دریدیم،
در میکده‌ها توبهٔ سالوس شکستیم،
از دانهٔ تسبیح شمردن برهیدیم،
وز دامِ صلاح و ورع و زهد بجستیم،
در کوی مغان نیست شدیم از همه هستی،
چون نیست شدیم از همه هستی همه هستیم،
زین پس مطلب هیچ ز ما دانش و فرهنگ،
ای عاقلِ هشیار که ما عاشق و مستیم،
المنّةُ للّه که ازین نفس پرستی،
رستیم بکلّی و کنون باده پرستیم،
ما مست و خرابیم و طلبکارِ شرابیم،
با آنکه چو ما مست و خرابست خوشستیم،
تا مغربی از مجلسِ ما رخت بدر برد،
او بود حجابِ رهِ ما رفت برستیم،

"We have escaped from the Monastery, the Chapel and the College,
And have settled in the quarter of the Magians with Wine and the Beloved.
We have cast aside the prayer-mat and the rosary,
We have girt ourselves with the pagan girdle[1] in the service of the Christian child.
On the benches [of the Wine-house] we have torn up the dervish-cloak of hypocrisy;
In the taverns we have broken our hypocritical repentance.
We have escaped from counting the beads of the rosary;
We have sprung forth from the snares of virtue, piety and asceticism.
In the quarter of the Magians we became annihilated from all existence:
Having become annihilated from all existence, we have become all existence.
Hereafter seek not from us any knowledge or culture,
O wise and sensible friend, for we are lovers and intoxicated!
Thanks be to God that from this worship of self
We are wholly delivered, and are now worshippers of wine.
We are drunkards, wastrels, seekers of wine,
And we are most at ease with him who is, like ourselves, drunk and ruined.
Since Maghribí has removed his baggage from our assembly
And has departed (for he was the barrier in our path), we are free!"

(8)

قطرهٔ از قعرِ دریا دم مزن،
ذرّهٔ از مهرِ والا دم مزن،
مردِ امروزی هم از امروز گوی،
از پری و دی و فردا دم مزن،
چون نمی دانی زمین و آسمان،
بیش ازین از زیر و بالا دم مزن،
چون اصولِ طبعِ موسیقیت نیست،
از تنا وز نا و تانا دم مزن،

[1] The *Zunnár* (Zonarium), regarded by the Muslim poets as the symbol of misbelief, represents the *Kushtí*, or "Kosti," of the Zoroastrians, the sacred thread of the Brahmins, and presumably the cord worn round the waist by Christian monks.

در گذر از نفی و اثبات ای پسر،
هیچ از الّا و از لا دم مزن،
گر بگویندت که جان‌را کن فدا،
رو فدا کن جانِ خودرا دم مزن،
تا نمی دانی من و مارا که کیست،
باش خاموش از من و ما دم مزن،
همچو آدم علمِ اسمارا ز حق،
تا نگیری هیچ از اسما دم مزن،
آنکه عینِ جمله اشیا گشته است،
مغربی‌را گفت از اشیا دم مزن،

"Thou art but a drop: talk not of the depths of the Ocean;
Thou art but a mote: talk not of the high Sun!
Thou art a man of to-day: talk then of to-day;
Do not talk of the day before yesterday and yesterday and to-morrow!
Since thou knowest not earth and heaven
Talk no more of below and above!
Since thou hast not the elements of musical talent
Talk not of *taná*, *ná* and *táná*[1]!
Cease, O my son, from denial and affirmation;
Talk not of '*except*' and '*no*'[2]!
If they bid thee lay down thy life,
Go, lay down thy life, and talk not!
Until thou knowest who 'I' and 'We' are
Be silent! talk not of 'I' and 'We'!
Until, like Adam, thou receivest from God the Science of the Names
Do not talk about the Names!
He who hath become the Counterpart of all Things
Hath said to Maghribí, 'Speak not of Things!'"

The above specimens should suffice to give a fair idea of Maghribí's thought and style. He belongs essentially to the same class of mystical poets as Saná'í, Shams-i-Tabríz

[1] Or, as we might say, "of sol, fa, re," or "ta, ta-at, ta-te," or "of crotchets, minims and quavers."

[2] *Lá* ("No") and *illá* ("except") is the Muhammadan profession of faith, *Lá iláha illa'lláh* ("There is no god but God").

(*i.e.* Jalálu'd-Dín Rúmí), and 'Iráqí, and, as he asserts, Farídu'd-Dín 'Aṭṭár:

از موجِ او شده است عراقی و مغربی ،

وز جوشِ او سنائی و عطّار آمده ،

"From His waves[1] arose 'Iráqí and Maghribí,
And from His ferment came Saná'í and 'Aṭṭár."

Yet though of the same category as these, he seldom reaches their level.

9. *Abú Isḥáq* ("Busḥaq") *called* "Aṭ'ima" (*Fakhru'd-Dín Aḥmad-i-Ḥalláj of Shíráz*).

Busḥaq of Shíráz

Although there are several other poets of this period who are not undeserving of notice, such as 'Aṣṣár of Tabríz, Jalál-i-'Aḍudí, Jalál-i-Ṭabíb, etc., this chapter has already reached so considerable a length that I shall make mention of only one other, Abú Isḥáq of Shíráz, the poet of foods, hence called *Aṭ'ima*, who offers the greatest possible contrast to Maghribí, the mystic and pantheist.

Of Abú Isḥáq's life, as usual, very little is known, except that he appears to have spent the greater part of it at Shíráz, where he enjoyed the favour of the great, and especially of Tímúr's grandson Iskandar ibn 'Umar Shaykh Mírzá, who governed Fárs and Iṣfahán from A.H. 812 to 817 (A.D. 1409–1415). Dawlatsháh consecrates a long article to him[2], which, however, chiefly consists of quotations from his poems and an account of the ambitious designs and tragic fate of his patron Iskandar, who was deprived of his sight by his uncle Sháh-rukh on the 2nd of Jumáda i, 817 (July 20, 1414), and died the following

[1] *I.e.* God, considered as the Ocean of Being, whose waves are phenomena.

[2] Pp. 366–71 of my edition.

year. By trade Abú Isḥáq was, as his title *Ḥalláj* indicates, a carder of cotton. On one occasion, when he had been absent for several days from Prince Iskandar's receptions, the latter asked him, when he reappeared, where he had been; to which he replied, "I card cotton for a day, and then spend three days in picking the cotton out of my beard." Short notices of Abú Isḥáq are given in the *Átash-kada*, the *Haft Iqlím* and the *Majma'u'l-Fuṣaḥá* (vol. ii, p. 10), but they add nothing to the little recorded by Dawlatsháh, save a brief anecdote in the last named, according to which Abú Isḥáq considered himself the disciple and admirer of Sháh Ni'matu'lláh, the mystical poet of Máhán, a little village near Kirmán, where he is still commemorated in a handsome shrine served by dervishes of the order which he founded. Abú Isḥáq's admiration took the dubious form of parodying Ni'matu'lláh's mystical rhapsodies in profane poems addressed to various culinary delicacies. Thus Ni'matu'lláh has a poem quite in the style of Maghribí, beginning:

Busḥáq and Sháh Ni'matu'lláh of Kirmán

گوهرِ بحرِ بیکران مائیم، گاه موجیم و گاه دریائیم،
ما بدین آمدیم در دنیا، که خدارا بخلق بنمائیم،

"We are the pearl of the shoreless Ocean; sometimes we are the Wave and sometimes the Sea;
We came into the world for this purpose, that we might show God to His creatures."

Busḥáq parodied this as follows:

رشتهٔ لاکِ معرفت مائیم، گه خمیریم و گاه بُغرائیم،
ما از آن آمدیم در مطبخ، که بماهیچه قلیه بنمائیم،

"We are the dough-strings of the bowl of Wisdom; sometimes we are the dough and sometimes the pie-crust;
We came into the kitchen for this purpose, that we might show the fried meat to the pastry."

When subsequently Sayyid Ni'matu'lláh met Abú Isḥáq, he said, "Are you the 'dough-strings of the bowl

of Wisdom'?" To which the latter replied, "Since I am not in a position to talk about God (*Alláh*), I talk about God's bounty (*Ni'matu'lláh*)."

Dr Wolf's MS. of the *Díwán-i-Aṭ'ima*

Manuscripts of Abú Isḥáq's works are not common. The British Museum possesses a copy of one of them, the *Kanzu'l-Ishtihá* ("Treasure of Appetite")[1], and I once had the opportunity of examining an excellent and very complete manuscript from the collection of the late Dr Wolf of Bukhárá fame, to whom it was given by a certain Ḥájji 'Uthmán Núru'd-Dín, and by whom it was left to the Society for the Propagation of Christianity amongst the Jews. This manuscript was copied in 970/1562–3, contains 162 ff. of 22.4 × 12.7 c. and 17 lines to the page, and is written in a small, neat *ta'líq* hand between blue and gold lines. It is remarkable for containing (on ff. 137–8 and 160-61) some half dozen poems in dialect, comprising in all 44 couplets. The book, however, would have remained hardly known but for the excellent edition printed by the late learned and indefatigable Mírzá Ḥábíb of Iṣfahán at Constantinople in 1303/1885–6. This volume, which comprises 184 pages, begins with an extract from Dawlatsháh's notice of the author, and ends with a vocabulary of the culinary terms occurring in the course of the work, many of which are now obsolete in Persia, often representing dishes no longer prepared, of which the exact nature must in many cases remain doubtful. The actual text of Abú Isḥáq's works begins with the *Kanzu'l-Ishtihá* ("Treasure of Appetite"), to which is prefixed a short prose Preface. Then follow the poems, mostly parodies, in which almost every variety of verse (*qaṣída*, *tarji'-band*, *ghazal*, *qiṭ'a*, *rubá'í* and *mathnawí*) is represented; and these in turn are followed by several treatises in mixed prose and verse, to wit "The Adventure of the Rice and the Pie-crust" (*bughrá*), "Abú Isḥáq's Dream," the "Conclusion" (*Khátima*), and a "Glossary" (*Farhang*),

The Constantinople printed edition of the *Díwán*

[1] See Rieu's *Pers. Cat.*, p. 634.

by the author, not to be confounded with the vocabulary above mentioned, which was added by the Editor, who also supplements Dawlatsháh's account of the poet with a few observations of his own. In these he emphasizes the philological and lexicographical value of Abú Isḥáq's works, and adds that though they have been printed or lithographed several times in Persia, these editions are so marred by errors that they are almost valueless. He adds that he discovered two MSS. at Constantinople, and that, though both were defective, he succeeded from the two in constructing what he hopes and believes to be a fairly complete and trustworthy edition.

The poems, filled as they are with the strange and obsolete culinary terminology of mediaeval Persia, and deriving such humour as they possess from being parodies of more serious poems familiar to the author's contemporaries, do not lend themselves to translation. In the Preface to the "Treasure of Appetite" (*Kanzu'l-Ishtihá*) he claims to have written it to stimulate the failing appetite of a friend, just as Azraqí in earlier times wrote his *Alfiyya Shalfiyya* to quicken the sexual desires of his royal patron, Ṭughánsháh the Seljúq[1]. Here is a translation of this Preface, omitting the doxology:

Busḥaq's Preface to the "Treasure of Appetite"

"*But to proceed.* Thus saith the weakest of the servants of God the All-Provider, Abú Isḥáq, known as the Cotton-carder (*Ḥalláj*), may his comforts endure! At the time when the tree of youth was casting its shadow, and the branch of gladness was heavy with the fruit of hopes, a few verses, of an extemporized character and appropriate to every topic, were produced by me. I thought within myself, 'The wisest course is this, that I should in such wise guide the steed of poetry through the arena of eloquence, and so spread the banquet of verse on the table of diction, that those who partake at the board of pleasure should obtain the most abundant helping; and that the masters of eloquence should be filled

[1] See vol. ii of my *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, p. 323, and, besides the references there given, Jámí's *Baháristán*, Const. ed. of A.H. 1294, pp. 78–9 (near the beginning of chapter vii); and a note by Von Hammer in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1827, vol. x, p. 255.

with admiration therefor, so that this may conduce to my greater fame and popularity.' For I had heard this verse which says :

'سخن هرچه گویم همه گفته اند بر و بومِ اورا همه سُفْته اند'

'Whatever verse I may utter, others have uttered it all,
And have penetrated all its domain and territory.'

"For some days my thoughts ran in this channel : 'having regard to the epic narrative of Firdawsí, the salt of whose speech is the flavouring of the saucepan of every food ; and the *mathnawís* of Niẓámí, the sugar of whose verses is the dainty morsel of sweet-tongued parrots ; and the *ṭayyibát* of Sa'dí, which, by general accord, are like luscious honey to the palate of the congenial ; and the odes of Khwája Jamálu'd-Dín Salmán, which take the place of milk and honey in the mouths of philologists ; and the products of the genius of Khwájú of Kirmán, the carroway-syrup of whose utterances is a cure for the melancholics of the fetters of verse ; and the subtle sayings of 'Imád-i-Faqíh, whose sweet utterances are as fragrant spices and delicious potions ; and the fluent phraseology and well-weighed thoughts of Ḥáfiẓ, which are a wine fraught with no headache and a beverage delicious to the taste ; and other poets, each of whom was the celebrity of some city and the marvel of some age, what fancies can I concoct whereby men can be made glad?'

"While I was thus meditating, on a favourable morning, when according to my wont and habit, the smoke of an unfeigned appetite rose up from the kitchen of the belly, there suddenly entered through the door my silver-bosomed sweetheart, my moon-faced darling, whose eyes are like almonds, whose lips are like sugar, whose chin is like an orange, whose breasts are like pomegranates, whose mouth is like a pistachio-nut, smooth-tongued, melodious of utterance, lithe as a fish, sweet-voiced, with a mole like musk ; even as the poet says :

'از خندهٔ شیرینِ نمکدانِ دهانش
خون میرود از دل چو نمکسوده کبابی'

'By reason of the sweet smiles of the salt-cellar of her mouth[1]
Blood flows from the heart, as from a salted *kabáb*.'

"Said she, 'I have quite lost my appetite, and suffer from a feeling of satiety ; what is the remedy?' I replied, 'Just as in the case of that person who went to a physician, complaining that he was impotent, and

[1] A particular kind of charm or beauty is called *maláḥat* (from *milḥ*, "salt"), which may be rendered as "piquancy" or "spiciness," and it is in reference to this that a saucy and provocative mouth is compared to a salt-cellar.

the physician thereupon composed for him the [book entitled] *Alfiyya Shalfiyya*[1], which when he had perused he at once took to his embraces a virgin girl, so will I compose for thee a treatise on the table, such that when thou hast once read it, thy appetite will return.' So for her sake I girded up the loins of my soul, and cooked a meal garnished with verbal artifices and rhetorical devices, and baked in the oven of reflection with the dough of deliberation a loaf which rivalled the orb of the sun in its conquest of the world; so that I can proudly exclaim:

خوانی کشیده‌ام ز سخن قاف تا بقاف،
همکاسهٔ کجاست که آید برابرم،

'I have spread a table of verse from Qáf to Qáf[2]:
Where is a fellow-trencherman who can rival me?'

"I have entitled this table 'the Treasure of Appetite' (*Kanzu'l-Ishtihá*), because the day was the *'Idu'l-Fiṭr*[3]; and the cause of the revelation of this book is commemorated in the following fragment[4]."

(سببِ نزولِ سفرهٔ کنز الاشتها)

گوش و هوش و دل و جان یکنفسی با من دار،
تا بدانی که غرض چیست مرا زین اشعار،
دلبری هست مرا لب شکر و پسته دهان،
گلرخ و سَرْوقد و سیم تن و لاله عذار،
دوش آمد ببرم همچو مریضی گفتا،
ممتلی گشته‌ام و چاره بجویم زنهار،
اشتهایم نبود هرچه مرا پیش آرند،
بیمِ آنست کزین غُصّه بگردم بیمار،
گفتمش این مثلِ اوست که عنّین شده بود،
رفت و کرد او مرضِ خود بحکیمی اظهار،

[1] See note on p. 347 *supra*.

[2] The Mountains of Qáf are supposed to form the boundaries of the habitable globe.

[3] The Festival of the breaking of the Fast, called by the Turks *Sheker Bayrám*.

[4] As this merely repeats the substance of the prose preface translated above, I give the text only without translation.

آن حکیم از جهتِ رغبت شهوت راندن‘
ساخت الـفـیّـه و شلفیّه برای آن یار‘
چند صورت بقلم کرد مصوّر زن و مرد‘
جمع کرد آن زن و آن مرد بشکلِ بسیار‘
مردِ عنّین چو بدیدش بشدش زود نعوظ‘
در زمان دخترِ بکری بکشید او بکنار‘
من دگر بهرِ تو یك سفره بسازم اکنون‘
کاشتها آوردت گـر تـو بخوانی یکبار‘

The whole poem is divided into ten sections (*faṣl*), comprises 108 verses with the same rhyme throughout, and is a parody on Sa'dí's *qaṣída* beginning[1]:

بامدادان که تفاوت نکند لیل و نهار‘
خوش بود دامنِ صحرا و تماشای بهار‘

The first verse of the parody is:

بامدادان که بود از شبِ مستیم خُمار‘
پیشِ من جز قدحِ بورك پر سیر میار‘

Remaining contents of the *Díwán-i-Aṭ'ima*

The "Treasure of Appetite" is followed by a *qaṣída* entitled *Áfáq u Anfus* ("Horizons and Souls") in praise of Sháh Sayfu'd-Dín, and this in turn by parodies of *qaṣídas* by Ẓahíru'd-Dín Fáryábí, Khwájú of Kirmán, Najmí, 'Imád-i-Faqíh of Kirmán, Ḥáfiẓ, Salmán of Sáwa, Ḥasan of Dihlí, Mawláná 'Alí Dur-duzd, Sa'dí, Jalálu'd-Dín Rúmí, Jalál-i-'Aḍud, Ṣadru'd-Dín Qayruwání, Kamál of Khujand, Sa'du'd-Dín Naṣír, Anwarí, Shaykh Farídu'd-Dín 'Aṭṭár, Kamálu'd-Dín of Káshán, Sháh Ni'matu'lláh of Kirmán, Amínu'd-Dín, Muḥammad Jawharí, 'Iráqí, Abú Naṣr-i-Faráhí, Ádharí, 'Ubayd-i-Zákání, Jalál-i-Ṭabíb, Firdawsí, Niẓámí of Ganja, etc. These are

[1] See the Calcutta printed edition of 1795, vol. ii, ff. 223–224.

followed by the two prose treatises already mentioned, the "Conclusion" (*Khátima*), the "Glossary" (*Farhang*), a *qaṣída* in praise of *Kajrí* ("Kedgeree"), and the Editor's Vocabulary of Culinary Terms which fills twelve pages.

For the reasons already given it is practically impossible to translate these poems so as to preserve any of their point, and it is sufficient for our purpose to note that Abú Isḥáq, with his predecessor 'Ubayd-i-Zákání (already discussed earlier in this chapter) and his successor Niẓámu'd-Dín Maḥmúd Qárí of Yazd, represents a definite school of satire and parody.

10. *Niẓámu'd-Dín Maḥmúd Qárí of Yazd.*

Niẓámu'd-Dín Maḥmúd Qárí of Yazd

Of the last-named poet, who took for his subject clothes, as Abú Isḥáq had taken foods, we have an excellent edition by the same Mírzá Ḥabíb who edited the works of the two other poets of the group, all three volumes being uniform in size and style. In the short preface prefixed to the *Díwán-i-Albisa*, which contains the sartorial poems of Maḥmúd Qárí of Yazd, the learned editor says that he believes the manuscript on which his text is based to be unique, and that he had never met with another copy in any of the numerous libraries in Persia and at Constantinople which he had examined, nor had he found any mention of the author or his date in any biographical or historical work except in one Indian *tadhkira* (neither named nor cited by him), and a single verse of his cited in evidence in the well-known Persian dictionary entitled *Burhán-i-Jámi'*[1].

The *Díwán-i-Albisa* was avowedly inspired by the *Díwán-i-Aṭ'ima*, which, in style and arrangement, it closely follows. There is a prose preface, which, unfortunately, throws no light on the author's date; a *qaṣída-i-Áfáq u*

[1] This excellent and concise dictionary ("the Comprehensive Proof") is essentially an abridgement of the better-known *Burhán-i-Qáṭi'*, or "Decisive Proof." The former has been well lithographed at Tabríz in Shawwál, 1260 (Oct.–Nov. 1844).

Anfus; a mock-heroic account of the war between cloth and cotton (*Jang-náma-i-Mú'ína u Kattán*); a poem on the "Mysteries of Silk"; parodies of Awḥadí, Khwájú, Sa'dí, Sayyid Ḥasan of Tirmidh, Saná'í, Kamálu'd-Dín Isma'íl of Iṣfahán, Ẓahír of Fáryáb, 'Imád-i-Fáqih of Kirmán, Ḥáfiẓ, 'Alí Dur-duzd, Kamál of Khujand, Muḥammad-i-Fírúzábádí, Nayyir of Kirmán, Sayyid Ni'matu'lláh, Amír Khusraw, Jalálu'd-Dín Rúmí, Salmán of Sáwa, Sayyid Jalál-i-'Aḍud, Sa'du'd-Dín Naṣír, Ṣadru'd-Dín Jawharí, Amíní, Amír Ḥasan of Dihlí, Jamálu'd-Dín, Shaykh Farídu'd-Dín 'Aṭṭár, Kátibí, Náṣir of Bukhárá, Sulṭán Abú Sa'íd, Humám of Tabríz, Amír Khusraw of Dihlí, Darwísh Ashraf-i-*Namad-púsh*, 'Ubayd-i-Zákání, and Jalál-i-Ṭabíb. Nearly all the chief varieties of verse are represented, including a certain number of poems in dialect (*Fahlawiyyát* and *Shírázíyyát*), and the volume concludes with several prose treatises, to wit a Dispute between Food and Clothes, the Dream of the Bath, Eulogies of the chief Persian poets in terms of clothes and stuffs, the story of the clothes-thief, Wool's letter to Satin, and other similar letters and official documents, the *Áráyish-náma* ("Book of Adornment"), the Book of Definitions entitled *Dah Waṣl*, containing, as its name implies, ten sections, the treatise entitled *Sad Wa'ẓ* ("A Hundred Counsels"), a mock-heroic *mathnawí* in the style of the *Sháh-náma* on the battle between Wool and "Cincob" (*Kamkhá*) entitled *Mukhayyaṭ-náma*, and finally a Glossary (*Farhang*) of articles of clothing. The only indication of the author's date which I can find is supplied by the list of contemporary poets occurring at the end of the Eulogies of Poets (pp. 138–9 of the text), which includes Qásim[u'l-Anwár], who died 837/1433–4; 'Iṣmat [of Bukhárá], d. 829/1425–6; Kátibí, d. 838/1434–5; Khayálí [of Bukhárá], d. *circâ* 850/1446–7; Sháhí, d. 857/1453; and Ádharí, d. 866/1461–2. We must therefore conclude that Maḥmúd Qárí of Yazd wrote subsequently to the date last

Poets parodied by Maḥmúd Qárí

Further contents of Maḥmúd Qárí's *Díwán*

Probable date of Maḥmúd Qárí

given, so that he really belongs to a later period than that which we are now considering, though it seemed convenient to mention him here on account of his close literary affinity with Abú Isḥáq, to whom his work evidently owed its chief inspiration. Sayyid Ni'matu'lláh, on the other hand, who is one of the poets parodied by Abú Isḥáq, should, strictly speaking, be included in this place, but since he survived until 834/1430–1, and this chapter has already grown to an inconvenient length, I shall defer his consideration, with that of 'Iṣmat, Kátibí and others, to a later section of this book.

Arabic prose-writers of this period.

Prose-writers of this period

Although it is not necessary to speak at nearly the same length about the prose-writers of this period as about the poets, some at least of them deserve at any rate a passing mention, including one or two who wrote chiefly or exclusively in Arabic.

Tímúr resembled another great Eastern conqueror of Turkish origin who lived four centuries before him, namely Sulṭán Maḥmúd of Ghazna, in his passion for collecting and carrying off to his capital eminent scholars from the towns which he conquered, and thus endeavouring to increase the splendour of his Court and his own reputation as a patron of letters[1]. Amongst those whom Tímúr thus abducted the most celebrated were Sa'du'd-Dín Taftázání and as-Sayyid ash-Sharíf al-Jurjání[2].

1. *Sa'du'd-Dín Mas'úd ibn 'Umar at-Taftázání.*

Sa'du'd-Dín at-Taftázání

This eminent scholar, who was described by the contemporary *'ulamá* of Transoxiana as "at the present time the chief man of learning in the world, and the exemplar of scholars amongst

[1] For an instance of this, see my translation of the *Chahár Maqála*, p. 119 of the *tirage-à-part*.

[2] See the *Ḥabíbu's-Siyar* (vol. iii, pt 3, pp. 87–90), which devotes a long notice to him.

the sons of men," and of whose works sixteen are enumerated by Brockelmann[1], was born at Taftázán near Nasá in Khurásán in 722/1322, and is said to have written his first book (a commentary on az-Zanjání's Arabic Grammar) at the early age of sixteen. Another of his works, the *Muṭawwal*, he is said to have dedicated to Malik Mu'izzu'd-Dín Ḥusayn-i-Kurt (who reigned at Herát from A.D. 1331 to 1370). He then settled at Khwárazm, at that time a great centre of learning, where he composed his *Mukhtaṣar*, which he dedicated to Jání Beg Khán of the Golden Horde, a descendant of Bátú the Mongol, who reigned in Western Qipcháq from A.D. 1340 to 1357. When Tímúr captured Khwárazm he allowed Malik Muḥammad of Sarakhs, the youngest son of the above-mentioned Malik Mu'izzu'd-Dín, to take Taftázání with him to Sarakhs, where he was given a professorship; but later, learning how great was his reputation as a scholar, he summoned him to his own capital Samarqand, where he remained for some years, greatly honoured by all. He died in 791/1389 (in the same year as the poet Ḥáfiẓ), or, according to others, in 797/1394–5[2], and was buried at Sarakhs. He left a son named Mawláná Muḥammad who died of the plague at Herát in 838/1434–5, and concerning whom an anecdote is related in the *Ḥabíbu's-Siyar* which reflects but little credit either on his filial piety or his sincerity.

Of Taftázání's works it is unnecessary to speak in detail, for not only are they written in Arabic, but they do not even fall into the category of *belles lettres*, being for the most part on logic, Arabic grammar, philosophy, theology, exegesis and jurisprudence. I am not aware that he wrote anything in Persian, but, by virtue of a Turkish metrical translation of Sa'dí's *Bústán* which he composed, he is included by the late Mr E. J. W. Gibb in his *History of Ottoman Poetry*[3].

[1] *Gesch. d. Arabisch. Litt.*, vol. ii, pp. 215–16.

[2] According to the *Mujmal* of Faṣíḥí in 787/1385.

[3] Vol. i, pp. 202–3.

2. *'Alí ibn Muḥammad as-Sayyid ash-Sharíf al-Jurjání.*

As-Sayyid ash-Sharíf al-Jurjání

As-Sayyid ash-Sharíf, chiefly known to European scholars by his book of "Definitions" (*ta'rífát*) of technical and especially Ṣúfí terms, was born, as his title *al-Jurjání* indicates, in the Caspian province of Gurgán or Jurján, near Astarábád, in 740/1339. In 779/1377 he was presented by Sa'du'd-Dín Taftázání to the Muẓaffarí prince Sháh Shujá' who was then residing at Qaṣr-i-Zard, and who took him with himself to Shíráz, where he became a professor at the *Dáru'sh-Shifá*. In 789/1387 Tímúr conquered Shíráz and transported him to Samarqand, where he again foregathered with Taftázání, with whom he had many scientific controversies. On the death of Tímúr in 807/1405 he returned to Shíráz, where he died in 816/1413 at the age of 76. Brockelmann enumerates 31 of his works, all of which are in Arabic[1]. Three Persian works, a well-known Arabic grammar commonly known as *Ṣarf-i-Mír*, a treatise on Logic (*al-Kubrá fi'l-Manṭiq*), and another on the Degrees of Existence, written by or ascribed to him, are mentioned in Rieu's *Persian Catalogue*[2], but he seems to have composed but little in his mother-tongue.

3. *Ibn 'Arabsháh.*

Ibn 'Arabsháh

A third but much younger writer of note who was carried off by Tímúr from his native place, Damascus, in 803/1400, when he was only twelve years of age, together with his mother and brothers, was Abu'l-'Abbás Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abdu'lláh ibn 'Arabsháh, chiefly famous for the bitterly hostile biography of Tímúr which he composed under the title of *'Ajá'ibu'l-Maqdúr fí nawá'ibi Tímúr*, and to which reference has been made in the last chapter[3]. He studied at Samarqand with the above-

[1] See Brockelmann's *Gesch. d. Arabisch. Litt.*, vol. ii, pp. 216–17, and the *Ḥabíbu's-Siyar*, vol. iii, pt 3, p. 89.

[2] Pp. 522, 812, 864, etc.

[3] See Brockelmann's *Gesch. d. Arabisch. Litt.*, vol. ii, pp. 28–30, where five of his works are described.

mentioned al-Jurjání, mastered the Turkish and Persian languages, translated from the latter into Arabic the *Marzubán-náma* of Sa'du'd-Dín Waráwíní[1], travelled widely, visiting Khaṭá (Chinese Tartary), Khwárazm, Dasht, Astrachan and Adrianople (where he became for a time private secretary to the Ottoman Sulṭán Muḥammad I). He returned to his native town, Damascus, in 825/1422, made the pilgrimage to Mecca seven years later, settled in Cairo in 840/1436, and died in 854/1450. The undisguised hatred of Tímúr revealed in every page of his history forms a piquant contrast to the fulsome flattery of Sharafu'd-Dín 'Alí Yazdí and other Persian biographers. Of Ibn 'Arabsháh's other works the best known is the *Fákihatu'l-Khulafá.*

4. *'Aḍudu'd-Dín al-Íjí.*

Of Arabic writers of this period who had no connection with Persia, such as al-Yáfi'í and aṣ-Ṣafadí, to both of whom we are indebted for valuable biographical and historical material, I do not propose to speak here, but two other Arabic-writing Persians deserve at least a brief mention.

'Aḍudu'd-Dín al-Íjí

The first of these, 'Aḍudu'd-Dín 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán ibn Aḥmad al-Íjí, who died in 756/1355, wrote in Arabic a good many books[2] on philosophical, religious and ethical subjects, of which the *Mawáqif* is the most celebrated; but it is chiefly on account of his connection with the Muẓaffarí dynasty that he is mentioned here, for though his birthplace was in Fárs at Íj, a place between Dárábjird and Nayríz[3], he seems to have written little or nothing in his mother-tongue, though, as we have seen above[4], he is celebrated by Ḥáfiẓ as one of the chief intellectual ornaments of Shíráz. He was a Sháfi'í jurisconsult, a judge (*qáḍí*), and a mystic; but he was also

[1] A good and critical edition of this book by Mírzá Muḥammad is included in the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series, vol. viii, 1909.

[2] Brockelmann (*op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 208–9) enumerates eleven.

[3] See G. le Strange's *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 289.

[4] See p. 276 *supra*, and n. 2 *ad calc.*

employed at times in a diplomatic capacity, for we learn from the *Fárs-náma-i-Náṣirí*[1] that he was sent by Shaykh Abú Isḥáq, at that time ruler of Shíráz, in 753/1352–3, to the Amír Mubárizu'd-Dín Muḥammad the Muẓaffarí, who was then in the neighbourhood of Kirmán, to endeavour to dissuade him from attacking Shíráz. In this mission he failed; but he was well received by Mubárizu'd-Dín, whom he had to entertain for three days at his native town of Íj, and had the honour of reading and explaining the commentary on the *Mufaṣṣal* (a well-known work on Arabic grammar by az-Zamakhsharí) to the Amír's son Sháh Shujá', afterwards ruler of Shíráz and alternately patron and rival of the poet Ḥáfiẓ.

5. *Al-Fírúzábádí.*

Al-Fírúzábádí

Another Persian man of learning who met and received favours from Tímúr was the great Arabic scholar and lexicographer, best known by his monumental dictionary the *Qámús*, or "Ocean," Abu'ṭ-Ṭáhir Muḥammad ibn Ya'qúb ash-Shírází al-Fírúzábádí[2]. He was born in 729/1326 at Fírúzábád in Fárs, and studied first at Shíráz, then at Wásiṭ in Mesopotamia, then at Baghdád (745/1344), and afterwards (750/1349–1350) at Damascus, where he attended the lectures of as-Subkí, whom he accompanied to Jerusalem. There he lectured for some ten years, after which he set out again on his travels, in the course of which he visited Asia Minor, Cairo, Mecca (770/1368), where he remained fifteen years, and India, where he spent five years in

His extensive travels

[1] This copious and valuable account of the province of Fárs, which contains some 372 large pages, was lithographed at Ṭihrán in 1313/1895–6.

[2] See Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, ii, pp. 181–3, from whom the particulars here given are taken. Al-Fírúzábádí is also mentioned in six or seven places in al-Khazrají's *History of Yaman*. See the second half of the Arabic text ("E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series, iii, 5), pp. 264–5, 278, 286, 290, 297, 303–4, and 311, where mention is made of him in every year from 796/1393–4 to 802/1399–1400.

Dihlí. He then returned to Mecca, where he spent another ten years. In 794/1392 he visited the court of the Jalá'ir Sulṭán Aḥmad ibn Uways at Baghdád; and he also visited Tímúr at Shíráz, probably in 795/1393, and was received with much honour. Thence he went by way of Hurmuz on the Persian Gulf to Yaman, where he arrived in the following year (796/1394), and remained at Ta'izz for fourteen months. He was then made Chief Judge (*Qáḍi'l-quḍát*) of Yaman, and received in marriage the daughter of the Sulṭán al-Malik al-Ashraf. In 802/1400 he again visited Mecca, where he established a small college of Máliki jurisprudence: and, after visiting al-Madína, returned to Zabíd in Yaman, and died there in 817/1414.

His high position in Yaman

Of the five Arabic writers mentioned above all save Ibn 'Arabsháh (who is included on account of his connection with Tímúr) were Persians; and, for reasons which I have elsewhere given[1], I consider that no literary history of the Persians which, confining itself to what is written in Persian, ignores the immense amount of valuable work produced by Persians in Arabic, can be regarded as adequate in its scope, or just to this talented people.

Persian prose-writers of this period.

The period which we are now considering is far less rich in notable prose-writers than in poets, and not more than four or five need detain us here.

1. *Shamsu'd-Dín Muḥammad b. Sa'íd-i-Fakhr of Iṣfahán.*

The first writer who deserves mention is Shams-i-Fakhrí, whose full name is given above. He compiled in 745/1344 a very excellent work on the Persian language entitled *Mi'yár-i-Jamalí*, which he dedicated to the amiable and talented but unfortunate Shaykh Abú Isḥáq Ínjú[2]. It is divided into four parts as follows:

Shams-i-Fakhrí

[1] *Literary History of Persia*, vol. i, pp. 445–7.

[2] See p. 164 *supra*.

Part i, in 9 chapters, on Poetry and Prosody.

Part ii, in 5 chapters, on Rhyme, the different varieties of Poetry, etc.

Part iii, on Rhetorical Devices, Tropes and Figures of Speech, etc.

Part iv, on the Persian language and its rare and archaic words.

The fourth part, which is of most interest to philologists, was printed at Kazan in 1885 by Carl Salemann. I possess a good MS. of the whole work (except for one leaf missing at the beginning) which was given to me by my friend Dr Riẓá Tevfíq in August, 1909. The date of composition is given in a poem of 11 *bayts* in praise of "the son of Maḥmúd Sháh" (*i.e.* Shaykh Abú Isḥaq Ínjú) in the following lines:

بفرمانِ دارای خورشید و ماه ‘ بنامِ شهنشاهِ گیتی پناه ‘
ز هجرت شده هفصد و پنج و چل ‘ ربیع دوم اوّل مهر ماه ‘
شد این درج پر درج گوهر تمام ‘ کزو فاضلانرا بود آب و جاه ‘

The rare Persian words explained in this fourth part are arranged under the final letter, and each group is worked up into a *qaṣída*, of which they constitute the rhymes, in praise of the author's royal patron. The first three (unpublished) parts of the book, though good, are relatively of less value than the fourth, since the matters of which they treat are more fully discussed in such older books as the *Mu'jam fí Ma'áyíri Ash'ári'l-'Ajam*[1] of Shams-i-Qays, and the *Ḥadá'iqu's-Siḥr* of Rashídu'd-Dín Waṭwáṭ.

2. *Mu'ínu'd-Dín-i-Yazdí.*

Mu'ínu'd-Dín Yazdí's history of the House of Muẓaffar

Nearly all that is known of this writer is recorded by Rieu[2] in his notice of one of the British Museum MSS. of the *Mawáhib-i-Iláhí*, a historical monograph on the House of Muẓaffar from its origin until the battle fought at Shíráz in 767/1365–6

[1] Published in the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series, vol. x (1909).

[2] Rieu's *Pers. Cat.*, pp. 168–9.

between Sháh Shujá' and his brother and rival Sháh Maḥmúd. Mu'ínu'd-Dín is described by his fellow-townsman Mufíd in the *Jámi'-i-Mufídí* (composed in 1082–1090/1671–79)[1] as the greatest of the *'ulamá* of his day. His lectures were crowded with students, and occasionally honoured by the presence of his patron Sháh Shujá' the Muẓaffarí, at whose instigation and encouragement, seconded by that of his father Mubárizu'd-Dín Muḥammad, Mu'ín began the composition of his history at Iṣfahán in 757/1356, though, as indicated above, he did not complete it until ten years later. Two years earlier, in 755/1354, according to the abstract of his history included in some manuscripts of the *Ta'ríkh-i-Guzída*[2], he was made professor at a college at Kirmán. He died in 789/1387.

The *Mawáhib-i-Iláhí*, of which I possess two MSS. from the late Sir A. Houtum-Schindler's library[3], besides having access to a manuscript belonging to the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, is a disappointing book, written, as Rieu justly remarks, like the History of Waṣṣáf, mainly "with a view to rhetorical display." It is in fact intolerably florid and bombastic, a fault which we might more readily excuse but for the undoubted value of the information which it contains. Happily the simplified abstract of its contents mentioned at the end of the last paragraph dispenses us in large measure from the necessity of reading it in its unabridged form.

3. *Shaykh Fakhru'd-Dín Abu'l-'Abbás Aḥmad of Shíráz.*

This author, a grandson of the famous Shaykh Zarkúb of Shíráz, deserves mention on account of a monograph on his native town, entitled *Shíráz-náma*, which he composed in 744/1343–4, and which is described by Rieu[4]. Manuscripts of this work,

The *Shíráz-náma*

[1] See Rieu's *Pers. Cat.*, pp. 207–8.

[2] This abstract, by a certain Maḥmúd Kutbí (?), is included in the MS. published in fac-simile in the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series (vol. xiv, pp. 613–755; and vol. xiv, 2, pp. 151–207).

[3] See my list of these MSS. in the *J.R.A.S.* for Oct. 1917, pp. 670–1.

[4] Rieu's *Pers. Cat.*, pp. 204–5.

which has never been published, are rare; and it is a matter of regret that the author has devoted his attention in the biographical portion of the work so much more to *Shaykhs* and holy men than to poets.

4. *Mawláná Niẓámu'd-Dín Shámí.*

Niẓám-i-Shámí, the earliest Persian historian of Tímúr

This writer, called Shamb-i-Gházání after a mausoleum erected for his own sepulture by the Mongol Gházán Khán two miles to the S.W. of Tabríz, is notable as the author of the only known history of Tímúr compiled during his life-time. This history, entitled, like the later and much more celebrated book of Sharafu'd-Dín 'Alí of Yazd, *Ẓafar-náma* ("The Book of Victory"), is extremely scarce, the only manuscript which I know of being the British Museum codex (**Add. 23,980**), of which I possess a copy made for me by my friend Dr Aḥmad Khán. Our knowledge of Niẓám-i-Shámí is chiefly derived from incidental remarks occurring in his history, some of which are copied by his successor Sharafu'd-Dín 'Alí, 'Abdu'r-Razzáq (in the *Maṭla'u's-Sa'dayn*), Mírkhwánd and Khwándamír. Rieu has admirably summarized all that is known about this author[1]. He was living at Baghdád when it was conquered by Tímúr in 795/1392–3, and was amongst the first who came out to do homage to the conqueror, by whom he was graciously received; and he describes the impression made on him by the Tartar attack. In 803/1400–1 he was detained as a prisoner at Aleppo, and describes an attack on the citadel of which he was a witness. In 804/1401–2 Tímúr summoned him to his presence and ordered him to write the history of his reign and his conquests, placing at his disposal the necessary records, memoranda and official papers[2], and bidding him especially avoid bombast and rhetoric, and

[1] *Pers. Cat.*, pp. 170–2 and 1081. Cf. p. 183 *supra*.

[2] As has been already pointed out, the absence of any mention of the so-called *Institutes* of Tímúr in this place is one of the strongest arguments against their authenticity. See pp. 183–4 *supra*.

write in a simple and straightforward style which ordinary people could understand. In 806/1403–4 he preached a homily before Tímúr in his camp near Ardabíl on the occasion of the *'Íd* or Festival at the end of the Ramaḍán fast (April 12, 1404). Soon afterwards Tímúr set out for his capital Samarqand, and allowed Niẓám-i-Shámí to return "home" (apparently to Tabríz), furnishing him with letters of recommendation to his grandson Prince 'Umar Bahádur, son of Mírán-sháh, who had just been appointed Governor of Persia; a post which he held until 808/1405–6, when he was dispossessed by his brother Prince Abú Bakr.

It does not appear that the history was continued beyond the year 806/1404, when Tímúr, having enjoyed a brief period of repose after his last Georgian campaign, set out on his last return journey to his capital Samarqand, which he quitted on December 28, 1404, on his projected campaign against China. This campaign was rendered abortive by Tímúr's death on March 19, 1405. Particulars of the last year of his life, therefore, are not included in Niẓám-i-Shámí's work, but must be sought for in the homonymous *Ẓafar-náma* of Sharafu'd-Dín 'Alí Yazdí, who wrote in 828/1424–5 and died thirty years later. Although he strictly belongs, therefore, to the period which will be discussed in the next chapter, it will be more convenient to consider him here in connection with the author of the original *Ẓafar-náma*, of which his later *Ẓafar-náma* is essentially a more florid and verbose enlargement, garnished with many more verses, and increased in bulk by about fifty per cent.

The later *Ẓafar-náma* of Sharafu'd-Dín 'Alí Yazdí

5. *Sharafu'd-Dín 'Alí Yazdí.*

All that is known about this historian, either from his own statements or from such books as the *Jámi'-i-Mufídí*, *Maṭla'u's-Sa'dayn*, *Haft Iqlím*, *Ta'ríkh-i-Rashídí*, *Ḥabíbu's-Siyar*[1], *Laṭá'if-náma*, and Dawlatsháh's "Memoirs of the

[1] Vol. iii, pt 3, p. 148.

Poets[1]," is, as usual, admirably summarized by Rieu[2]. It is as a poet writing under the *nom de guerre* of Sharaf, and with a special skill in versifying riddles and acrostics (*mu'ammá*) that he is mentioned by Dawlatsháh, who also speaks in terms of exaggerated praise of his history of Tímúr, the *Ẓafar-náma*, on which his fame chiefly rests, though its style is intolerably inflated and bombastic, and its facts—in spite of the author's implication that he collected them from original documents and orally from old men who had taken part in the events described—appear to have been mostly borrowed with little or no acknowledgement from his predecessor Niẓám-i-Shámí, to whom he is even indebted for many of his citations from the *Qur'án* and from the poets. His work, however, has entirely eclipsed that of his predecessor. It has been published at Calcutta in the Bibliotheca Indica Series in two volumes (1887–8), and translated into French by Petis de la Croix (1722) and from the French into English by J. Darby (1723). The author of the *Haft Iqlím* calls Sharafu'd-Dín "the noblest of the scholars of Persia in his time, and the subtlest of the doctors of that period; luminous in exposition, sharp-tongued, conspicuous in merit, the illuminator of every assembly, the adorner of every company"; and, in speaking of his *Ẓafar-náma*, says that "no book so elegant has ever been written in Persian on the science of history." He adds that it was composed in 828/1424–5, a date expressed by the chronogram صُنّفَ فی شیراز ("It was composed in Shíráz"), and that the author also wrote a treatise on riddles and acrostics; a commentary on the celebrated Arabic poem in praise of the Prophet entitled *al-Burda* ("The Mantle") by al-Búṣírí; a book on magical squares and lucky numbers, entitled *Kunhu'l-Murád dar 'Ilm-i-Wafq-i-A'dád*; and a number of odes, quatrains and *mathnawí* poems, of which he gives only one short specimen.

Other works by Sharafu'd-Dín 'Alí of Yazd

[1] Pp. 378–81 of my edition. [2] *Pers. Cat.*, pp. 173–5.

"Sharafu'd-Dín," says Rieu, "attained a position of great eminence, no less by his learning and piety than by the rare elegance of his style, and was for a long time the favourite companion of Sháh-rukh and of his son Mírzá Ibráhím Sulṭán. It is related in the *Ta'ríkh-i-Rashídí*[1] that the former entrusted to his keeping and able tuition Yúnus Khán, the young Khán of the Moghuls, who had been captured in 832/1428–9 by Mírzá Ulugh Bey, and who stayed with Sharafu'd-Dín till the latter's death. In 846/1442–3 Mírzá Sulṭán Muḥammad, who had been appointed Governor of 'Iráq and established his residence in Qum, invited Sharafu'd-Dín, who was then teaching crowds of pupils in his native city, to his court, and kept him there as an honoured guest and trusted adviser. When some years later, in 850/1446–7, the Prince having raised the standard of rebellion, Sháh-rukh came with an army to Iṣfahán to enforce his submission, and ordered several of his ill-advised councillors for execution, Sharafu'd-Dín, who was also accused of having incited the Prince to revolt, was rescued from danger by the timely interference of Mírzá 'Abdu'l-Laṭíf, who, on the plea that his father, Mírzá Ulugh Bey, required the Mawláná's assistance for his astronomical observations, despatched him to Samarqand. After the death of Sháh-rukh, Sulṭán Muḥammad, then master of Khurásán, gave him leave to go back to Yazd. Sharafu'd-Dín returned to his birthplace in 853/1449–1450, and settled in the neighbouring village of Taft. He died there in 858/1454, and was buried in the precincts of a college built by himself and called after him *Sharafiyya*."

Some manuscripts of the *Ẓafar-náma* contain "an Introduction treating of the genealogy of the Turkish Kháns and of the history of Chingíz Khán and his descendants down to the time of Tímúr[2]." This was compiled in 822/1419,

[1] See Erskine's *History of India*, vol. i, pp. 45 and 49; and the *History of the Moghuls of Central Asia*, by N. Elias and E. D. Ross, p. 74 (ch. xxxvi), and pp. 84–5 and 155.

[2] Rieu, *Pers. Cat.*, pp. 174–5.

six years earlier than the *Ẓafar-náma*. It is instructive to compare parallel sections of the histories of Niẓámu'd-Dín Shámí and Sharafu'd-Dín 'Alí Yazdí, so as to see how the latter has amplified and embroidered the work of his predecessor; and, did space allow, it would not be without interest to offer side by side translations of such parallel passages, *e.g.* the account of the Battle of Angora (June 16, 1402), which resulted in the overthrow and capture of the Ottoman Sulṭán Báyazíd, called "the Thunder-bolt" (*Yildirim*). Since Sharafu'd-Dín's later work, for all its faults of taste and style, probably contains all or nearly all the matter chronicled by Niẓám-i-Shámí, it is doubtful whether the work of the latter, though more desirable in itself on account of its priority, as well as of its greater simplicity and concision, will ever be published.

The Ḥurúfí Sect and its Founder, Faḍlu'lláh of Astarábád.

The Ḥurúfí Sect

Before concluding this chapter, it is necessary to say something about the strange heretical sect of the *Ḥurúfís* ("Literalists") invented and propagated by a certain Faḍlu'lláh of Astarábád in the reign of Tímúr; a sect worthy of attention not only on account of its extraordinary doctrines and considerable literature (including not a little poetry, especially in Turkish), but on account of events of some historical importance, persecutions on the one hand and assassinations on the other, to which it gave rise. The sect does not seem to have maintained its position long in Persia, but it passed over into Turkey and there found a suitable medium for its development in the order of the Bektáshí dervishes, who are at the present day its chief if not its only representatives.

Concerning this sect and its founder the Persian historians of the period are unaccountably silent, and the only reference to it which I have met with occurs in the *Mujmal* of Faṣíḥí of Khwáf under the year 829/1426, and in a fuller form in

the *Ḥabíbu's-Siyar*[1], which places the event described a year later. On the 23rd Rabí' ii, 829 (March 4, 1426), or on the same day of the month of the following year (Feb. 21, 1427), a certain Aḥmad-i-Lur, described as "a disciple (*muríd*) of Mawláná Faḍlu'lláh of Astarábád," on the usual pretence of presenting a petition to Sháh-rukh, Tímúr's son and successor, stabbed him in the stomach as he was leaving the mosque at Herát, without, however, inflicting a mortal wound. The would-be assassin was killed on the spot by one of the King's servants named 'Alí Sulṭán Qúchín; a fortunate thing for him, as he was undoubtedly saved thereby from torture, but subsequently a matter of regret to Mírzá Baysunqur and the nobles charged with the investigation of the matter, who were thus deprived of a valuable clue. However, they found in the dead man's pocket the key of a certain house, the tenants of which being examined cast suspicion on a certain Mawláná Ma'rúf, a notable calligraphist, scholar and wit, who had formerly been in the service of Sulṭán Aḥmad-i-Jalá'ir at Baghdád, and afterwards in that of Mírzá Iskandar of Shíráz, whence Sháh-rukh had brought him to Herát. Here he had associated with many men of letters, dervishes and others, and apparently amongst them with Aḥmad-i-Lur. Báysunqur Mírzá, who had a private grudge against him, wished to put him to death, but, after he had been brought beneath the gallows several times, he was finally imprisoned in a dungeon of the Castle of Ikhtiyáru'd-Dín. Others, more unfortunate, were put to death and their bodies burned. Amongst these was Khwája 'Aḍudu'd-Dín, the grandson of Faḍlu'lláh of Astarábád the Ḥurúfí. The poet Sayyid Qásimu'l-Anwár, of whom we shall speak in another chapter, also incurred some suspicion, and was expelled from Herát by Mírzá Báysunqur.

[1] Vol. iii, pt 3, pp. 127–8. I have published a full translation of the passage in the *Mujmal* in the special number of the *Muséon* published by the Cambridge University Press in 1915, pp. 48–78. See also Price's *Retrospect*, vol. iii, pt 2, pp. 546–7.

Account of Faḍlu'lláh the Ḥurúfí in Ibn Ḥajar's *Inbá*

One of the few notices of Faḍlu'lláh "al-Ḥurúfí" which I have met with occurs in the *Inbá* of Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalání (died 852/1448–9)[1] and runs as follows:

"Faḍlu'lláh, the son of Abú Muḥammad of Tabríz, was one of those innovators who subject themselves to ascetic discipline. Imbued with heretical doctrine, he finally evolved the sect known as the *Ḥurúfís*, pretending that the Letters [*Ḥurúf*] of the alphabet were metamorphoses of men, together with many other idle and baseless fancies. He invited the Amír Tímúr the Lame [Tamerlane] to adopt his heresies, but he sought to slay him. This came to the knowledge of his [Tímúr's] son [Míránsháh] with whom he [Faḍlu'lláh] had sought refuge, and he struck off his head with his own hand. When this was made known to Tímúr, he demanded his head and body and burned them both in this year 804/1401–2."

The *Jáwidán -i-Kabír*

The doctrines of Faḍlu'lláh were originally set forth in a most extraordinary book, written partly in Arabic, partly in Persian, and partly in a dialect of Persian, entitled *Jáwidán-i-Kabír* ("the Great Eternal"), of which manuscripts exist in the library of St Sofia at Constantinople, at Leyden, in the British Museum (**Or. 5957**), in the Cambridge University Library (**EE. 1. 27**), and in my own collection. The first European description of this curious book was, I believe, the brief notice of the Leyden MS. contained in vol. iv (p. 298) of the old Leyden Catalogue of 1866, the author of which observes "alternum exemplar non vidi obvium." A much fuller account of the work was published by M. Clément Huart in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1889[2] under the title *Notice d'un manuscrit pehlevi-musulman*, and was based on the Constantinople MS., which was apparently labelled not by its proper title but as "Questions connected with the Qur'án." M. Huart did not concern himself with the contents so much as with the language of this manuscript, which he did not at that time

[1] This book is not accessible to me, but the passage in question is cited by Flügel at pp. vii–viii of the preface to vol. ii of his edition of Ḥájji Khalífa's *Kashfu'ẓ-Ẓunún*.

[2] viiie Série, t. xiv, pp. 238–70.

recognize as the *Jáwidán-i-Kabír*, or as the chief text-book of the Ḥurúfís, or as the work of Faḍlu'lláh of Astarábád. In my *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, published in 1896, I devoted a long notice (pp. 69–86) to our excellent copy of the *Jáwidán-i-Kabír*, which was "bought at Constantinople, Oct. 1681, price ten Lion dollars." A feature of special interest in this manuscript is an appendix containing accounts, written in a dialect of Persian explained to some extent by interlinear glosses in red, of a series of dreams seen presumably by Faḍlu'lláh himself. Many of these are dated, the earliest in 765/1363–4, "at a time before the explanation of visions and interpretation of dreams was vouchsafed"; the latest in 796/1393–4. They thus cover a period of thirty years, and contain references to a number of places and persons. Amongst the former are Astarábád, Baghdád, Bákú, Burújird, Dámghán, Egypt, Fírúz-kúh, 'Iráq, Iṣfahán (especially a building there called *'Imárat-i-Ṭúkhjí* or *Ṭúqchí*), Khwárazm, Mesopotamia (*Jazíra*), Qazwín, Samarqand, Tabríz, and the two celebrated strongholds of the Assassins, Rúdbár (near Astarábád) and the Fortress of Gird-i-Kúh. Amongst the latter are Amír Tímúr (Tamerlane), "King" Uways[1], Túqtámish Khán[2], Pír Páshá, Sayyid 'Imádu'd-Dín (*i.e.* the Turkish Ḥurúfí poet Nesímí[3]), Sayyid Shamsu 'd-Dín, Sayyid Táju'd-Dín, Khwája Fakhru'd-Dín, Khwája Ḥasan, Khwája Báyazíd, Mawláná Kamálu'd-Dín, Mawlána Maḥmúd, Mawláná Majdu'd-Dín, Mawláná Qiwámu'd-Dín, Mawláná Ṣadru'd-Dín, Shaykh Ḥasan, Shaykh Manṣúr, Malik 'Izzu'd-Dín, Amír Shams, Darwísh Tawakkul, Darwísh Musáfir, Darwísh Kamálu'd-Dín, 'Abdu'r-Raḥím, 'Abdu'l-Qádir, Ḥusayn Kiyá, 'Umar-i-Sulṭániyya, and Yúsuf of Dámghán.

Persons and places mentioned in connection with Faḍlu'lláh's visions

[1] Presumably Shaykh Uways the Jalá'ir, who reigned 757–777/1356–1375.

[2] See p. 321 *supra*.

[3] See Gibb's *History of Ottoman Poetry*, vol. i, pp. 343–68. He was flayed alive for heresy in 820/1417–18.

The accounts of these dreams, even with the aid of the interlinear glosses which explain most of the words in dialect, are very elliptical and difficult to understand, being apparently mere memoranda sufficient to recall the vision to the memory of the writer. They seem to form no part of the *Jáwidán-i-Kabír*, and do not, I think, occur in most copies of it.

On Oct. 23, 1896, soon after the publication of my *Catalogue*, my friend the late Mr E. J. W. Gibb called my attention in a letter to the fact that in several Turkish biographies of poets (such as those of Laṭífí and 'Áshiq Chelebi) the Turkish poet Nesímí mentioned in the last paragraph but one is described as "the Ḥurúfí," and his connection with Faḍlu'lláh is established by some of his own verses, *e.g.*:

علمِ حکمتدن بلورسڭ گل برو گل ای حکیم'

سن نسیمی منطقندن دڭله فضل اللّهی گور'

"If thou would'st gain knowledge of wisdom's lore, come hither, O sage; Hearken to the speech of Nesímí and behold the Grace of God" [Faḍlu'lláh]!

Gibb's researches into the history of the Turkish Ḥurúfís

Mr Gibb, following up this clue, devoted a chapter (the seventh, pp. 336–388) in the first volume of his *History of Ottoman Poetry* to the Ḥurúfís, and especially to two of the Turkish Ḥurúfí poets, Nesímí[1] and Refí'í, of whom the latter was a disciple of the former. Mr Gibb was unable to trace the Ḥurúfís beyond the middle of the seventeenth century, but gives (pp. 381 *et seqq.*) two interesting extracts from Turkish chronicles showing the fierce persecution of which the sect was on several occasions the object. The first extract (from the Memoirs of Turkish Divines entitled *Shaqá'iqu'n-Nu'-mániyya*, which Gibb renders as "the Crimson Peony")

[1] Nesímí, who was a native of Baghdád, was bilingual, and his *Díwán* includes a Persian as well as a Turkish section. Both were printed at Constantinople in one thin volume in 1298/1881. Mr Gibb calls Nesímí "the first true poet of the Western Turks, the only true poet of this far-off period."

relates how the Persian Muftí of Constantinople, Fakhru'd-Dín-i-'Ajamí, a pupil of as-Sayyid ash-Sharíf al-Jurjání[1], seized and caused to be burned to death as heretics certain Ḥurúfís who had succeeded in gaining the confidence and favour of the reigning Sulṭán Muḥammad II, the "Conqueror" of Constantinople, who, apparently, for all his power, was unable to protect them from the fury of the *'ulamá* and the fanaticism of the orthodox. It is even related that the Muftí was so carried away by his religious zeal that, in blowing the fire kindled for his victims, he singed the long beard for which he was conspicuous. The second extract (from Laṭífí's Biographies of Turkish poets) denounces the heresies and "blasphemous nonsense" of a Ḥurúfí poet named Tamanná'í, who with others of the sect was put to death by sword and fire in the reign of Sulṭán Báyazíd, who, as we have seen above[2], was defeated by Tímúr at the Battle of Angora in 804/1402 and died soon after. As it was in this same year that Faḍlu'lláh the Ḥurúfí was put to death[3], it is evident that his doctrines had become widely diffused (from Astarábád to Adrianople) even during his life-time, and that they aroused the fiercest execration of the orthodox. Mr Gibb says that as he had failed to discover any record of later movements on the part of the Ḥurúfís, he was inclined to think that the activity of the sect did not extend much beyond the close of the fifteenth century; and that such organization as it may have possessed was probably destroyed in the persecutions to which it was subjected in the reign of Báyazíd. But as a matter of fact their activity continues down to the present day, the Bektáshí dervishes being still the representatives and repositories of the Ḥurúfí

The Bektáshí Order of dervishes is the present repository of Ḥurúfí doctrines

[1] See p. 355 *supra*.

[2] Pp. 197–9 *supra*. Gibb thinks that Báyazíd II (reigned 886–918/1481–1512) is meant, since in his reign, in 897/1492, there was, according to the historian Sa'du'd-Dín, a fierce persecution of "the *Qalandars*" in consequence of an attempt on the Sulṭán's life made by one of them.

[3] See p. 367 *supra*, but compare also p. 374.

doctrines. As lately as 1291/1874–5 there was published a Turkish denunciation of the sect entitled "the Revealer of Mysteries and Repeller of Miscreants: a Refutation of the Doctrines and Practices of the Ḥurúfís and Bektáshís," by Isḥáq Efendi, who is very well informed concerning the matters about which he writes and gives a clear and accurate account of the doctrines which he denounces. He divides his treatise into three chapters, of which the *first* treats of the origin of Faḍl[u'lláh] the Ḥurúfí, and the principles and laws of certain of the Bektáshís; the *second* of the blasphemies of Firishta-záda's *Jáwidán*; and the *third* of the blasphemies contained in the other *Jáwidáns*. He mentions a persecution of the Bektáshís by Sulṭán Maḥmúd in 1241/1825–6, in which the Turkish poet 'Árif Ḥikmat Bey acted as chief inquisitor; and says that he was moved to the compilation and publication of his work by the impudence of the Bektáshís in daring to print and publish the *'Ishq-náma*, or "Book of Love," of Firishta-záda ('Abdu'l-Majíd ibn Firishta 'Izzu'd-Dín) in 1288/1871–2. He says that "the books which these persons (*i.e.* the Bektáshís or Ḥurúfís) call *Jáwidán* are six in number, of which one was composed by their original misleader Faḍlu'lláh the Ḥurúfí, while the other five are the works of his *Khalífas*" (Vice-gerents or Successors). "In these five books," he adds, "their heresies and blasphemies are very evident, and they are wont to teach and study them secretly amongst themselves"; but "Firishta-záda in his *Jáwidán*, entitled *'Ishq-náma*, did in some measure conceal his blasphemies."

"After a while," continues the author, "the evil doctrines of those heretics became known amongst men, and the son of Tímúr [*viz.* Míránsháh] caused Faḍl the Ḥurúfí to be put to death, after which he tied a rope to his legs, had him dragged publicly through the streets and bazaars, and rid this nether world of his vile existence.

"Thereupon his *Khalífas* (vicars or lieutenants) agreed to disperse themselves through the lands of the Muslims, and devoted themselves to corrupting and misleading the people of Islám. He of those *Khalífas* who bore the title of *al-'Alí al-A'lá* ('the High, the Supreme') came to the monastery of Ḥájji Bektásh in Anatolia and there lived in seclusion,

secretly teaching the *Jáwidán* to the inmates of the monastery, with the assurance that it represented the doctrine of Ḥájji Bektásh the saint (*walí*). The inmates of the monastery, being ignorant and foolish, accepted the *Jáwidán*, notwithstanding that its obvious purport was the denial of all divine obligations and the pandering to the lusts of the flesh; named it 'the secret'; and enjoined the utmost reticence concerning it, to such a degree that if anyone enters their order and afterwards reveals 'the secret,' they consider his life as forfeit. By this their so-called 'secret' are meant certain blasphemous passages in the *Jáwidán*, hinted at by detached letters like *alif* (ا), *wáw* (و), *jím* (ج), and *zayn* (ز), for the interpreting of which symbols they have compiled a treatise entitled 'the Key of Life' (*Miftáḥu'l-Ḥayát*). This they name 'the Secret,' and should one possess it he understands the *Jáwidán*, which without this aid is unintelligible. They were thus careful to conceal their secret for fear lest the doctors of religion (*'ulamá*) should obtain some inkling of its nature and should suppress it; and thus, since 800/1397–8, they have succeeded in secretly seducing many."

The author then goes on to expose and denounce the different tricks and stratagems by which they strive to win men, both Muslims and non-Muslims, to their heresies, and adds:

"From all this it is plain that these people [the Bektáshís] are not really Shí'ites, but are essentially a polytheistic sect [*Mushrikún*], who, though unable to win over to themselves the Jews and Christians, however much they affirm their doctrines, do attract some of those Muslims who are partial to the Shí'ite doctrine. So when I questioned certain Bektáshí neophytes, they declared themselves to be of the Ja'farí [*i.e.* the Imámí or Shí'a] sect, and knew nothing of the mysteries of the *Jáwidán*, imagining themselves to be of the Shí'a. But when I enquired of a learned Persian traveller named Mírzá Ṣafá his opinion concerning the Bektáshís, he replied, 'I have associated much with them, and have carefully investigated their religion, and they deny [the necessity of] actions prescribed by the Holy Law.' He thus decisively declared their infidelity. We take refuge with God from their ignorance!"

During the Easter Vacation of 1897 I had the opportunity of examining with some care two Ḥurúfí manuscripts belonging to the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris[1], which I described in the *J.R.A.S.* for 1898 (pp. 61–94) in an article

[1] They bear the class-marks **Ancien Fonds Persan 24**, and **Suppl. Persan 107**.

entitled "Some Notes on the Literature and Doctrines of the Ḥurúfí Sect." One of these MSS., dated 970/1562–3, contains the *Istiwá-náma* of Amír Ghiyáthu'd-Dín, a *mathnawí* poem in Persian on Alexander the Great's quest after the Water of Life, and a glossary of the dialect words occurring in the *Jáwidán-i-Kabír*. The other, dated 895/1489–90, contains the *Maḥabbat-náma*, of which there is reason to believe that Faḍlu'lláh himself was the author.

The *Istiwá-náma*

The *Maḥabbat-náma*

Nine years later, in the *J.R.A.S.* for 1907, I published another article on this subject entitled "Further Notes on the Literature of the Ḥurúfís and their connection with the Bektáshí Order of Dervishes," in which I described 43 Ḥurúfí MSS. recently acquired by the British Museum, the Cambridge University Library, and myself. Concerning the manner in which these MSS. were obtained I then wrote as follows:

"The connection of the Ḥurúfís with the Bektáshís first became known to me in the following manner. About three years after the publication of the article to which I have referred above, a certain dealer in Oriental manuscripts in London, a native of Baghdád, from whom I had already purchased a number of MSS., invited me to furnish him with a list of my desiderata, in order that he might submit the same to his correspondents in the East. I did so, and mentioned in my list the *Jáwidán-náma* or any other Ḥurúfí books. Shortly afterwards (in Feb.–March, 1901) he forwarded to me a parcel of manuscripts in which was included a copy of this work (now in the British Museum, marked Or. 5957) besides some other books of the sort in question. The prices set on these MSS. were high, but some half-dozen were secured by the Cambridge University Library, while five or six more were purchased by the British Museum, and now bear the class-marks Or. 5957–Or. 5961.

"The comparatively high prices realized by these MSS. seem to have stimulated the search for other similar ones, and gradually, as the supply not only continued but increased, it became clear that these Ḥurúfí books existed in considerable quantities, and were still widely read and copied in the East, especially in Turkey. Prices consequently fell rapidly, and latterly few of these MSS. have fetched more than £2 or £3 in the limited market where the demand for them existed. Nor

was it long before we discovered that it was from the Bektáshí dervishes that they were, in almost all cases, directly or indirectly derived, and that it is amongst the members of this Order that the Ḥurúfí doctrines flourish at the present day."

Amongst the MSS. described in this article are two or three treatises dealing with the biography and teachings of Ḥájji Bektásh, from whom the Order in question derives its name, and who died in 738/1337–8[1], two years before the birth of Faḍlu'lláh the Ḥurúfí. This latter date, with five others connected with the early history of the sect, is recorded on the fly-leaf of one of the British Museum MSS. (**Or. 6381**) as follows:

(1) Birth of Faḍlu'lláh, 740/1339–1340.

(2) Manifestation or annunciation of his doctrine, 788/1386–7.

(3) Martyrdom of Faḍlu'lláh, 796/1393–4, aged 56 lunar years.

(4) Death of his *Khalífa* "Ḥaḍrat-i-'Aliyyu'l-A'lá," 822/1419.

(5) Death of Tímúr's son Míránsháh (whom the Ḥurúfís called "Antichrist," *Dajjál*, and "the King of Snakes," *Márán-sháh*), who slew Faḍlu'lláh, 803/1400–1.

From a verse on the same page it would appear that Faḍlu'lláh performed the pilgrimage to Mecca in 775/1373–4. On a page of another of these MSS. in the British Museum (**Or. 6380**, f. 24) is inscribed a curious document which appears to be Faḍlu'lláh's last Will and Testament. From this, of which the text and translation are printed in full in the article in question[2], it would appear that he was put to death at Shírwán. The article concludes with a complete index of all the books and persons mentioned in it. The titles of most of the books, whether Persian or Turkish, end in *náma*; *e.g. Ádam-náma* ("the Book of Adam"), *Ákhirat-*

[1] The authority for this date is Mu'allim Náji (*Esámí*, p. 106). By a curious coincidence this date is yielded by the sum of the letters composing the word *Bektáshiyya*, the name of the order.

[2] Pp. 9–10 of the separate reprint from the *J.R.A.S.* for July, 1907.

náma ("the Book of the Hereafter"), *'Arsh-náma* ("the Book of the Throne"), *Bashárat-náma* ("the Book of Good Tidings"), etc.

In 1909 there was published in the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series a volume (vol. ix) containing translations into French of several Ḥurúfí treatises, with explanatory notes, etc., by M. Clément Huart, followed by a study of the Ḥurúfí doctrines (also in French) by Dr Riẓá Tevfíq, commonly known in Turkey as "*Feylesúf Riẓá*" or "Riẓá the Philosopher," a man remarkable for his attainments in the learning of both East and West, and an adept in all that appertains to the various Dervish Orders of Turkey, especially the Bektáshís. This volume, by far the most important independent work on the subject, is a rich mine of information on the strange and fantastic doctrines of a sect which, though its very name seems to have been unknown in Europe twenty years ago, played a not unimportant part in the history of Western Asia. Its characteristic doctrines, equally ingenious and grotesque, are pretty fully discussed in the books and articles mentioned above, to which such as desire fuller knowledge of them may be referred.

BOOK III.

FROM THE DEATH OF TÍMÚR TO THE RISE OF THE ṢAFAWÍ DYNASTY

(A.H. 807–907 = A.D. 1405–1502).

CHAPTER VI.

HISTORY OF THE LATER TÍMÚRID PERIOD.

Character of the century which forms the subject of the remainder of this volume

The century which we are now about to consider is in its latter part one of those chaotic and anarchical periods which, in Persian history, commonly follow the death of a great conqueror and empire-builder. It includes the rise of the Uzbek power in Transoxiana; the gradual decay and disruption of the vast empire built up by Tímúr at so great a cost of blood and suffering; the successive domination of two Turkmán dynasties known as the "Black" and "White Sheep" (*Qára-qoyúnlú* and *Áq-qoyúnlú*); and the appearance and triumph of the Ṣafawís, the greatest of modern Persian dynasties, who may be regarded in a certain sense as the creators, or at least the restorers, of Persian national sentiment in modern times. It begins with the death of Tímúr in 807/1405, and ends with the Battle of Shurúr, in 907/1501–2, in which Sháh Isma'íl the Ṣafawí utterly defeated the "White Sheep" Turkmáns, made Tabríz his capital, and was crowned king of Persia; though it took him some years to extend his sway over the whole country, until, as Stanley Lane-Poole says, "his dominions stretched from the Oxus to the Persian Gulf, from Afghánistán to the Euphrates."

The death of Sháh-rukh in 1446 divides this period into two dissimilar parts

When examined more closely, this period of a century is seen to fall naturally into two unequal halves, divided by the death of Tímúr's third son Sháh-rukh in 850/1446–7. As long as he lived and reigned, he succeeded, in spite of numerous revolts on the part of his kinsmen, in maintaining almost in its integrity the empire conquered by his father, which, however, after his death underwent rapid disintegration at the hands first of the "Black" and then of the "White Sheep"

Turkmáns, and lastly of the Uzbeks, until these in their turn, together with the remnants of the House of Tímúr, were swept aside by the victorious Sháh Isma'íl the Ṣafawí. But though the House of Tímúr was driven out of Persia, it was still destined to play a splendid part in India, where Ẓahíru'd-Dín Muḥammad Bábur, the great-great-great-grandson of Tímúr, driven out by the Uzbeks from his own principality of Farghána, founded the dynasty commonly known in Europe as the "Great Moguls," which endured there for more than three centuries and finally disappeared in the great Mutiny of 1857. With the "Great Moguls" of India we are not directly concerned in this book, save in so far as they came into relations with the Persian Ṣafawís; but though the political importance of the later Tímúrids in Persia continually decreased after the death of Sháh-rukh, the courts of their diminished realms continued to be a centre of literary activity, enriched by the presence of numerous celebrated poets and men of letters, while several princes of this House, notably Sulṭán Abu'l-Ghází Ḥusayn b. Manṣúr b. Bayqará, Ulugh Beg, Báysunqur and the great Bábur himself, made notable contributions to literature or science, and Mír 'Alí Shír Nawá'í, Minister of Sulṭán Abú'l-Ghází Ḥusayn, was at once a notable poet (especially in the Turkí tongue) and a generous patron of men of letters, so that the literary splendour of Herát under the later Tímúrids is comparable to that of Ghazua under Sulṭán Maḥmúd.

The Tímúrids, after their expulsion from Persia, play a brilliant part in India

From the political point of view the most important representatives of the dynasties mentioned above were Sháh-rukh of the House of Tímúr; Qára Yúsuf of the "Black Sheep" Turkmáns; Úzún Ḥasan of the "White Sheep" Turkmáns; Shaybání Khán of the Uzbeks; and, chief of all, Sháh Isma'íl the founder of the great Ṣafawí dynasty. Of Úzún ("Tall" or "Long") Ḥasan we possess contemporary European accounts in the narratives of Caterino Zeno, Josafa Barbaro and Ambrosio Contarini, ambassadors from Venice

Venetian envoys to Úzún Ḥasan

to this great ruler (whom they variously call "Ussun Cassano" and "Assambei"), whose assistance against the increasingly formidable power of the Ottoman Turks they desired to gain. They successively visited Persia for this purpose between the years A.D. 1471 and 1478, and their narratives, full of interest and life-like touches seldom found in the pages of Persian historians of this period, have been published in English by the Hakluyt Society in a volume entitled *Six Narratives of Travel in Persia by Italians in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*[1].

Timúr's sons

Before considering in greater detail these Turkmán dynasties of the "Black" and "White Sheep," the history of the House of Tímúr, so far as its connection with Persia is concerned, must be briefly traced. Tímúr had four sons and a daughter. Of his sons the eldest, Jahángír, predeceased his father by thirty years; and the second, 'Umar Shaykh Mírzá, by ten years. The third, Míránsháh, survived him by three years, but fell into disgrace and appears to have become affected in his reason. The fourth was Sháh-rukh, who practically succeeded his father, and had a long and prosperous reign of forty-three years (807–850/1404–1447). Tímúr's intention was that Jahángír's son Pír Muḥammad should succeed him, but he was defeated by his cousin Khalíl Sulṭán, son of Míránsháh, who succeeded in taking possession of Samarqand and gaining the support of several powerful nobles, and was finally murdered two years after his grandfather's death by his trusted minister 'Alí Táz or Pír 'Alí. Khalíl Sulṭán, though not without parts, was undone by his infatuation for the courtesan Shád Malak, whose extravagant whims he was ever ready to gratify, to the disgust of his nobles and officers, who, headed by the two Khudá-dáds and Bardí

Brief reign of Khalíl Sulṭán

[1] The three other narratives are the *Discourse of Giovan Battista Ramusio on the writings of Giovan Maria Angioletto...in which are narrated the life and deeds of Ussun Cassano*; the *Travels of a Merchant in Persia* (in the time of Sháh Isma'íl); and the *Narrative of Vincentio d' Allesandri*, Venetian Ambassador to Sháh Ṭahmásp.

Beg, presently rose against him, deposed him, and banished him to Káshghar. Thereupon his uncle Sháh-rukh marched in and took possession, but had sufficient kindliness to reunite the unhappy Khalíl to his beloved Shád Malak, who showed her appreciation of his devotion by stabbing herself with a poniard when he died. The two were buried together in the same tomb at Ray[1]. Khalíl Sulṭán was not only a generous patron of poets but himself wrote verse, of which several specimens are recorded by Dawlatsháh[2].

Sháh-rukh (reigned A.D. 1404–1447)

Sháh-rukh, who now succeeded to the throne, was born in 779/1377, and was therefore 28 years of age at the time of his accession. He had been made governor of Khurásán in his twentieth year (799/1396–7), and was already practically absolute in that province and struck coins in his own name. His dominions were successively enlarged by the addition of Mázandarán (809/1406–7), Transoxiana (811/1408–9), Fárs (817/1414–5), Kirmán (819/1416–7) and Ádharbáyján (823/1420). The attempt on his life by Aḥmad-i-Lur, alluded to in the last chapter[3], was made in 830/1427, and he finally died at Ray in 850/1447, after a reign of 43 years at the age of 72. He waged successful wars against the rulers of the "Black Sheep" dynasty, Qára Yúsuf and his son Iskandar, but on the whole, as Sir John Malcolm says[4], "he desired not to extend, but to repair, the ravages committed by his father. He rebuilt the walls of the cities of Herát and Merv, and restored almost every town and province in his dominions to prosperity. This Prince also encouraged men of science and learning, and his Court was very splendid. He cultivated the friendship of contemporary monarchs, and we read in the pages of his historian a very curious account of some

[1] This is Sir John Malcolm's version (*Hist. of Persia*, ed. 1815, vol. i, p. 486), for which his authority is De Guignes. Dawlatsháh, however (p. 354), says that the rebellious nobles cut off Shád Malak's ears and nose, and makes no mention of her reunion with Khalíl Sulṭán.

[2] Pp. 355–6 of my edition.

[3] See p. 366 *supra*.

[4] *Op. cit.*, i, p. 487.

SHÁH-RUKH

Add. 7468 (Brit. Mus.), f. 44

To face p. 382

embassies which passed between him and the Emperor of China[1]."

With this estimate of Sháh-rukh's character the most recent native historian of Persia, Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khán *Zuká'u'l-Mulk*, poetically surnamed *Furúghí*, is in complete agreement[2]. "After Tímúr," he says, "his son Mírzá Sháh-rukh sat in the place of his father. He was a successor who was the exact opposite of his predecessor, a peaceful and placable man, never prone to war and contention, save with seditious rebels and such as sought means to create disturbances in the empire, whom he deemed it necessary to suppress. In brief, the Empire founded by Tímúr was refined by the efforts of Mírzá Sháh-rukh, who during a long period busied himself in repairing the devastation wrought by his father, and in informing himself as to the condition of his subjects and compassing their happiness. It is an extraordinary fact that the son of one so hard-hearted should be so kindly, amiable, gracious and friendly to learning, showing favour and courtesy to all, especially to scholars and men of parts. Ogotáy Khán, the son of Chingíz Khán, had a somewhat similar disposition and practice, and in particular he has left on the page of history a great reputation for generosity, so that he has been entitled 'the Ḥátim[3] of later days'; and we have met with many anecdotes concerning his liberality and tenderness of heart in the pages of former writers."

Sháh-rukh's character as depicted by Furúghí

Dawlatsháh[4] is equally flattering, and, with his usual exaggeration, goes so far as to say that "from the time of

[1] He received an embassy of Khiḍr Khán from India in 824/1421, and sent one to the Turkish Sulṭán Murád (Amurath) II in 839/1435–6. (Munajjim-báshí's *Ṣaḥá'ifu'l-Akhbár*, vol. iii, pp. 56–7.) Further mention of the embassies to China and India will be made later on in this chapter.

[2] *Ta'ríkh-i-Írán*, lith. Ṭihrán, A.H. 1323 (1905), pp. 266–7.

[3] Ḥátim of the tribe of Ṭayy was celebrated amongst the old Arabs for his generosity.

[4] Pp. 336–8 of my edition.

Adam until this our day no age, period, cycle or moment can be indicated in which the people enjoyed such peace and tranquillity as they did in his [Sháh-rukh's] days." He adds that such were the virtues of this Prince that he was credited with miraculous gifts and knowledge of the Unseen. Of the two instances of this which Dawlatsháh gives, one rests on the authority of his father, who was one of his familiar attendants. Ultimately, however, according to this writer, Sháh-rukh incurred the Divine displeasure by putting to death three learned and pious men of Iṣfahán whom he suspected of having encouraged his grandson Sulṭán Muḥammad Báysunqur in his revolt against him. These cursed him ere they died, and "the doors of Heaven being open, the prayers of those innocent and illustrious victims were answered; the seed of that highly-placed king was cut off, and the sovereignty returned to its original source." Amongst the many artists, poets and men of learning contemporary with Sháh-rukh Dawlatsháh[1] mentions four in particular as conferring special lustre on his court, namely 'Abdu'l-Qádir of Maráǵha the musician (who is mentioned by *Munajjim-báshí*[2] as one of the eminent victims of the plague which afflicted Herát in 838/1434–5), Yúsuf of Andakán the minstrel, Qiwámu'd-Dín the engineer and architect, and Mawláná Khalíl the painter, who in skill was "second only to Mání" (Manes).

The same according to Dawlatsháh

The Turkish historian *Munajjim-báshí*[3] speaks not less favourably than the writers already cited of Sháh-rukh's character. "He was," says he, "a wise, just, prudent and benevolent king, prone to forgive and to do good, devout, temperate and pious, so that alike at home and on the march, nay, even in time

The same according to Munajjim-báshí

[1] P. 340 of my edition.

[2] *Ṣaḥá'ifu'l-Akhbár*, vol. iii, p. 57 (Constantinople, A.H. 1285). This useful history was originally composed in Arabic by Aḥmad-Dedé Efendi ibn Luṭfu'lláh, and comes down to 1083/1672. The Turkish translation was made in 1132/1720 by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Nadím for the Grand Wazír Dámád Ibráhím Pasha.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 58.

of war and battle, he never neglected the morning, noon and evening prayers, while on 'white days' and on the first day of each month he used to fast, and on the eve of Fridays, Mondays and Thursdays he used to assemble those who knew the *Qur'án* by heart and cause them to recite the entire scripture in his presence. During the whole period of his life he never knowingly committed a major sin. He continually sought the society of learned and pious men, on whom he conferred the greatest benefits and favours. He never suffered defeat, but was always favoured by fortune and victorious. To whatever land he went, he first of all used to visit any shrine which might exist there." His empire, in the words of the same writer, extended "from the confines of China to the frontiers of Rúm (Turkey in Asia), and from the remotest parts of Turkistán to the limits of India."

Of Sháh-rukh's five sons[1] only one, Ulugh Beg, survived to succeed him. Of the other four Báysunqur, who died of drink (the curse of this family) in 837/1433 at the age of 37, was, perhaps, the most talented[2], and the greatest patron of art and learning, to whose court flocked poets, artists, scholars, calligraphists, miniature-painters, book-binders and illuminators from 'Iráq, Fárs, Ádharbáyján, and all parts of Persia. In connection with Persian literature he is chiefly associated with the preface prefixed to the *Sháh-náma* of Firdawsí in his name and composed for him in 829/1426. The following chronogram of his death is given in the *Ḥabíbu's-Siyar*:

Báysunqur Mírzá

سلطانِ سعید بایسنقر سحرم، گفتا که بگو با اهلِ عالم خبرم،
من رفتم و تاریخِ وفاتم این است، بادا بجهان عمرِ درازِ پدرم،

[1] The remaining three sons were Abu'l-Fatḥ Ibráhím (d. 838/1434–5), who was the patron of the historian Sharafu'd-Dín 'Alí of Yazd; Suyúrghatmish (d. 830/1426–7); and Muḥammad Júkí (d. 848/1444–5).

[2] *Ḥabíbu's-Siyar*, vol. iii, part 3, p. 131; Munajjim-báshí's *Ṣaḥá-'ifu'l-Akhbár*, vol. iii, p. 66. He was especially interested in calligraphy.

"In the morning that august prince Báysunqur said to me,
'Tell tidings of me to the people of the world:
I am gone, and this is the date of my death—
May my father's life be long in the world[1]!'"

Sháh-rukh died near Ray on March 13, 1447, and, as stated above, was succeeded, though not peaceably, by his son Ulugh Beg, who had during his father's life-time been governor of Túrán or Turkistán. It was during this period, in 824/1421, that he built at Samarqand his celebrated observatory, where, with the collaboration of four eminent men of learning, Ṣaláḥu'd-Dín Músá, called Qáḍí-Záda-i-Rúmí ("the Turkish Judge's son"); Mullá 'Alá'u'd-Dín 'Alí Qúshjí, the commentator of the *Tajríd*; Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Jamshíd; and Mu'ínu'd-Dín of Káshán, he compiled the notable astronomical tables known as the *Zíj-i-Ulugh Beg*, or *Zij-i-jadíd-i-Sulṭání*, which were probably completed in 841/1437–8, and concerning which full particulars are given by Rieu[2].

Ulugh Beg

Ulugh Beg, as already indicated, did not at once succeed in establishing his supremacy, which was contested by 'Alá'u'd-Dawla, who seized Herát and cast 'Abdu'l-Laṭíf, the son of Ulugh Beg, into prison. Nor did his authority, when established, endure long, for he was killed at the instigation of his son, the above-mentioned 'Abdu'l-Laṭíf, on Ramaḍán 10, 853 (October 27, 1449) by a certain 'Abbás, the year of this tragic event being given by the chronogram *'Abbás killed* [*him*] (عبّاس کُشت).

Ulugh Beg is murdered by his son 'Abdu'l-Laṭíf

'Abdu'l-Laṭíf, not content with the murder of his father, also murdered his brother 'Abdu'l-'Azíz, but did not long profit by his crime, for he in turn was murdered in the ensuing year, 854/1450, by a certain Bábá

'Abdu'l-Laṭíf

[1] The sum of the letters composing this hemistich gives 837, the date of Báysunqur's death.

[2] *Persian Catalogue*, pp. 455–7, where the European editions and translations of this work are enumerated. See also Clements Markham's *History of Persia*, p. 224 *ad calc.*

Ḥusayn, this date, curiously enough, being given by the chronogram *Bábá Ḥusayn killed* [*him*] (بابا حسین کشت). Mírkhwánd, in recording this event, cites the well-known dictum of the poet Niẓámí as to the short-lived prosperity of royal parricides:

پدر کُش پادشاهی‌را نشاید ' اگر شاید بجُز شش مه نپاید '

"The parricide is unworthy of sovereignty:
[Even] if he attains it, he will not survive more than six months."

"This 'Abdu'l-Laṭíf," says the Turkish historian *Munajjim Báshí*[1], "was a talented and accomplished man, but very impetuous, blood-thirsty and pitiless, so that men's hearts were turned aside from him. With his death the succession of Ulugh Beg came to an end in Transoxiana."

'Abdu'lláh b. Ibráhím Sulṭán b. Sháh-rukh

From this period onwards until its extinction in Persia the House of Tímúr rapidly declined in power, cohesion and territorial possessions, and even the succession of rulers is somewhat uncertain, or, to be more precise, it is uncertain which should be accounted supreme and which subordinate. Thus Stanley Lane-Poole[2] regards 'Abdu'lláh, the son of Ibráhím Sulṭán, the son of Sháh-rukh, as the successor of 'Abdu'l-Laṭíf; while Mírkhwánd substitutes Mírzá Abu'l-Qásim Bábur (not the great Bábur), the son of Báysunqur, the son of Sháh-rukh. He died in 861/1456–7, having lost 'Iráq, Fárs and Kirmán four years previously to Jahánsháh, son of Qará Yúsuf of the "Black Sheep" Turkmáns, and killed his brother Sulṭán Muḥammad, the expelled ruler of Fárs, in battle.

Abu'l-Qásim Bábur b. Báysunqur

'Alá'u'd-Dawla b. Báysunqur

Mírzá 'Alá'u'd-Dawla, another son of Báysunqur, was acting as governor of Herát at the time of his grandfather Sháh-rukh's death, but, after a certain show of opposition, he made peace with Ulugh Beg and Bábur, and contented himself with the government of a district extending from Khabúshán in Khurásán

[1] *Op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 65.
[2] *Mohammadan Dynasties*, p. 268.

to Astarábád and Dámghán. In 852/1448–9 he was defeated by Ulugh Beg near Herát and driven into Badakhshán and the Plain of Qipcháq. After various vicissitudes, including sundry wars with his brothers and a period of allegiance to Jahán-sháh, the "Black Sheep" Turkmán and enemy of his House, he finally died in 875/1470–1. His son Ibráhím, having escaped from the custody of his uncle Abu'l-Qásim Bábur, fled to Murgháb and there collected a considerable army. He occupied Herát and defeated his cousin Mírzá Sháh Maḥmúd, whom he was preparing to crush at Astarábád when be was suddenly attacked by the redoubtable "Black Sheep" Turkmán Jahánsháh. Abandoning Herát he fled before the invader, but returned on the withdrawal of the latter, only to suffer defeat at the hands of Sultán Abú Sa'íd. He died in 863/1458–9 on the march from Dámghán to Mashhad, and his cousin and rival, the above-mentioned Mírzá Sháh Maḥmúd, was killed in the same year.

Ibráhím b. 'Alá'u'd-Dawla

Sulṭán Abú Sa'íd, the grandson of Míránsháh, is described by Mírkhwánd in the *Rawḍatu's-Ṣafá* as "supreme amongst the princes of the House of Tímúr in high emprise, lofty rank and perfect discernment. He was a friend and patron of scholars, theologians and men of letters, and during the period of his rule the lands of Turkistán, Túrán, Khurásán, Zábulistán, Sístán and Mázandarán attained the zenith of prosperity." He had in early life been attached to the court of his accomplished kinsman Ulugh Beg, whose son 'Abdu'l-Laṭíf, after murdering his father as already related, cast Abú Sa'íd into prison, whence, owing to the negligence of the sentries, he escaped to Bukhárá. When 'Abdu'l-Laṭíf in turn was killed, he marched out from Bukhárá, and, after giving battle to his kinsman Abú Bakr, made himself supreme in Turkistán and Túrán. In 861/1456–7 he captured Herát and put to death Gawhar Shád Khátún. In 862/1457–8 Jahánsháh invaded Khurásán and occupied Herát, but afterwards relinquished it to Abú Sa'íd. Ten years later,

Sulṭán Abú Sa'íd b. Sulṭán Muḥammad b. Míránsháh b. Tímúr

in 872/1467–8, when Jahánsháh was defeated and slain by Úzún Ḥasan, of the rival clan of the "White Sheep" Turkmáns, Abú Sa'íd, hoping to profit by this circumstance, and encouraged by representations from 'Iráq, Fárs, Kirmán, Ádharbáyján and other lost provinces, marched westwards against his new rival Úzún Ḥasan, by whom he was finally defeated and taken prisoner near Mayána. After three days his captor, having decided on his destruction, handed him over to Yádigár Muḥammad, who put him to death to avenge the blood of his grandmother Gawhar Shád Khátún. The philosopher Jalálu'd-Dín Dawání, author of the well-known ethical manual entitled *Akhláq-i-Jalálí*, commemorated his death in the following chronogram[1]:

سلطان ابو سعید که در فرّ خسروی
چشمِ سپهرِ پیر چو او نو جوان ندید
الحق چنان بکشته بکشتی که کشته بود
تاریخ سال مقتل سلطان ابو سعید

By the Venetian travellers of this period, to whom we are indebted for much interesting information and independent chronological details, Abú Sa'íd is called "Busech"; while Úzún Ḥasan is called "Ussun Cassano," "Assimbeo," or "Assambei" (*i.e.* Ḥasan Beg), and Jahánsháh "Giansa." The towns of 'Urfa, Isfahán, Káshán, Qum, Yazd and Kharpút appear as "Orphi," "Spaham" or "Spaan," "Cassan," "Como," "Jex" and "Carparth." It should be noted also that, apart from such well-known general histories as the *Rawḍatu'ṣ-Ṣafá* and *Ḥabíbu's-Siyar*, the hitherto unpublished *Maṭla'u's-Sa'dayn* of Kamálu'd-Dín 'Abdu's-Razzáq, a monograph on the reigns of "the two Fortunate Planets," *i.e.* the two Abú Sa'íds (the Íl-khání Mongol, reigned 716/1316—736/1335, and the Tímúrid of whom we

Abú Sa'íd called "Busech" by the Venetians

Historical value of the *Maṭla'u's-Sa'dayn*

[1] Given in the *Rawḍatu'ṣ-Ṣafá*. The sum of the letters composing the last four words (40 + 100 + 400 + 30 + 60 + 30 + 9 + 1 + 50 + 1 + 2 + 6 + 60 + 70 + 10 + 4) gives the year of his death 873 (= A.D. 1468–9).

are now speaking), which was completed in 875/1470–1, only two years after the later Abú Sa'íd's death, affords a great wealth of material for the history of this period.

Aḥmad and Maḥmúd, the sons of Sulṭán Abú Sa'íd

Abú Sa'íd was succeeded by two of his sons, Aḥmad and Maḥmúd, who are accounted by Stanley Lane-Poole the last (eighth and ninth) rulers of the House of Tímúr in Persia and Central Asia. Of these the first ruled in Transoxiana with Samarqand for his capital, and the second in Badakhshán, Khatlán, Tirmidh, etc. Both died, the latter by violence at the hands of the Uzbek Shaybáni Khán, in the last years of the fifteenth century (899/1493–4 and 905/1499–1500 respectively).

Sulṭán Ḥusayn b. Mansúr b. Bayqará

Much more important than the two princes last mentioned, from the literary if not from the political point of view, was Sulṭán Ḥusayn b. Manṣúr b. Bayqará, whose court at Herát was one of the most brilliant centres of letters, art and learning which ever existed in Persia. This prince, originally attached to and protected by Ulugh Beg, was, on the death of this ruler and his son 'Abdu'l-Laṭíf, cast into prison by Abú Sa'íd, but escaped, joined Abu'l-Qásím Bábur, and fled to Khwárazm or Khiva. In 862/1457–8 he captured Astarábád, the capital of the province of Gurgán or Jurján (the ancient Hyrcania) and was there crowned, but recognized Abú Sa'íd as his suzerain and placed himself under his protection. A year later Abú Sa'íd again compelled him to take refuge in Khwárazm and occupied Astarábád, which, however, he shortly afterwards recovered, together with the rest of the provinces of Gurgán and Mázandarán. On the death of Abú Sa'íd, Sulṭán Ḥusayn captured Herát, and was crowned there on Ramaḍán 10, 872 (April 3, 1468), which date is regarded by *Munajjim-báshí* as the beginning of his 38 years' reign, terminated by his death at the age of seventy years on Monday, 11 Dhu'l-Ḥijja, 911 (May 5, 1506). During the last 20 years of this period he was partly paralysed. His talented minister Mír 'Alí Shír Nawá'í, who,

like his master, was not only a great patron of men of learning and letters but himself a writer of distinction, both in prose and verse, especially in the Turkí language, died on the 12th of Jumáda ii, 906 (January 3, 1501) at the age of 62. An excellent monograph on his life and literary activities was published by M. Belin in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1861, and reprinted in the form of a separate pamphlet[1]. Sulṭán Ḥusayn, besides his literary tastes, had a great passion for pigeons, fighting-cocks and other birds, and, like so many of his House, was much addicted to wine.

Ẓahíru'd-Dín Bábur

It still remains to mention one of the most notable of all the descendants of Tímúr, namely Ẓahíru'd-Dín Muḥammad Bábur, who, though he never ruled in Persia, was the founder of a new and splendid Tímúrid empire in India, the representatives of which, commonly known in Europe as the "Great Moguls," included such noble princes as Humáyún, Akbar, Jahángír, Sháh-Jahán and Awrang-Zíb 'Álamgír, and which, though gradually shorn alike of its glories and its virtues, continued to exist until the great Indian Mutiny in 1857. Until the early part of the eighteenth century their magnificent court at Delhi continued to attract a great number of eminent Persian poets and men of letters during a period when fuller appreciation and more liberal patronage of talent was to be found at Dihlí than at Iṣfahán.

Bábur's autobiography

Of the life of Bábur we possess singularly full and authentic details in the autobiographical memoir generally known as the *Bábur-náma,* or "Book of Bábur" which he composed in the Turkí or Chaghatáy language. Of the original Turkí text of this remarkable work a printed edition was published by Ilminsky at Kazan in 1857[2]; while a *fac-simile* of the then newly-discovered Ḥaydarábád codex was edited by Mrs Beveridge

[1] *Notice biographique et littéraire sur Mir Ali-Chir Névâii, suivie d'extraits tirés des œuvres du même auteur, par M. Belin.* It comprises 158 pages.

[2] The text comprises 506 pages

for the trustees of the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Fund" in 1905[1]. This Turkí text has been translated into French by M. Pavet de Courteille, and was published at Paris in 1871. There also exists a Persian translation of the original, known as the *Wáqi'át* (or *Túzuk*)*-i-Bábarí*, made at the request of the great Emperor Akbar, Bábur's grandson, by his accomplished general Mírzá 'Abdu'r-Raḥím Khán-Khánán in 998/1589–90[2], on which Dr John Leyden and Mr William Erskine's well-known English version, published in London in 1826, is based. Besides this notable and most authoritative work, we have the very valuable and illuminating Memoir of Bábur's cousin Mírzá Ḥaydar Dughlát, now accessible to the English reader in Sir E. Denison Ross's translation, edited, with Preface, Introduction, Commentary, Notes and a Map, by the late Mr Ney Elias, formerly H.B.M. Consul-General for Khurásán and Sístán, and published in London in 1898 with the title *A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia, being the* Ta'ríkh-i-Rashídí *of Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dughlát.* This book, which, as its title implies, has a much larger scope than the *Bábur-náma*, of which the author made use[3] in its compilation, greatly supplements and illuminates the earlier work[4]. Apart from these two works, which are worthy of special notice on account of the high position of their authors and their active participation in the making of the history which they narrate, the historical sources for this period are unusually full and trustworthy.

Mírzá Ḥaydar Dughlát's Memoirs

Of Bábur's life, which can be studied in detail in the above-mentioned and numerous other works[5], it is sufficient

[1] It contains 382 ff. of text, 107 pp. of Indices, and an English Preface of 10 pages.

[2] See Rieu's *Pers. Cat.*, pp. 244 *et seqq.*

[3] See p. 23 of the Introduction to Mr Ney Elias's book.

[4] The *Bábur-náma* comes down to the year 936/1529–30, while the *Ta'ríkh-i-Rashídí* ends with the year 948/1541.

[5] The best and fullest account I know of is W. Erskine's *History of India under the two first Sovereigns of the House of Taimur, Báber and Humáyun* (2 vols., London, 1854).

to say here that it falls broadly into three periods, of which the first was passed in the little principality of Farghána, where he was born in A.D. 1482 and whence he was expelled by Shaybání Khán and his Uzbeks about 1504. During the second period (A.D. 1504–1525) he ruled over Afghánistán and Badakhshán. Finally he decided on the invasion of India, and the foundation of the "Great Mogul" Dynasty in that country dates from his brilliant victory at Pánípat over Sulṭán Ibráhím Lódí of Dihlí on April 20, 1526, and the occupation of Ágra and Dihlí and northern India from the Indus to Bengal. This third and shortest period was brought to a close by his death on December 26, 1530, when he was succeeded by his son Humáyún. The narrative of the *Bábur-náma* extends from Ramaḍan 899/June 1494 (the year of Bábur's accession at the early age of twelve to the throne of Farghána) to 936/1529–30, the year preceding his death. There are, however, certain lacunæ, to wit the years 915–924 (1509–1518) and 927–931 (1521–1525).

Outline of Bábur's life

We have, however, overshot the limits of the period dealt with in this chapter; for, so far as Persia is concerned, the House of Tímúr disappears from it before the year 1500. The great empire founded by Tímúr, that ruthless man of blood, was maintained in Persia by his gentler and more enlightened son Sháh-rukh until his death in 850/1447. What follows is mainly a dismal record of fratricidal strife and invasions of Uzbeks and other barbarians, redeemed by brilliant galaxies of poets, artists and men of letters and science whom the lavish bounty and undeniable taste of these truculent and quarrelsome princes continued to attract to their various courts, in particular to Herát. The details of these wars, set out at great length by Mírkhwánd, Khwándamír and 'Abdu'r-Razzáq, and in English by Erskine[1], are somewhat wearisome, being not so much

[1] *History of India under the first two Sovereigns of the House of Taimur, etc.* See the preceding foot-note. Vincent A. Smith's *Akbar the Great Mogul*, 1542–1605 (Oxford, 1917) forms a worthy continuation.

between different peoples or principles, as between ambitious members of one family. Happily for our present purpose we need not go much beyond Sir John Malcolm's excellent summary of this period of Persian history. "After the death of Ulugh Beg," says he[1], "we discover a crowd of the descendants of Tímúr contending for the provinces of his empire; and so great was the respect which men entertained for the blood of the hero that everyone who could boast of it in his veins found adherents who enabled him either to obtain a throne or an honourable grave."

To the literary and artistic gifts and tastes of these princes, on the other hand, that great authority on Persian painting and miniatures, Dr F. R. Martin, bears the following eloquent testimony in his monumental work on *The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey*[2].

Dr Martin on Persian painting at this period

"The Tímúrids soon began to lead a life compatible with the wealth their fathers and forefathers had amassed during their wars, and tried to squander it as quickly as possible. History constantly repeats itself. The life of these rulers forms a true epic. They recall to mind the old Paladins in the *Chansons de Gestes*, passing in the space of a short time from the splendours of a throne to a position of the utmost decay. They were, however, the most artistic princes that ever reigned in Persia. If the conquering armies of Tímúr destroyed many a work of art, his successors brought into being works of art that would otherwise never have been created. Does not Samarqand redeem the loss of many a town destroyed by Tímúr? What he destroyed was already of itself destined to fall, and Tímúr simply gave the mortal thrust. He was not the destroyer we are accustomed to consider him, but the master who arranged matters with an iron hand. He formed a link in the chain of natural development, and from his realm arose the Persia of later times, his successors bringing Persian art to its most flourishing

[1] Vol. i, p. 488 n the 1815 edition. Ulugh Beg died in 853/1449.
[2] Quaritch, 1912, vol. i, pp. 35-6.

stage. These Tímúrids were no barbarians; indeed everything goes to show that they were highly civilized and refined men, real scholars, loving art for the sake of art alone, and without ostentation. In the intervals between their battles they enjoyed thinking of their libraries and writing poetry, many of them having composed poetry that far excels that of their court poets. Sulṭán Ḥusayn Mírzá was no bad poet, and his odes, written in Turkí, are far better than those of many celebrated poets. He also wrote in Arabic and competed with the celebrated Jámí. The most refined style of life prevailed, in certain respects calling to mind that of the European princes of the same time, or that of France during the 18th century, although it was far more literary than either.

"Báysunghur, Sháh-rukh, Ulugh Beg and Sulṭán Ḥusayn Mírzá were bibliophiles not surpassed by the Dukes of Burgundy, or by King René of Anjou, their contemporaries, and were far more illustrious than the celebrated French and Italian book-lovers of the 16th and 17th centuries. Not only did they collect books, but they created them. Báysunqur and Ḥusayn Mírzá were to Persia what William Morris was to England four hundred years later. They created a new style of book, but theirs was infinitely more aristocratic, solid and artistic. The very finest European books and manuscripts cannot, except in a very few isolated instances, bear comparison with those of the Orientals as regards the fineness of their work.

"Báysunqur was the son of Sháh-rukh and grandson to Tamerlane; he died in 837/1433, when 37 years of age, at Astarábád, where he was governor. He was the founder of the most elegant style of book-production in Persia, and well deserves to be remembered as one of the greatest bibliophiles of the world. Under his auspices forty artists were employed in copying manuscripts under the guidance of Mawláná Ja'far of Tabríz, himself a pupil of 'Abdu'lláh son of Mír 'Alí. By paying large salaries and making princely

Báysunqur "one of the greatest bibliophiles of the world"

presents he retained in his service the cleverest masters of the period, who executed the finest work in the production of their splendid volumes. The paper was unsurpassed, the illuminations of extreme delicacy, and the covers are unequalled to the present day. Books from his vast library are now dispersed over the entire world, and wherever found should possess a place of honour.

"It was during the reigns of the Tímúrids and not during that of Sháh 'Abbás that the finest carpets were produced in Persia. The finest arms and armour, and ivory-work of a minuteness surpassing all examples produced by other countries, were made at their court. All specimens of Persian art that exhibit the most refined taste and workmanship emanate from their time or from the very beginning of the Ṣafawí dynasty.

Culmination of other arts at this period

"All art produced in the East is the direct result of an impulse given by the monarch. But for Báysunqur and Sulṭán Ḥusayn Mírzá we should not have had that lovely miniature art their artists created, for it was to adorn and illustrate their own writings that they welcomed artists from all parts of their kingdom. But for Sháh 'Abbás we should not have had the splendid figured velvet, and but for Sulaymán the Magnificent there would be no magnificent Turkish faience from Izníq, and but for Sulṭán Aḥmad we should not have had the wonderful manuscripts of the *Qur'án*, by which their aesthetic tastes are still perpetuated. All real art in the Orient is court art, or is dependent on a Maecenas. It was so in the 'Abbásid court at Baghdád in the ninth century; it was so in Egypt and Spain; it was so everywhere. This fact must be remembered, as it explains much that would otherwise be incomprehensible.

"All real art in the East is Court art"

"That an art so brilliant should entirely disappear with the ruler was not to be expected. The princes died, but the artists survived and entered the service of another. The impulse derived from the Tímúrids was so powerful that it lasted through a great

Survival of this art into the sixteenth century

part of the sixteenth century. It was not only the new rulers of Persia, the Ṣafawís, but also princes whose names are almost unknown to history, who continued the fashion and had manuscripts executed that were more costly than anything of the kind produced in Europe."

Communications between Persia, China and India

It is necessary to remind the reader, who may be apt to think of far-reaching international relations as in large measure a product of modern times and an outcome of modern facilities of communication, how considerable was the intercourse in the time which we are considering between Asiatic (not merely Muslim) states far removed from one another. The interesting extracts from that valuable but hitherto unpublished history, the *Maṭla'u's-Sa'dayn* of 'Abdu'r-Razzáq of Samarqand, published in French by Quatremere in 1843[1], include the accounts of two embassies from the court of Herát, the one to China, the other to India, narrated in each case by one who had headed or accompanied the mission. The mission to China, described by Ghiyáthu'd-Dín *Naqqásh* ("the Painter"), left Herát on December 4, 1419, reached Pekin (*Khán-báligh* or "Cambaluc") a year and ten days later, and returned to Herát on September 2, 1422[2]. The mission to India, confided to and narrated by the above-mentioned 'Abdu'r-Razzáq himself, started on January 13, 1442, and landed once more on Persian soil at Hurmuz in the Persian gulf on April 20, 1444[3]. The activity and cosmopolitan character of that port are well indicated by the ambassador in the following descriptive paragraph:

'Abdu'r-Razzáq's description of Hurmuz

"This Hurmuz, which they also call Jarún, is a port on the open sea 'which has no equal on the face of the earth.' Thither betake themselves merchants from the seven climes; from Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, Ádharbáyján, Arabian and Persian 'Iráq, the

[1] *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, vol. xiv, pp. 1–473.

[2] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 387–426.

[3] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 427–473.

provinces of Fárs, Khurásán, Transoxiana, Turkistán, the Qipcháq Plain, the territories of the Calmucks and all the realm of China and [its capital] Pekin (*Khán-báligh*). Thither coast-dwellers from the confines of China, Java, Bengal, Ceylon and the cities of Zírbád, Tanáṣurí, Shahr-i-Naw, the Islands of Díwa-Maḥall, as far as Malabar, Abyssinia, and Zanzibar, the ports of Bíjanagar, Gulbarga, Gujarát, and Kanbá'it (Cambay), the coasts of the Arabian peninsula as far as Aden, Jeddah and Yanbú' bring rare and precious things to which the sun and moon and fertilizing virtue of the clouds have given lustre and beauty, and which can be brought by sea to that country. To that land come travellers from all parts of the world, and whatever they bring they find in that city, without over-much search, the equivalent value thereof in whatever form they desire, whether by sale or exchange. The officials levy a ten per cent. *ad valorem* duty on everything except gold and silver. In that city are many adherents of all manner of diverse religions, including heathens; yet do they not deal otherwise than fairly with any creature, for which reason men call the city *Dáru'l-Amán* ('the Abode of Security'). The people of that country combine the winning manner of the people of 'Iráq with the profound cunning of the Indians."

Relations between the Tímúrids and the Ottoman Sultans

Allusion has already been made to the correspondence between Sháh-rukh and his successors and the Ottoman Sultans Muḥammad I (1402–1421), Murád II (1421–1451), Muḥammad II (1451–1481) and Báyazíd III (1481–1512); but that this correspondence was not confined to princes and politics is shown by letters preserved by Firídún Bey[1] exchanged between Báyazíd III on the one hand and the poet Jámí, the philosopher Jalálu'd-Dín Dawání and the theologian Aḥmed Taftázání on the other. To the first of these the Ottoman Sultan sent a gift of a thousand and to the second five hundred florins, accompanied by all manner

[1] *Munshá'át*, Constantinople, A.H. 1274/1858, vol. i, pp. 361–5.

of gracious and courtly compliments[1]. It was at Constantinople, moreover, that Sulṭán Ḥusayn's son, Badí'u'z-Zamán, fleeing from the murderous Uzbeks, found a final refuge and a last resting-place.

Having described the waning of the House of Tímúr, we must, before tracing the growth of the Ṣafawí power, consider briefly the intermediate Turkmán dynasties of the "Black" and "White Sheep," who were so much akin in race and character that Josafa Barbaro is probably justified in comparing them to the rival Italian factions of the Guelphs and Ghibellines, or the "Bianchi" and "Neri"[2]. The "Black Sheep" (Qará-qoyúnlú, or "Caracoilu" as Barbaro calls them) came first. In the time of Tímúr they were established in the Persian province of Ádharbáyján, and a certain chief amongst them, Bayrám Khwája of the Bahárlú tribe, attached himself to the service of Sulṭán Uways the Jalá'irí, after whose death he possessed himself of Mawṣil (Mosul), Sinjár and Arjísh. In 782/1380–1 he died and was succeeded by his son Qára Muḥammad, who similarly attached himself to the service of Sulṭán Aḥmad, the son of the above-mentioned Sulṭán Uways, and ultimately fell in battle in Syria in 792/1390. He was succeeded by his son Qára Yúsuf, who was the first of the family to attain the position of an independent sovereign with his capital at Tabríz. After repeated conflicts with Tímúr, he took refuge with the Ottoman Sulṭán Báyazíd "the Thunderbolt," and succeeded in capturing Baghdád, whence, however, he was shortly expelled by Tímúr's grandson Abú Bakr, and fled to Egypt with a thousand of his followers. The Sulṭán of Egypt, fearing Tímúr's wrath, imprisoned him; but on Tímúr's death he was released, and,

The Turkmáns of the "Black" and "White Sheep"

Bayrám Khwája

Qára Muḥammad

Qára Yúsuf

[1] Concerning the enormous influence exercised by Jámí and Mír 'Alí Shír Nawá'í on Ottoman literature, especially poetry, see the late Mr E. J. W. Gibb's *History of Ottoman Poetry*, vol. ii, pp. 7–11.

[2] P. 85 of the Hakluyt volume above mentioned.

having been rejoined by his scattered followers, took Diyár Bakr, and soon afterwards, in 809/1406–7, defeated Abú Bakr at Nakhjuwán, reoccupied Tabríz, and took possession of the province of Ádharbáyján. Four years later he defeated and put to death near Tabríz his old master and fellow-captive in Egypt, Sulṭán Aḥmad Jalá'irí. In 822/1419 he captured the three important Persian cities of Sáwa, Qazwín and Sulṭániyya, and died in the following year at the age of 65, after a reign of 14 years, leaving five sons, of whom two, Iskandar and Jahánsháh, succeeded him on the throne.

Contemporary State Papers

Mention has been already made in a previous chapter of the important collection of State Papers connected with the diplomacy of the Ottoman Empire which are contained in the *Munshá'át* of Firídún Bey[1]. A good many of these refer to the period we are now considering. Thus we have a letter to Sulṭán Báyazíd "the Thunderbolt" from Sulṭán Aḥmad Jalá'irí, written in 798/1396, describing his flight before Tímúr's advancing hordes, and the answer to it; numerous letters which passed between Sulṭán Muḥammad I (805–824/1402–1421) and Sháh-rukh, Qára Yúsuf, Iskandar and Sulṭán Khalíl of Shírwán; letters between Sulṭán Murád II (824–855/1421–1451) and Sháh-rukh; letters between Sulṭán Muḥammad II "*Fátiḥ*" (855–886/1451–1481) and Jahánsháh, Ulugh Beg, Báysunqur, Bahman Sháh of India, Úzún Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn b. Manṣúr b. Bayqará; and later a voluminous correspondence with the Ṣafawí kings Sháh Isma'íl and Sháh Ṭahmásp. These letters are interesting not only for the light they throw on the historical events to which they refer, but as indicating the relations which prevailed between these rulers respectively. Thus, for example, in a letter from Sháh-rukh to the Ottoman Sulṭán Muḥammad I in 818/1416 the arrogance of tone is very noticeable, both in respect to the comparative poverty of titles accorded and the reproaches addressed to the Sulṭán for having put to death his rebellious brothers Sulaymán,

[1] Printed at Constantinople in 1274/1858, pp. 626.

Músá and 'Ísá, which, though "conformable to Ottoman practice," is branded as "improper according to the Íl-khání custom"; and in the peremptory demand that Qára Yúsuf shall not be allowed to take refuge in Ottoman territory, should he seek to do so. Sulṭán Muḥammad's reply, on the other hand, in not only conciliatory in tone, but even humble. He accords to Sháh-rukh a whole string of high-sounding titles; apologizes for killing his brothers by quoting Sa'dí's well-known dictum that "ten dervishes can sleep in one blanket, but two kings cannot be contained in a continent"[1]; and expresses his fear that if he exasperates Qára Yúsuf by refusing him entry into his dominions, he may endeavour to stir up trouble amongst the neighbouring rulers of the Qaramání, Ḥamídí, Isfandiyárí, Ṭúrghúdí and Dhu'l-Qadarí dynasties, and even with the Sulṭán of Egypt. In the case of the Ottoman Sulṭán and the "Black Sheep" Turkmán rulers, Qára Yúsuf and Qára Iskandar, on the other hand, the contrary holds good, the Sulṭán writing as to inferiors and the Turkmán princes as to a superior. The numerous letters and dispatches contained in this interesting volume would well repay a fuller examination than can here be accorded to them, but reference will be made to them from time to time, as occasion arises[2].

Iskandar

Amír Iskandar Qára-qoyúnlú inaugurated his reign by an attack on Sháh-rukh, in which he was defeated, but soon afterwards he re-occupied Ádharbáyján. In 828/1425 Shamsu'd-Dín, the ruler of Akhláṭ, and in 830/1427 Sultán Aḥmad the ruler of Kurdistán and 'Izzu'd-Dín Shír fell victims to his warlike prowess, and the towns of Shírwán and Sulṭániyya passed into his hands. In 832/1429 he and his brother Jahánsháh, in spite of the valour which they showed, were again defeated by Sháh-rukh. Six

[1] *Gulistán*, ed. Platts, p. 16.

[2] Firídún Bey's Collection of State Papers has been used by Professor H. A. Gibbons in his interesting work on the *Foundation of the Ottoman Empire* (Oxford, 1916), but only to a limited extent. It is also enumerated by Hammer-Purgstall amongst his sources.

years later, in 838/1434–5, Sháh-rukh again advanced against Iskandar as far as Ray, where he was joined by Iskandar's brother Jahánsháh and his nephew Sháh 'Alí. Iskandar fled, and Sháh-rukh bestowed his territories on his brother Jahánsháh as a reward for his submission. Iskandar took refuge in a fortress, but while preparing to resist a siege he was murdered by his son Qubád, at the instigation of his concubine Laylá.

Jahánsháh

Jahánsháh, with the support and approval of Sháh-rukh, now succeeded to the throne vacated by his brother's death in 839/1435–6, and considerably enlarged the realm which he had inherited. In 856/1452 he overran 'Iráq-i-'Ajam, made a massacre of the people of Iṣfahán, and invaded Fárs and Kirmán. In 862/1457–8 he conquered Khurásán, and in the month of Sha'bán in that year (June–July, 1458), was enthroned at Herát, and remained there for six months, when Sulṭán Abú Sa'íd, the great-grandson of Tímúr, prepared to attack him. At the same time news reached him that his son Ḥasan, who was imprisoned in Ádharbáyján, had escaped and was in rebellion against him, so he was compelled to make peace with Abú Sa'íd and hasten westwards at the average rate of twelve parasangs (some forty-five miles) a day, losing in this forced march 20,000 camels and 10,000 horses. Having subdued and expelled his son Ḥasan, he dismissed his other son Pír Budáq from the government of Fárs and transferred him to Baghdád, where he also shortly revolted. Jahánsháh thereupon besieged Baghdád for a whole year, and finally succeeded in killing Pír Budáq and replacing him by another son, Muḥammad Mírzá, after which he returned to Ádharbáyján. His realms now extended from the Turkish frontier on the west to the two 'Iráqs, Kirmán and the shores of the Persian Gulf, thus including nearly the whole of Persia except Khurásán and the Caspian provinces.

Jahánsháh killed by Úzún Ḥasan in A.D. 1467

In 871/1466–7 he attacked Ḥasan Báyandarí, better known as Úzún Ḥasan, intending to conquer his realm of Diyár Bakr, but was surprised

and slain by the latter while tarrying behind his army on a hunting expedition. His two sons were taken prisoners and most of his principal nobles slain. This disaster is commemorated in the following verses:

اردوی جهانشاه بهادر نویان ' با آن همه اسبابِ زبردستی و پُشت '

ثانی عشر ماه ربیع الثّانی ' ویران شد و تاریخ حسن بیك بکُشت '

"The army of Jahánsháh Bahádur Núyán, notwithstanding all the materials of mastery and strength,
On the twelfth of the month of the second Rabí' perished, and the date [of the year was] '*Ḥasan Beg slew* [*him*]'[1]."

Character of Jahánsháh

Of the character of Jahánsháh the Turkish historian *Munajjim-báshí*, from whom the above sketch of the Qára-qoyúnlú dynasty is taken[2], gives a most unfavourable account. According to this writer, he was "a dissolute, immoral, blood-thirsty tyrant, a malignant inclined to heresy and atheism, who paid no heed to the Sacred Law, passed his nights until dawn in revelry and vice, and slept like a dog during the day; for which reason he was called 'the Bat.'" He died at the age of 70 after a reign of 32 years, was buried at Tabríz, and was succeeded by Ḥasan 'Alí, the son whom he had cast off, and who had at one time been protected by Úzún Ḥasan. This son, whose mind is said to have been disordered by his captivity, reigned but a short while in Tabríz ere he was driven thence by Úzún Ḥasan to Hamadán, whither he was pursued and put to death by Úzún Ḥasan's son Oghúrlú Muḥammad in 873/1468–9. With him the Dynasty of the "Black Sheep," or *Qára-qoyúnlú*, came to an end, and was replaced by that of the "White Sheep," or *Áq-qoyúnlú*.

Ḥasan 'Alí

Extinction of the "Black Sheep" Dynasty 873/1468–9

[1] The words *Ḥasan Beg bi-kusht* ("Ḥasan Beg slew") yield in the *abjad* notation the number 872, and the 12th of Rabí' ii in that year corresponds with November 10, 1467.

[2] *Ṣaḥá'ifu'l-Akhbár*, Constantinople edition of A.H. 1285, vol. iii, pp. 150–154.

Diyár Bakr was the original centre of activity of the "White Sheep" or Báyandarí Turkmáns, of whose *amírs*

The "White Sheep" Dynasty. Qára 'Osmán

Bahá'u'd-Dín Qára 'Osmán, known as *Qára Íluk* ("the Black Leech") from his greedy and blood-thirsty character, was the first to achieve fame. Having defeated Qára Yúsuf of the rival "Black Sheep" Turkmáns, he was driven by the envy of his less capable brothers Aḥmad and Pír 'Alí to seek service with Qáḍí Burhánu'd-Dín[1] at Síwás. In 800/1397–8 Qára 'Osmán killed his host and seized his territory, but retired, on learning that an Ottoman army under Prince Sulaymán was advancing on Síwás, to Erzinján. He joined Tímúr in his campaign against Asia Minor and Syria, and received as a reward for his services the town of Diyár Bakr. Shortly afterwards Qára Yúsuf, the "Black Sheep" Turkmán, escaped from Egypt and made war on Qára 'Osmán, but died, as already mentioned, in Dhu'l-Ḥijja 823 (December 1420), and was succeeded by his son Iskandar, who suffered defeat at the hands of Sháh-rukh in the following year.

'Alí Beg b. Qára 'Osmán

Qára 'Osmán died in 838/1434–5, and was succeeded by his son 'Alí Beg, who was compelled by a revolt of his brother Ḥamza to take refuge for a time with the Ottoman Sulṭán Murád II.

'Alí Beg was succeeded by his son Jahángír, who was soon displaced (857/1453) by his more resolute and capable

Jahángír. Úzún Ḥasan ("Ussun Cassano" or "Assambei" of the Venetian ambassadors)

brother Úzún Ḥasan (the "Ussun Cassano" or "Assambei" of Josafa Barbaro), who was by far the most powerful and celebrated of the "White Sheep" Dynasty. He was the grandson of "the Black Leech," and succeeded to the throne at Ámid (Diyár Bakr) in the year mentioned above, which was the year in which the Ottoman Turks

[1] A full account of this remarkable warrior-poet is given by the late Mr E. J. W. Gibb in his *History of Ottoman Poetry*, vol. i, pp. 204–224. Mention of him (under the form "Wurchanadin") is also made by Schiltberger in ch. ix of his *Bondage and Travels*, published in English translation by the Hakluyt Society in 1879, and in the same work there are several references to Qára 'Osmán ("Otman").

captured Constantinople. To the fear inspired in Europe, and especially in Italy, by this fresh evidence of Ottoman power and prowess were due the efforts made by successive Venetian ambassadors to Persia to win the support of Úzún Ḥasan against the Turks, whom it was hoped he might harass on their Eastern frontier and so distract their attention from further conquests in the West. Thus once again since the Mongol Court at Qára-qorum had attracted emissaries from Rome with a similar object, the "Eastern Question" assumed a new importance, and the good will of Persia began to be assiduously sought after by European Powers. These Venetian ambassadors have left descriptions of their voyages and adventures which shed a welcome side-light on the condition of Persia and the character of Úzún Ḥasan, of whom Ramusio, in his Preface to Caterino Zeno's Travels, speaks in the highest terms, even declaring that "amongst all the kings of the East, who existed since the government was taken away from the Persians and transferred to the Greeks, there have been none who equalled the glory of Darius Hystaspes and Ussun Cassano." "It is to be regretted," he adds, "that some Eastern kings, great in power and intellect, have not had historians to celebrate their deeds, since among the Sultans of Egypt and among the Kings of Persia there have been men most excellent in war, and worthy not only of being compared with ancient barbarian kings famous in arms but even with the great Greek and Roman commanders in all those things which constitute able generals of armies[1]." He further speaks with admiration of "the manner in which this Ussun Cassano, a poor nobleman and the weakest in condition of many brothers,...not possessing more than thirty soldiers, besides a small castle, afterwards raised himself to such grandeur that he had the courage to dispute the empire of all Asia with the Ottoman House, which under Muḥammad II (A.D. 1451–1481) was a terror to the

[1] P. 2 of the Hakluyt Society's *Narrative of Italian Travels in Persia in the xvi and xvii Centuries* (1873).

East." Contarini, who was with Úzún Ḥasan in 1474–5, says that he "always drank wine with his meals," and "appeared to be a good liver, and took pleasure in inviting us to partake of the dishes which were before him." "There were constantly present," he continues[1], "a number of players and singers, to whom he commanded whatever he wished to be played or sung, and His Majesty appeared to be of a very merry disposition. He was tall and thin, and had a slightly Tartar expression of countenance, with a constant colour on his face. His hand trembled as he drank. He appeared to be seventy years of age[2]. He was fond of amusing himself in a homely manner; but when too far gone was sometimes dangerous. Take him altogether, however, he was a pleasant gentleman."

Contarini's description of Úzún Ḥasan

No such vivid portrait of this remarkable man is to be found in the pages of any Oriental historian with whom I am acquainted, but the following estimate of his character by *Munajjim-báshí* is worth quoting[3]:

"He was a wise, just, brave, pious, religious and devout King, a friend of learned and godly men, charitable and a public benefactor. He built many buildings for pious uses. As has been mentioned, with but a small army he overcame two such mighty kings as Jahánsháh and Abú Sa'íd; took tribute from Georgia; and ruled over Ádharbáyján, the two 'Iráqs, Kirmán, Fárs, Diyár Bakr, Kurdistán and Armenia."

Munajjim-báshí's description of the same

Concerning his patronage of learned men the same historian remarks on the preceding page: "He adopted Tabríz as his capital, and there assembled from the surrounding lands and provinces many learned men and doctors, who received favours and honours beyond anything which could be expected."

Úzún Ḥasan's patronage of men of letters

[1] Contarini's *Travels to Tana and Persia* in the Hakluyt Society's translation of 1873, pp. 132–3.

[2] He must have looked older than his actual age, which is given by *Munajjim-báshí* as only 54 at his death, two years later (A.D. 1477–8).

[3] *Ṣaḥá'ifu'l-Akhbár*, vol. iii, p. 165.

One of the most celebrated of those men of learning who received honour and rewards at his hands was 'Alí Qúshjí, who passed through his territories on his way home from the pilgrimage to Mecca.

Úzún Ḥasan, while still a young man and only Prince of Diyár Bakr, married a Christian wife, to wit the beautiful Despina Khátún ("Lady Despina"), daughter of Kalo Joannes[1], the last Christian Emperor of Trebizond, of the noble family of the Comneni. She bore him a son and three daughters, one of whom, named Marta, was given in marriage to Shaykh Ḥaydar, the father of Sháh Isma'íl the founder of the Ṣafawí dynasty.

The Lady Despina

The fullest account of Úzún Ḥasan's reign to which I have had access is that contained in the *Ṣaḥá'ifu'l-Akhbár* of *Munajjim-báshí*[2], while another Turkish source from which much information is to be gleaned is the collection of State Papers (*Munshá'át*) of Firídún Bey[3], though the paucity of dates in the dozen despatches interchanged between Úzún Ḥasan and Sulṭán Muḥammad *Fátiḥ* ("the Conqueror") is a matter for regret. The narratives of the Italian ambassadors and travellers already referred to are also of great value. The accounts of the Qára-qoyúnlú and Áq-qoyúnlú dynasties given by Mírkhwánd and other Persian historians are for the most part very meagre and inadequate.

The first three or four years of Úzún Ḥasan's reign (A.D. 1453–1456–7) were chiefly filled by repeated revolts of his brothers, especially Jahángír, against his authority. The scene of these struggles, which were repeatedly composed by Saráy Khátún, the mother of the contending brothers, lay for the most part outside Persia, round about

[1] See the *Travels of a Merchant in Persia* in the already cited volume of the Hakluyt Society, pp. 178–9. He describes "Despinacaton" as "very beautiful, being considered the most beautiful woman of that time, and throughout Persia was spread the fame of her loveliness and grace."

[2] *Ṣaḥá'ifu'l-Akhbár*, vol. iii, pp. 157–164.

[3] Vol. i, pp. 274–286.

Diyár Bakr, Mosul and especially Mardín, which suffered terrible devastation. Jahángír did not hesitate to invoke the help of the rival House of the "Black Sheep" Turkmáns, represented by Jahánsháh[1]. Once during this period Úzún Ḥasan set out on an expedition against Khurásán, but was obliged to turn back to deal with a revolt organized by his brother Jahángír aided by Jahánsháh, who sent one of his generals, Rustam Beg, to his support. The rebels suffered a severe defeat at the hands of Úzún Ḥasan near the Euphrates, in which many of the fugitives were drowned, while five hundred prisoners, including Rustam Beg, were beheaded by Úzún Ḥasan, who, however, at the intercession of his mother, again pardoned his brothers Jahángír and Uways, but took 'Alí Khán, the son of the former, as a hostage to Erzinján.

After this victory (851/1456–7) Úzún Ḥasan's power and prestige were greatly increased, and many *amírs* of Asia Minor and Syria submitted to him. About 864/1459–60 he wrested from the Ayyúbí dynasty the fortress of Ḥiṣn Kayf, where he installed his son Khalílu'llah Mírzá as governor. In the same year Jahánsháh's son Ḥasan 'Alí rebelled against his father and took refuge with Úzún Ḥasan, who, however, after a while drove him away on account of certain heretical opinions ascribed to him. In or before A.D. 1461 Úzún Ḥasan sent his nephew Murád Bey[2] on an embassy to the Ottoman Sulṭán Muḥammad II "the Conqueror" to request him not to molest his father-in-law Kalo Joannes, Emperor of Trebizond. To this request the Turkish Sulṭán paid no attention, but attacked and subdued Trebizond (where David Comnenas had recently succeeded his elder brother Kalo Joannes) and carried off this last

Úzún Ḥasan sends an Embassy to the Ottoman Sultan Muhammad *Fátiḥ*

[1] The "Giansa" of the Venetian travellers.

[2] In 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán Bey Sheref's History, entitled *Ta'ríkh-i-Devlet-i-'Aliyya* (p. 161), Úzún Ḥasan is said to have sent his mother Sára Khátún, who is evidently the same as the "Saráy Khátún" mentioned at the bottom of the preceding page (p. 407).

representative of Byzantine power to Constantinople, where, according to Giovan Maria Angioletto, "he was treated honourably enough, but died before a year was over, in 1462[1]."

The chronology of the wars waged by Úzún Ḥasan against the Ottoman Turks is somewhat confused. *Munajjim-báshí* speaks of a short contest immediately preceding Úzún Ḥasan's first invasion of Georgia in 871/1466–7, and of an embassy headed by Khurshíd Beg which he sent to Sulṭán Muḥammad II "the Conqueror" requesting him not to attack Trebizond, which, as we have seen, had already fallen to the Ottomans in A.D. 1461. On the first of Rabí' ii, 872 (Oct. 30, 1467), however, he defeated the "Black Sheep" Turkmáns near Khúy in Ádharbáyján, and, taking their king Jahánsháh off his guard while he was away from his army on a hunting expedition, cut off his head and sent it to the Tímúrid Sulṭán Abú Sa'íd, while suffering his body to be buried in the grave of his father Qára Yúsuf. He then occupied 'Iráq and Ádharbáyján and besieged Baghdád. The first despatch from Úzún Ḥasan to Sulṭán Muḥammad II recorded by Firídún Bey[2] refers to this victory. It is couched in very respectful terms (unlike some later despatches), but seems to have received no acknowledgement.

Jahánsháh is defeated and put to death by Úzún Ḥasan

The second despatch from Úzún Ḥasan to "the Conqueror" (which, unfortunately, is undated) refers to the next important event in his career, namely the defeat of Jahánsháh's son Ḥasan 'Alí at Marand. This prince, who, as already mentioned, had taken refuge with him some seven years previously, now attacked him to avenge the death of his father Jahánsháh. Úzún Ḥasan invoked the help of the Tímúrid Abú Sa'íd, urging the constant loyalty of his own House of the "White Sheep" to the House of Tímúr, and the disloyalty of the rival "Black Sheep." He also

[1] See this part of the Hakluyt Society's volume above mentioned, p. 74 and note 2 *ad calc.*

[2] *Munshá'át*, vol. i, pp. 274–5.

offered, in return for help, to cede 'Iráq to Abú Sa'íd, provided he might keep Ádharbáyján. Abú Sa'íd, so far from accepting this proposal, immediately marched against Úzún Ḥasan to avenge Jahánsháh's death, but was defeated and captured, together with his sons Muḥammad and Sháh-rukh, and handed over to Yádigár Muḥammad, who killed him to avenge the death of his grandmother Gawhar Shád Khátún. When the Venetian Contarini was received by Úzún Ḥasan in his palace at "Spaan" (Iṣfahán) on Nov. 6, 1474, he noticed "a painting, representing the decapitation of Soltan Busech (*i.e.* Abú Sa'íd), and showing how he was brought by a rope to execution by Curlumameth (*i.e.* Úzún Ḥasan's son Oghúrlu Muḥammad), who had caused the chamber to be made[1]." Abú Sa'íd's body was sent in the charge of his mother (who had also been captured) to Khurásán with all honour and respect. In the same despatch in which Úzún Ḥasan announces to Sulṭán Muḥammad "the Conqueror" the defeat and death of Ḥasan 'Alí and "some 3000 of his men," he announces his capture of Ádharbáyján, 'Iráq, Fárs and Kirmán, and his intention henceforth to fix his capital at Tabríz. This despatch appears to have been sent by the hands of an ambassador, Sayyid Aḥmad Ṭoghán-oghlu.

Sulṭán Abú Sa'íd ("Busech" of the Venetians) taken prisoner and put to death by Úzún Ḥasan

The third despatch from Úzún Ḥasan is still less respectful in its form of address than the preceding one, and is also undated. It mentions the arrival of an Ottoman envoy named Amír Bey, and then proceeds to narrate his negotiations and conflict with, and victory over the Tímúrid Sulṭán Ḥusayn [b. Manṣúr b.] Bayqará, and the manner in which he had divided up and assigned his domains. He also announces his conquest of Khurram-ábád in Luristán.

In a fourth despatch, also undated, in which the great Ottoman conqueror is insultingly addressed as the "most puissant *Amír*...Shamsu'd-Dín Muḥammad Bey," while Shíráz, which he had recently conquered, is described as

[1] P. 131 of the Hakluyt volume already cited.

having become "the Seat of the Throne of Sovereignty and the Station of the Caliphate," he further announces the subjugation of Khúzistán. This at last calls forth a reply which reveals a high degree of exasperation: the Ottoman "Sulṭán Muḥammad, son of Murád, son of Muḥammad, son of Báyazíd" addresses his arrogant correspondent as "thou," warns him not to be puffed up by temporary good fortune, and threatens to march against him in the ensuing month of Shawwál. About the same time he despatched a letter to his son, Prince Muṣṭafá, governor of Qaramán, ordering him to attack Úzún Ḥasan, whom he describes as "deserving of the gibbet and the rope" ("*mustaḥiqq-i-dár u rasan olán Úzún Ḥasan*"); and to this letter we have Prince Muṣṭafá's reply, describing how, aided by his tutor Gedik Aḥmad Pasha, he defeated Úzún Ḥasan's army near Qonya on Saturday, 14th of Rabí' i, 877 (August 19, 1472), and killed his sons Yúsuf, Zaynal and 'Umar. The two last of this series of documents given by Firídún Bey[1] contain Shaykh Áq Shamsu'd-Dín's interpretation of two dreams about Úzún Ḥasan, and are written in Arabic.

Causes of hostility between the Ottoman government and Úzún Ḥasan

The accounts of Úzún Ḥasan's conflict with the Ottomans given by Caterino Zeno[2], Giovan Maria Angioletto[3], and the author of the *Travels of a Merchant in Persia*[4], in conjunction with those of *Munajjim-báshí* and 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán Sheref Bey, though not rich in chronological details, make the causes and course of the struggle pretty clear. Apart from the growing arrogance of Úzún Ḥasan, as revealed in the despatches to which reference is made above, the Ottoman Sultan had against his neighbour four principal causes of complaint, to wit: (1) his negotiations with Venice for a conjoined attack on Turkey from both East and West;

[1] *Munshá'át*, vol. i, pp. 280–2. The date here given (877/1472) does not accord with that (A.D. 1474) given on the next page (line 26), which seems to be the more correct.

[2] See the above-mentioned Hakluyt Society's volume, pp. 14–31.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 74–96.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 180–182.

(2) his attacks on Jahánsháh the "Black Sheep" Turkmán, whom he not only conquered but put to death, and on Sulṭán Ḥusayn Bayqará the Tímúrid, both of whom were in friendly relations with Sulṭán Muḥammad *Fátiḥ*; (3) his promise to support the Christian Emperor of Trebizond against Ottoman aggression; and (4) his protection of Pír Aḥmad (the "Pirameto" of Zeno) and other princes of the Qaramán dynasty, who were the ancient and bitter foes of the House of 'Osmán.

War between Turks and Persians (A.D. 1472–4)

The ensuing war, which began in 877/1472–3 and ended in 878/1473–4, presented two phases, in the first of which the victory was to the Persians and in the second to the Turks. The first battle, which took place on the Euphrates near Malaṭya, was lost chiefly through the rashness of Murád Pasha Palaeologus, the young Beyler-bey of Rumelia (the "Asmurat" of Angioletto). Many Turks were drowned in the "whirlpools" of the river, besides those who were killed, and twelve thousand men, "among whom were several persons of note," were missing when the muster was called in the evening[1]. "Having suffered this defeat," says Angioletto (who was with the Turkish army), "the Turk became very apprehensive, and determined to lead his army back to his country by the shortest route." They therefore retired towards Trebizond, in a valley near which place a second great battle was fought towards the end of August, 1474, in which

Defeat of Úzún Ḥasan by the Turks

Úzún Ḥasan was decisively defeated and his son Zaynal killed, while much spoil fell into the hands of the victors. Prince Muṣṭafá distinguished himself greatly in this battle. "If Ussun Cassano had remained content with his first victory," says Angioletto, "the Turk would have gone away ignominiously, and he would not have lost the territories he did[1]." "This battle," says 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán Sheref Bey[2], "upset the cup of Úzún

[1] See ch. vii of G. M. Angioletto's narrative in the Hakluyt Society's volume, p. 88.

[2] *Ta'ríkh-i-Devlet-i-'Aliyya*, p. 173.

Ḥasan's fortune, and for twenty or thirty years assured the safety of the Sulṭán's eastern frontier."

Úzún Ḥasan now retired to Tabríz, "where he caused games and rejoicings to be held, not caring much for his reverse, as he had lost none of his dominions." His ease was, however, soon troubled by the rebellion of his son Oghúrlú Muḥammad[1], who seized Shíráz, and, on hearing that his father was advancing against him with a great army, fled to Constantinople, where he was received with much honour by the Ottoman Sulṭán, who promised "to make him king of Persia in the room of his father, who was his enemy." Úzún Ḥasan, meeting filial ingratitude with cunning, first feigned illness and then caused a rumour of his death to be circulated.

The stratagem whereby Úzún Ḥasan lures his son back to Persia and puts him to death

"While thus dissembling," says Angioletto[2], "a report was spread abroad to Constantinople that Ussun Cassano had fallen dangerously ill from melancholy, on account of the rebellion of his son, and, a rumour of his having got worse having been whispered about, some of his most faithful adherents, as had been arranged, announced his death, while messengers were sent to Ugurlimehemet with letters and tokens, as is customary, giving information of the death of his father, and begging him to return and take possession of the throne before either of his brothers Halul or Jacob[3] could do so. And in order to give greater semblance to the affair, funeral rites were paid, and his death was really believed in throughout the country. Ugurlimehemet having received three different messengers with secret messages, such as are used in affairs of state, thought it safe to go to Tauris. He arrived there in a few days with a small escort, and, on going to the palace to make himself sovereign, was

[1] Called "Ugurlimehemet" by Angioletto, and "Ungermanmet" by Zeno.

[2] End of ch. ix, p. 96.

[3] *I.e.* Khalíl and Ya'qúb, who actually succeeded in turn to the throne.

taken to where his father was in perfect health, who ordered him to be confined, and afterwards put to death, without showing any consideration for his being his son."

For his defeat by the Ottomans Úzún Ḥasan was in some degree compensated by a victory over the Egyptians, who had taken and ravaged 'Urfa, and a successful campaign in Georgia, from which he obtained a tribute of 16,000 ducats and the surrender of the city of Tiflis. He finally died in 882/1477–8, and was succeeded by his son Khalíl, who, however, had only reigned six months when he was attacked and killed by his brother Ya'qúb[1] near Khúy. This prince reigned for about thirteen years, in the course of which period he killed Shaykh Ḥaydar son of Shaykh Junayd the Ṣafawí (whose growing power and influence caused him alarm) and interned his children (including Isma'íl, the future founder of the Ṣafawí dynasty) at the old Sásánian capital of Iṣtakhr. *Munajjim-báshí* says that he built the beautiful summer palace of the *Hasht Bihisht*, or "Eight Paradises" (the "Astibisti" of the Venetians) outside Tabríz, but the Italian merchant-traveller[2] ascribes its construction to Úzún Ḥasan. Finally, according to the same authority[3] (for the fact is not mentioned by Mírkhwánd or *Munajjim-báshí*), he was poisoned by his wife under the following circumstances.

Sulṭán Khalíl

Ya'qúb's persecution of the Ṣafawís

"He took as his wife a high-born lady, daughter of a Persian noble, but a most licentious woman: having fallen in love with a great lord of the Court, this wicked woman sought means to kill Jacob Sultan her husband, designing to marry her paramour and

How Ya'qúb was poisoned by his wife

[1] According to *Munajjim-báshí* (*Ṣaḥá'ifu'l-Akhbár*, vol. iii, p. 165) Khalíl put to death his brother Maqṣúd, and thereby alienated and alarmed his other brothers.

[2] *Travels of a Merchant in Persia*, in the Hakluyt Society's oft-cited volume, ch. viii, "Description of the Royal Palace built by Assambei outside the city of Tauris," pp. 173–8.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 183–4.

make him king, as, being closely related to Jacob, he would become so by right in default of children. Having arranged matters with him, she prepared an insidious poison for her husband, who, having gone into a perfumed bath, as was his custom, with his young son, aged eight or nine years, remained there from the twenty-second hour until sunset. On coming out he went into the harem, which was close to the bath, where he was met by his wicked wife with a cup and a gold vase containing the poison, which she had got ready while he was in the bath, knowing that it was his custom to have something to drink on coming out of the bath. She caressed him more than usual to effect her wicked purpose; but not having sufficient command over her countenance, became very pale, which excited the suspicion of Jacob, who had already began to distrust her from some of her proceedings. He then commanded her to taste it first, which, although she knew it was certain death, she could not escape and drank some; she then handed the gold cup to her husband Jacob, who, with his son, drank the rest. The poison was so powerful that by midnight they were all dead. The next morning the news was circulated of the sudden death of Jacob Sultan, his son and wife. The great lords, hearing of their king's decease, had quarrels among themselves, so that for five or six years all Persia was in a state of civil war, first one and then another of the nobles becoming Sultan. At last a youth named Alumut, aged fourteen years, was raised to the throne, which he held till the succession of Sheikh Ismail Sultan[1]."

Munajjim-báshí describes Ya'qúb as "disposed to drink and a merry life, and very fond of poetry." "Many poets," he adds, "gathered at his court from all quarters, and composed resonant *qaṣídas* in his praise." He was succeeded by his son Báysunqur, who reigned a year and eight months, when he was replaced by his cousin Rustam, the son of Maqṣúd.

Báysunqur b. Ya'qúb

Rustam b. Maqṣúd

[1] *Munajjim-báshí* merely says (vol. iii, p. 166) that Ya'qúb died in Muḥarram, 896 (Nov.–Dec. 1490).

He marched against Badí'u'z-Zamán the Tímúrid, but ere a battle had taken place in Khurásán was compelled to turn his attention to Iṣfahán, the governor of which city had revolted against his authority. On his approach the governor fled to Qum, but was pursued and killed, and his severed head brought to Rustam. In the same year, 898/1492–3, he sent an expedition against Shírwán, which celebrated its success in the Tímúrian fashion by building pyramids of skulls. From these same Shírwánis, however, Báysunqur raised an army for the invasion of Ádharbáyján, whereupon

Release of the Ṣafawí captives

Rustam released Sulṭán 'Alí and the other Ṣafawí prisoners at Iṣtakhr and sent them to avenge the death of their father, Shaykh Ḥaydar, who had been slain by Báysunqur's father Ya'qúb. Sulṭán 'Alí and his followers were hospitably received at Tabríz by Rustam, and proceeded thence to Ahar, where they defeated and killed Báysunqur. Rustam, relieved of this anxiety, now grew jealous of Sulṭán 'Alí's increasing power and influence, and determined to destroy him. He sent one of his generals with 4000 horsemen after him, and a fierce battle ensued, wherein the Ṣafawís, though only 700 in number, fought valiantly—"like lions," says Angioletto[1]—but were eventually defeated and Sulṭán 'Alí slain, after nominating his young brother Isma'íl as his successor. He and his brother Ibráhím fled to Gílán and Mázandarán, and remained in hiding for some time at Láhíján and Lishta-Nishá, whence Ibráhím presently made his way in disguise to his mother at Ardabíl. Isma'íl remained in Gílán,

Activity of Isma'íl the Ṣafawí

protected by its governor Kár Kiyá Mírzá 'Alí, and an active and successful Shí'ite propaganda was carried on amongst the inhabitants, amongst whom the number of "Ṣúfís of Láhíján" or "Red-heads"

[1] See p. 101 of the Hakluyt volume already so often cited. Caterino Zeno (*Ibid.*, p. 46) says that the Ṣafawí troops, though few, performed prodigies of valour, and there was not one who was not dead or mortally wounded. The Venetians throughout confuse Sulṭán 'Alí with his father Shaykh Ḥaydar ("Secheaidare," "Sechaidar").

(*Qizil-básh*), as they were called[1], continued steadily to increase.

Beginning of Isma'íl's career of conquest

In 905/1499–1500 Isma'íl, then only thirteen years of age[2], marched forth on his career of conquest with the nine tribes which owed him allegiance, to wit the Ustájlú, Shámlú, Takalú, Rúmlú, Wársáq, Dhu'l-Qadar, Afshár, Qájár, and the Ṣúfís of Qára-bágh; and, after formally visiting the tombs of his illustrious ancestors at Ardabíl, and seeking the blessing of his aged mother, advanced by way of Qára-bágh, Gúkcha Deñiz and Erzinján on Shírwán. By this time news had spread abroad that the "Shaykh's son" was about to claim his rights, and his disciples flocked to his standard from Syria, Diyár Bakr and Síwás, so that he now found himself at the head of 7000 men. Crossing the river Kur he attacked Farrukh Yasár, the king of Shírwán and slayer of his father, near Gulistán in the neighbourhood of Shamákhá, killed him, completely routed his army, and occupied Shírwán, where he possessed himself of the royal treasure. He passed the winter at Maḥmúd-ábád near that place, and appointed the Amír Shamsu'd-Dín Zakariyyá his first *Wazír*, the theologian Shamsu'd-Dín Gílání his Chancellor (*Ṣadr*), and Ḥusayn Beg Shámlú and Abdál Beg his counsellors.

The Battle of Shurúr

At this juncture, in 907/1501–2, when he had taken Bákú and was besieging the fortress of Gulistán, news reached him that Alwand Beg, son of Yúsuf Beg of the "White Sheep" Turkmán dynasty, had advanced against him to Nakhjuwán, whither he at once turned his victorious banners. A great battle took place at Shurúr, near Nakhjuwán, between the "White Sheep" Turkmáns, commanded by Amír 'Osmán ('Uthmán) of Mawṣil (Mosul), and the Ṣafawí army, commanded by Pírí Beg

[1] *Munajjim-báshí*, p. 181. The red caps from which they derived their second name are here said to have been first given by Shaykh Ḥaydar to his followers when he attacked Shírwán.

[2] According to *Munajjim-báshí* he was born in Rajab 892 (June–July, 1487).

Qájár. The Turkmáns were utterly defeated and their general captured and put to death. Alwand Beg fled to Diyár Bakr, and Isma'íl occupied Tabríz, where he was crowned King. In the following year, 908/1502–3, he invaded 'Iráq and routed Murád Beg, the last ruler of the "White Sheep" dynasty, who fled to Shíráz, which, together with Kázarún, Kirmán and Yazd, submitted to the victorious Sháh Isma'íl Ṣafawí in the course of the next year or two. He spent the winter of A.D. 1504–5 at Iṣfahán, destined to become the glorious capital of the dynasty of which he had by now so truly and firmly laid the foundations, and here he received an ambassador from the Ottoman Sulṭán Báyazíd II. The fuller history of the origin, development and decline of this great and truly national dynasty will form the subject of the next volume.

Relations between Tímúrids and Ṣafawís

The relations between the Tímúrids and the Ṣafawís, first between Bábur and Sháh Isma'íl and later between Humáyún and Sháh Ṭahmásp, will also be more fully considered in the next volume. On the whole these relations were singularly friendly, in spite of the difference of doctrine which contributed so much to isolate Persia from her Sunní neighbours after the rise of the Ṣafawí power and the definite adoption of the Shí'a creed as the national faith. Bábur and Sháh Isma'íl were united by a common fear and hatred of Shaybání Khán and his terrible Uzbeks, at whose hands the House of Tímúr suffered so much during its last days in Khurásán and Transoxiana. The years 1501–7 were marked by a series of triumphs on the part of Shaybání Khán, who successively seized Samarqand, Farghána, Táshkand, Khwárazm, and finally Khurásán. Sulṭán Ḥusayn, of whose brilliant court at Herát we have already spoken, died in 1506, and the weakness and lack of unity of his sons and younger kinsmen made them an easy prey to Shaybání Khán, who, in the course of 1507, succeeded in defeating and killing all of them with the exception of Sulṭán Ḥusayn's son Badí'u'z-Zamán, who fled for protection first to Sháh

Isma'íl and later to the Ottoman court at Constantinople, where he died. In 1510, however, Sháh Isma'íl marched into Khurásán against the Uzbeks and utterly defeated them at the battle of Merv. Shaybání Khán was amongst the slain. His body was dismembered and his limbs distributed amongst different cities; his skull, set in gold, was made into a drinking-cup for Sháh Isma'íl; the skin of his head, stuffed with straw, was sent to the Ottoman Sulṭán Báyazíd at Constantinople; and one of his hands constituted the gruesome credentials of an envoy sent to one of his vassals, the ruler of Mázandarán[1]. Bábur's sister, Khán-záda Begum, who had fallen into the hands of the Uzbeks ten years before, was delivered from her long captivity by Sháh Isma'íl, and was sent with all honour to her brother, who in his Memoirs[2] gives an interesting account of their meeting. Friendly embassies were interchanged between the two monarchs (for Bábur had already in 1508 formally assumed the title of *Pádisháh* or Emperor), and as Bábur's final abandonment of Transoxiana a year or two later, followed in 1526–9 by his successful invasion of India, which thenceforth became the seat of his government, removed all likelihood of friction between him and the Persians, the friendship thus formed was fairly stable, and was renewed in the next generation by Sháh Ṭahmásp's hospitality to Humáyún when he was temporarily expelled from his kingdom and driven into exile. Indeed the complaisance shown by Bábur towards the strong religious views of Sháh Isma'íl at one time considerably impaired his popularity amongst his subjects beyond the Oxus, who then, as now, were remarkable for their extreme devotion to the Sunní doctrine, which Sháh Isma'íl relentlessly persecuted[3]. Nor were the relations between Persia and India confined to their rulers, for during the

Sháh Isma'íl's victory over the Uzbeks at Merv

Literary intercourse between Persia and India during the Ṣafawí period

[1] See W. Erskine's *History of India, etc.*, vol. i, pp. 303–4.

[2] Ed. Ilminsky, p. 11.

[3] Erskine, *Hist. of India*, vol. i, p. 321.

whole Ṣafawí period, and even beyond it, we shall, in a subsequent volume, meet with a whole series of Persian poets, including some of the most eminent of later days, who emigrated from their own country to India to seek their fortune at the splendid court of the so-called Mogul Emperors, where, until the final extinction of the dynasty in the Indian Mutiny, Persian continued to hold the position not only of the language of diplomacy but of polite intercourse.

CHAPTER VII.

PROSE WRITERS OF THE LATER TÍMÚRID PERIOD.

Enormous literary activity of this period

The literary and artistic wealth of the period now under review has been already summarily indicated in the preceding chapter, and it will be our business in this chapter to discuss in greater detail the work of some of its most eminent representatives in the world of letters. To attempt to treat, even in the briefest manner, of all its notable poets and men of learning would be impossible in any moderate compass. Thus the *Ḥabíbu's-Siyar*, a history specially valuable on account of the biographies of notable writers and poets added as an appendix to each reign or historical period, enumerates no less than 211 persons of this class who flourished during the Tímúrid period, of whom all save 23, who belong to the reign of Tímúr himself, represent the period now engaging our attention[1]. The city of Herát during the reign of Sulṭán Abu'l-Ghází Ḥusayn (A.H. 878–912 = A.D. 1473–1506) may be regarded as the culminating point of this brilliant period, and it derives an additional importance from the great influence which it exercised on the development of Ottoman Turkish literature, a fact duly

[1] These biographical notices all occur in vol. iii, part 3, on the following pages of the Bombay lithographed edition of 1857: pp. 85–92 (reign of Tímúr); pp. 142–150 (reign of Sháh-rukh); pp. 151–161 (reign of Ulugh Beg); pp. 171–174 (reign of Abu'l-Qásim Bábur); pp. 196–201 (reign of Abú Sa'íd); pp. 334–350 (reign of Sulṭán Abu'l-Ghází Ḥusayn b. Bayqará). To these must be added some of those persons who flourished contemporaneously under the patronage of the Turkmáns of the "White Sheep" (*Áq-qoyúnlú*) and early Ṣafawís (vol. iii, part 4, pp. 110–118), who raise the total number of separate biographical notices to 274.

emphasized and fully illustrated by the late Mr E. J. W. Gibb in the second volume of his monumental *History of Ottoman Poetry*.

"This school," he says (pp. 7–8), speaking of what he denotes as "the Second Period," "which cultivated chiefly lyric and romantic poetry, and which was distinguished by its love of artifice, reached its meridian in the latter half of the fifteenth century at the brilliant court of the scholarly and accomplished Sulṭán Ḥusayn [ibn] Bayqará of Herát. Here its spirit and substance were gathered up and summarized in their manifold works by the two greatest men of letters of the day, the poet Jámí and the statesman Mír 'Alí Shír Nawá'í. As these two illustrious writers were the guiding stars of the Ottoman poets during the whole of the Second Period (A.D. 1450–1600), it will be well to look for a moment at their work."

Influence of Jámí, Mír 'Alí Shír Nawá'í etc. on Ottoman Turkish literature

After a brief account of these two eminent men, and an admirable characterization of the school which they represent, Mr Gibb (pp. 12–13) summarizes its chief features as "subjectivity, artificialness, and conventionality, combined with an ever-increasing deftness of craftsmanship and brilliance of artistry." "This all-absorbing passion for rhetoric," he adds, "was the most fatal pitfall on the path of these old poets; and many an otherwise sublime passage is degraded by the obtrusion of some infantile conceit, and many a verse, beautiful in all else, disfigured by the presence of some extravagant simile or grotesque metaphor."

The high esteem in which the poet Jámí was held in Turkey and at the Ottoman Court is proved by two Persian letters addressed to him by Sulṭán Báyazíd II (A.D. 1481–1512) and printed in the *Munshá'át* of Firídún Bey[1]. The first, which is in a highly complimentary strain, was, as we learn from Jámí's answer, written "for no special reason and without the intervention of any demand, out of pure grace and

Jámí honoured by the Ottoman Sulṭán Báyazíd II

[1] Constantinople, Jumáda ii, 1274 (Feb. 1858), vol. i, pp. 361–364.

favour, and sincere virtue and gratitude." In his second letter Sulṭán Báyazíd expresses his gratification at receiving the poet's letter and informs him that he is sending a gift of one thousand florins[1], which gift is gratefully acknowledged by the poet in a second letter sent by the hand of a certain *darwísh* named Muḥammad Badakhshí, who, with some others, was setting out on the pilgrimage to Mecca. Unfortunately none of these four letters are dated. Two other Persian scholars, the philosopher Jalálu'd-Dín Dawání and the theologian Farídu'd-Dín Aḥmad-i-Taftázání, were similarly honoured by the same Sulṭán, but in the last case Taftázání took the initiative (October 25, 1505), while the Sulṭán's answer was not written until July 13, 1507. The great influence exerted on Ottoman poetry by Jámí's illustrious patron, the Minister Mír 'Alí Shír Nawá'í, who was equally distinguished in prose and poetry, both in Eastern Turkish and Persian, is emphasized by Mr E. J. W. Gibb[2]; who also describes[3] how the eminent Ottoman jurisconsult Mu'ayyad-záda 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán Chelebí (afterwards in the reign of Sulṭán Báyazíd II famous as a generous patron of letters and collector of books) being compelled in A.D. 1476–7 to flee from his country, spent seven years at Shíráz studying with the above-mentioned philosopher Jalálu'd-Dín Dawání. It was, in short, during this period which we are now considering that Persia began to exercise over Ottoman Turkish literature the profound influence which in the next period she extended to India.

Other Persian men of letters honoured by Báyazíd II

Nawá'í's influence in Turkey

A Turkish jurisconsult spends seven years in study at Shíráz

From these general considerations we must now pass to a more particular examination of the most eminent prose

[1] "The Ottoman florin was a gold coin of the approximate value of 9 shillings." Gibb's *Ottoman Poetry*, vol. ii, p. 26, *ad calc.*

[2] *History of Ottoman Poetry*, vol. i, p. 128; vol. ii, pp. 10–11, p. 48 and note, *ad calc.*

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. ii, pp. 29–31.

writers of this period, deferring the consideration of the poets to another chapter.

Historians and Biographers.

Historians and Biographers

In this, as in the preceding period, history and biography are well represented, and at least nine or ten writers on these subjects deserve at any rate a brief mention. Speaking generally they are distinctly inferior in quality to their predecessors in the Mongol period, for, while their style is often almost as florid as, though less ingenious than, that of *Waṣṣáf-i-Ḥaḍrat*, they fall far short of him in wealth of detail, breadth of treatment, and citation of documents of historic value, while they compare even more unfavourably with the great historical writers 'Alá'u'd-Dín 'Aṭá Malik-i-Juwayní and Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh. We shall now consider them briefly in chronological order.

(1) *Ḥáfiẓ Abrú.*

Ḥáfiẓ Abrú

Almost all that is known about this historian, whose name is more familiar than his works, which remain unpublished and are very rare even in manuscript, is contained in Rieu's *Persian Catalogues*[1]. His proper name (though otherwise given elsewhere, as we shall presently see) is generally assumed to have been Khwája Núru'd-Dín Luṭfu'lláh. He was born in Herát[2], but in what year is not recorded, and educated in Hamadán. After the death of Tímúr, who showed him marked favour, he attached himself to the court of his son and successor Sháh-rukh, and of his grandson Prince Báysunqur, for whom he wrote his great history. This history, generally known as *Zubdatu't-Tawáríkh* ("the Cream of Histories")

[1] See pp. 421–424 for his geography, and pp. 16–18 of the *Supplement* for his history. A long and careful account of three MSS. of the latter is also given by Baron Victor Rosen in his *Collections Scientifiques* (*Manuscrits persans*), vol. iii, pp. 52–111.

[2] Or Khwáf, according to Faṣíḥí. See p. 426 *infra.*

but called by Faṣíḥí of Khwáf *Majma'u't-Tawáríkh as-Sulṭání* ("the Royal Compendium of Histories"), was concluded in A.H. 829 or 830 (A.D. 1426 or 1427)[1], only three or four years before the author's death. It comprised four volumes, of which, unfortunately, the third and fourth, dealing with the post-Muhammadan Persian dynasties down to the date of composition, appear to be lost[2]. Manuscripts of the first and second volumes exist at St Petersburg and are fully described by Baron V. Rosen[3]; a copy of vol. i, formerly in the collection of the Comte de Gobineau, is now in the British Museum and is numbered **Or. 2774**; and I myself possess a very fine copy of vol. ii (containing the history of Muḥammad and the Caliphate down to its extinction) dated Friday, 15 Sha'bán, 829 (June 22, 1426), and copied in Herát in the very year of the work's completion.

Besides this history, Ḥáfiẓ Abrú also compiled a great geographical work, of which the first volume is represented by a manuscript (**Or. 1577**) in the British Museum (fully described by Rieu[4]), and another in St Petersburg[5]. From this work, composed in 820–823/1417–1420 for Sháh-rukh, Rieu has succeeded in gleaning many particulars of the author's life, and especially of his very extensive travels. He accompanied Tímúr in several of his campaigns, and was with him at the taking of Aleppo and Damascus in 803/1400–1401. When Sháh-rukh succeeded to the throne he settled down in Herát to a life of letters not later than 818/1415–1416, but died at Zanján while returning with the royal cavalcade from Ádharbáyján, and is buried there.

Notice of Ḥáfiẓ Abrú in Faṣíḥí's *Mujmal*

The following short obituary notice of him occurs in the rare *Mujmal* ("Compendium") of Faṣíḥí of Khwáf under the year 833/1429–1430, in which (contrary to most authorities, who give the following year[6]) his death is placed by this writer:

[1] See Rieu's *Pers. Cat.*, p. 422*a*.
[2] See Rosen, *loc. cit.*, p. 53.
[3] See the first foot-note on the preceding page.
[4] *Pers. Cat.*, pp. 421–4.
[5] Rosen, *loc. cit.*, p. 111.
[6] See Rieu's *Persian Cat.*, p. 422, and the chronogram there cited.

"Death of Mawláná Shihábu'd-Dín 'Abdu'lláh of Khwáf[1], known as Ḥáfiẓ Abrú, the compiler of the *Royal Compendium of Histories*, on Sunday the 3rd of Shawwál, at Sarjam, at the time of the return of His Supreme and Imperial Majesty from Ádharbáyjan. He is buried at Zanján near the tomb of the Divine Doctor Akhú Abi'l-Faraj-i-Zanjání[2]."

Free use was made of the *Zubdatu't-Tawáríkh* by the author's younger contemporary 'Abdu'r-Razzáq of Samarqand, of whom we shall shortly have to speak, and half of the geographical work mentioned above consists of a historical summary of post-Muhammadan Persian history, which becomes very detailed in the latter part, down to Ramaḍán 822 (October, 1419). The author's style, so far as can be judged from vol. ii of the *Zubdatu't-Tawáríkh* (the only portion of his work to which I have access) is very simple and direct, and it is greatly to be desired that his works, so far as they are available, should be published.

(2) *Faṣíḥí of Khwáf.*

Faṣíḥí of Khwáf

This notable historian and biographer is known to us only by one book, the *Mujmal*, or "Compendium" of History and Biography, of which, so far as I know, only three manuscripts exist. Of these three MSS. one, belonging to the *Institut des Langues Orientales du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères de St Pétersbourg* is described by Baron V. Rosen[3], whose description is supplementary to the fuller and earlier one of Dorn. One of the two others belonged to the late Colonel Raverty, the Pushtú scholar, from whose widow it was purchased in 1907 by the trustees of the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial." The third was given to me by my excellent friend Mr Guy le Strange, who bought it from the late Sir Albert Houtum-

[1] The discrepancy between the name and birthplace as given here and elsewhere has been already noticed on p. 424 *supra*.

[2] See Jámí's *Nafaḥátu'l-Uns*, ed. Nassau Lees, p. 166, where he is called Akhí Faraj-i-Zanjání, and is said to have died in 457/1065.

[3] *Collections Scientifiques de l'Institut... Manuscrits persans*, pp. 111–113.

Schindler. It is much more modern than the Raverty MS., but is accurate and well-written, and has a lacuna of only ten years (A.H. 834–844 = A.D. 1430–1440) instead of the hundred and twenty-two (A.H. 718–840 = A.D. 1318–1437) which are wanting in the other.

Description of Faṣíḥí's *Mujmal*

In 1915 the expatriated Belgian professors of oriental languages temporarily resident in Cambridge brought out at the University Press there a number of the *Muséon*, to which, at their kind invitation, I contributed an article of thirty pages on this interesting work, with numerous extracts, based on the two English manuscripts, both of which were then in my keeping. The *Mujmal*, as I there pointed out, consists of an Introduction, two Discourses, and a Conclusion. The Introduction epitomizes the history of the world from its creation to the birth of the Prophet Muḥammad. The first Discourse continues the history down to the *hijra*, or flight of the Prophet from Mecca to al-Madína. The second Discourse, which is by far the largest and most important part of the book, contains the history of the years A.H. 1–845 (A.D. 622–1442). The Conclusion, which is unfortunately missing in all known manuscripts, contains an account of the city of Herát, the author's birth-place and home, and its history in pre-Muhammadan times.

Biography of Faṣíḥí

All that we know of the author, Faṣíḥí of Khwáf, is derived from this book, and I have found no mention of him elsewhere. Rosen says that he was born in 777/1375–6, but I have not been able to verify this statement from the *Mujmal*. In 807/1404–5 he was employed with three other persons whom he names on business connected with the Treasury. In 818/1415–6 he accompanied Sháh-rukh to Shíráz to subdue the rebellious activities of the latter's nephew Prince Bayqará. In 825/1422 he was sent to Kirmán on business connected with the Treasury. In 827/1424 he returned thence to Bádghís. In 828/1424–5 he obtained favourable notice and State employment from Prince Báysunqur.

Under the year 841/1437–8 he cites some verses by Shihábu'd-Dín 'Azízu'lláh of Khwáf commemorating the birth of a son on the 24th of Dhu'l-Ḥijja (June 18, 1438). In 842/1438–9 he mentions the birth of his grandson Mughíthu'd-Dín Abú Naṣr Muḥammad ibn Maḥmúd on the 10th of Dhu'l-Qa'da (April 24, 1439). In 843/1439–40 he had the misfortune to offend and to be imprisoned by Gawhar Shád Áqá, and he was again imprisoned in 845/1441–2, with which year the chronicle ends (though the date 849/1445 is mentioned in a verse with which one of the MSS. concludes), and it was apparently in that year, on the 15th of Dhu'l-Ḥijja (April 26, 1442), that he presented his book to Sháh-rukh.

Characteristics of Faṣíḥí's *Mujmal*

The detailed account of Faṣíḥí's *Mujmal* which I published in the Cambridge number of the *Muséon* to which reference has been already made absolves me from the necessity of enlarging on its contents in this place. Its two chief features are a great simplicity of style and a special attention to matters of literary interest[1]. It is arranged in the form of a chronicle, the events of each year, including the deaths of eminent persons of all sorts, being grouped together under that year, and in the necrological part it is remarkable how large is the proportion of poets and men of letters, more especially, of course, of such as belonged to Khurásán and Transoxiana. Moreover it is evident that Faṣíḥí drew his information to a large extent from sources other than those employed by later and better known biographers and historians, which fact gives a special value to his work.

(3) *Kamálu'd-Dín 'Abdu'r-Razzáq of Samarqand.*

Though born at Herát in 816/1413[2], 'Abdu'r-Razzáq is called "of Samarqand," which was the native place of his father Mawláná Jalálu'd-Dín Isḥáq, a judge and chaplain in

[1] See pp. 57–8 of my article in the *Muséon*.

[2] The *Ḥabíbu's-Siyar* gives the date of his birth as the 12th of Sha'bán in this year (Nov. 7, 1413).

Sháh-rukh's army. At the age of 25, in 841/1437–8, after his father's death, 'Abdu'r-Razzáq attracted the notice of that monarch by a grammatical treatise which he had composed and dedicated to him. Four years later, in 845/1441–2, he was sent to India on a special mission to the king of Bíjánagar, which lasted three years, and of which he gives a detailed narrative in his history. In 850/1446–7 he was sent on a mission to Gílán; and, on the death of Sháh-rukh in this same year, he was successively attached to the service of Mírzá 'Abdu'l-Laṭíf, 'Abdu'lláh, Abu'l-Qásim Bábur, and lastly of Abú Sa'íd. He afterwards retired into private life, became Shaykh of the monastery or *Khánqáh* of Sháh-rukh in Herát in 867/1463, and died there in 887/1482. All these particulars are taken from Rieu's *Persian Catalogue*[1], and are for the most part derived either from the historian's own statements or from the notice of him contained in the *Ḥabíbu's-Siyar*[2]. The fullest account of his life and work is that given by Quatremère in the *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*[3], and other references will be found in Rieu's *Catalogue*.

'Abdu'r-Razzáq of Samarqand

So far as is known, 'Abdu'r-Razzáq produced only one great work, to wit the history entitled *Maṭla'u's-Sa'dayn* ("the Dawn of the two Auspicious Planets"), which comprises two volumes and covers a period of 170 years extending from the birth of the last Mongol ruler of Persia, Abú Sa'íd, in 704/1304–5 to the death of his namesake the great-grandson of Tímúr[4], these two Abú Sa'íds being, presumably, the "two Auspicious Planets." The first volume ends with the death of Tímúr in 807/1405. Reference has been already

'Abdu'r-Razzáq's history, the *Maṭla'u's-Sa'dayn*

[1] Pp. 181–3.

[2] Vol. iii, part 3, p. 335.

[3] Vol. xiv, pp. 1–514.

[4] Abú Sa'íd the Tímúrid (the "Busech" of the Venetian ambassadors to Persia) was captured and put to death by Úzún Ḥasan in 873/1468–9, and the history is continued a year or two beyond this to 875/1470–1.

made to the curious coincidence, noticed by the author of the *Maṭla'u's-Sa'dayn*, that the date of the death of the last great Mongol ruler of Persia, Abú Sa'íd, corresponds almost exactly with the birth of Tímúr, the founder of the next great Tartar Empire in Central Asia[1].

Value of the *Maṭla'u's-Sa'dayn*, and need of an edition

Manuscripts of the *Maṭla'u's-Sa'dayn*, though not very common, are to be found in most large collections, and, so far as I have seen, are generally above the average in point of excellence and accuracy[2]. The work, though based to a considerable extent on the *Zubdatu't-Tawáríkh* of Ḥáfiẓ Abrú, is of great importance, and a critical edition of it is much needed, for it deals in a very detailed manner with a very important period of Persian history, and is the work of one who wrote at first hand and took an active part in many of the events which he describes.

(4) *Mu'ínu'd-Dín Muḥammad of Isfizár.*

Mu'ínu'd-Dín-i-Isfizárí

Mu'ínu'd-Dín-i-Isfizárí is chiefly notable on account of his monograph on the history of Herát entitled *Rawḍatu'l-Jannát fí Ta'ríkhi Madínati Herát*, written for Sulṭán Ḥusayn Abu'l-Ghází, and carried down to the year 875/1470–1; but he was also skilled in the epistolary style (*tarassul*) of the Court and of Diplomacy, on which he compiled a manual, and was besides something of a poet[3]. Three MSS. of the History of Herát are preserved in the British Museum[4]; another, belonging to Mr A. G. Ellis, copied in 1073/1663, has been generously placed at my disposal by the owner; and yet another, belonging to the late Sir A. Houtum-Schindler, came into my possession in Jan.

MSS. of his History of Herát

[1] See p. 159 *supra*.

[2] There is a MS. of the work in 2 vols. (**Or. 267** and **268**) in the Cambridge University Library, and a much better one (**Dd. 3. 5**), dated 989/1582, in the Library of Christ's College, Cambridge.

[3] *Ḥabíbu's-Siyar*, vol. iii, part 3, p. 342.

[4] See Rieu's *Pers. Cat.*, pp. 206–7, and his *Supplement*, p. 64.

1917. A detailed account of this important work, written in French by the late M. Barbier de Meynard, was published in the *Journal Asiatique*, 5th Series, vol. xvi, pp. 461–520. It is divided into 26 *Rawḍas* or "Gardens," of which i–vi treat of the city of Herát, its environs, topography and excellence, and its earlier rulers in Muḥammadan times; vii–viii of the Kurt dynasty and its overthrow by Tímúr; and the remainder of the history of Tímúr and his successors down to the second accession of Sulṭán Ḥusayn Abu'l-Ghází. The name of the month of Ṣafar (شهر صفر), in which the book was completed, yields by the *abjad* computation the date of completion, 875 (August, 1470). The author enumerates amongst his sources the histories of Abú Isḥáq Aḥmad b. Yá-Sín, Shaykh 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán Fámí, and Sayfí of Herát, as well as the *Kurt-náma*, or "Book of the Kurt Dynasty" of Rabí'í of Búshanj. He also cites the above-mentioned *Maṭla'u's-Sa'dayn* in at least one place (in Rawḍa xiii).

(5) *Muḥammad b. Kháwand Sháh b. Maḥmúd*, commonly called *Mírkhwánd*.

Mírkhwánd

Mírkhwánd's voluminous general history, the *Rawḍatu's-Ṣafá*, is perhaps the best-known work of this sort in Persia, and has attracted a quite undue amount of attention. It has been published in lithographed editions at Bombay (1271/1854–5) and Ṭihrán (1270–4/1854–8), while a Turkish translation was printed at Constantinople in 1258/1842. A number of separate portions, dealing with particular dynasties, have been printed, with or without translations, in Europe; and of an English translation of the earlier portion by Mr Rehatsek three or four volumes were published under the auspices of the Royal Asiatic Society. These, it must be admitted with regret, are of no great value, for, apart from the fact that any student desirous of acquainting himself with the ideas of the Muslims as to the prophets, patriarchs and

kings of olden time would prefer to seek his information from earlier and more trustworthy sources, the translation itself is both inaccurate and singularly uncouth, nor is it to be desired that English readers should form their ideas even of the verbose and florid style of Mírkhwánd from a rendering which is needlessly grotesque. The esteem in which this history is still held in Persia, however, is sufficiently shown by the fact that one of the greatest Persian writers of modern times, Riḍá-qulí Khán *Lálá-báshí*, poetically surnamed *Hidáyat*, thought it worth while to add a Supplement bringing the narrative down to his own time, a few years after the middle of the nineteenth century. This Supplement is a valuable source of information for the history of modern Persia, including the rise of the Bábí religion and the civil wars and persecutions connected therewith, but its consideration naturally belongs to a later period.

Riḍá-qulí Khán's Supplement to the *Rawḍatu's-Ṣafá*

Of Mírkhwánd's life not much is recorded, even by his admiring grandson Khwándamír, the author of the *Ḥabíbu's-Siyar*. His father Sayyid Burhánu'd-Dín, a native of Bukhárá, migrated to Balkh, where he died. Mírkhwánd spent most of his life at Herát under the protection and patronage of that Maecenas of the age Mír 'Alí Shír Nawá'í, and died there, after a long illness, on the 2nd of Dhu'l-Qa'da, 903 (June 22, 1498) at the age of sixty-six[1]. Of the seven books into which the historical part of the *Rawḍatu's-Ṣafá* is divided, the *first* contains the history of the patriarchs, prophets, and pre-Muhammadan kings of Persia; the *second*, that of the Prophet Muḥammad and the Four Orthodox Caliphs; the *third*, that of the Twelve Imáms and the Umayyad and 'Abbásid Caliphs; the *fourth*, that of the post-Muhammadan dynasties of Persia down to the irruption of Tímúr; the *fifth*, that of the Mongols and

Biography of Mírkhwánd

Contents of the *Rawḍatu's-Ṣafá*

[1] See *Ḥabíbu's-Siyar*, part 3, vol. iii, p. 339; Rieu's *Pers. Cat.*, pp. 87–8; S. de Sacy's *Notice sur Mirkhond* in his *Mémoire sur les Antiquités de la Perse*, and other references given by Rieu.

Tartars down to Tímúr; the *sixth*, that of Tímúr and his successors to 873/1468–9; while the *seventh*, which has been continued by another hand (probably the author's grandson Khwándamír) to a period several years later than Mírkhwánd's death, is wholly devoted to the life and reign of his patron Abu'l-Ghází Sulṭán Ḥusayn, who died in 912/1506–7. The two last books (vi and vii), which deal with the author's own time, are naturally of much greater worth and authority than the earlier portions, and it is a pity that the attention of students of this history has not been more concentrated on them. The style employed by Mírkhwánd is much more florid and bombastic than that of the preceding historians mentioned in this chapter, and in this respect is typical of much that was written about this time. This style, imported into India by Bábur, continued to flourish at the court of the "Great Moguls" and gave rise to the prevalent idea that this floridity and bombast are essentially Persian, which is far from the truth, for both in earlier and later times many notable works were written with a simplicity and sobriety which leave little to be desired. It was under Tartar, Turkish, Indian, and other non-Íránian patronage that this inflated rhetoric especially flourished, and the Ottoman Turks in particular developed it to a very high degree. Sir Charles Eliot in his *Turkey in Europe* (new edition, 1908, p. 106) has described it in words so admirable that I cannot refrain from quoting them here:

Sir Charles Eliot on the natural inclination of the Turks to the grand style

"The combination of dignity and fatuity which this style affords is unrivalled. There is something contagious in its ineffable complacency, unruffled by the most palpable facts. Everything is sublime, everybody magnanimous and prosperous. We move among the cardinal virtues and their appropriate rewards (may God increase them!), and, secure in the shadow of the ever-victorious Caliph, are only dimly conscious of the existence of tributary European powers and ungrateful Christian subjects. Can any Western poet transport his readers into a more enchanted land?"

(6) *Khwándamír.*

Khwándamír

One is much tempted to include amongst the historians of this epoch Mírkhwánd's grandson Khwándamír, on the threefold ground that he also was one of the many writers and artists who owed his success in large measure to the enlightened patronage of Mír 'Alí Shír Nawá'í; that he belonged not merely to the same circle as Mírkhwánd, but was his disciple as well as his grandson; and lastly, that his first work, the *Khuláṣatu'l-Akhbár*, or "Quintessence of Histories," was not only in essence an abridgement of the *Rawḍatu'ṣ-Ṣafá*, but was actually written in 905/1499–1500, two years before the end of the period with which this chapter deals. His greater work, however, the *Ḥabíbu's-Siyar*, so often cited in this and the preceding chapter, was not written until 929/1523, and he lived until 941/1534–5, so that he really belongs more properly to the next period, and may be more appropriately considered in connection with the founder of the Ṣafawí dynasty, Sháh Isma'íl, with a long account of whose reign the *Ḥabíbu's-Siyar* concludes.

Biographical Works.

After the historians come the biographers, of whose works five or six deserve notice, to wit Dawlatsháh's "Memoirs of the Poets" (*Tadhkiratu'sh-Shu'ará*); Mír 'Alí Shír Nawá'í's *Majálisu'n-Nafá'is* (which, however, is in the Turkí, not the Persian language); Jámí's "Lives of the Saints" (*Nafaḥátu'l-Uns*); Abu'l-Ghází Sulṭán Ḥusayn's "Assemblies of Lovers" (*Majálisu'l-'Ushsháq*); Ḥusayn Wá'iẓ-i-Káshifí's "Mausoleum of Martyrs" (*Rawḍatu'sh-Shuhadá*) and the *Rashaḥát* of his son 'Alí. Each of these works will be briefly considered here; but as Nawá'í, Jámí, and Ḥusayn Wá'iẓ-i-Káshifí are more celebrated in other capacities than as biographers, their lives will be more appropriately sketched when we come to speak of writers belonging to other categories.

(1) Jámí's *Nafaḥátu'l-Uns* and *Baháristán.*

Jámí's *Nafaḥátu'l-Uns* and *Baháristán*

Mullá Núru'd-Dín 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán Jámí, who derives his last and best-known name, which he uses in his poems as his *takhalluṣ* or *nom-de-guerre*, from the town of Jám in Khurásán where he was born on November 7, 1414[1], was equally remarkable for the quality and the quantity of his literary work. He is often described (wrongly, in my opinion, for reasons which will be given later) as "the last great classical poet of Persia," and it is as a mystical poet of remarkable grace and fertility of imagination that he is chiefly known. Like his great predecessor of the thirteenth century, Shaykh Farídu'd-Dín 'Aṭṭár, who even excelled him in fecundity, though he fell short of him in grace, he composed, besides his numerous poems, a great Biography of Mystic Saints entitled *Nafaḥátu'l-Uns*, or "Breaths of Fellowship." This book, of which a good edition was printed at Calcutta in 1859, with an excellent notice of the author by W. Nassau Lees, comprises 740 pages, contains the lives of 611 Ṣúfí saints, male and female, and is one of the most useful and easily available sources of information on this subject. It was written in 881/1476, and contains, besides the biographical notices, which are arranged more or less in chronological order, and conclude with the poets Ḥáfiẓ, Kamál of Khujand, Maghribí, and others who flourished at the end of Tímúr's and beginning of Sháh-rukh's reign, an Introduction of 34 pages dealing, in nine sections, with various matters connected with the doctrine, practice and history of the Ṣúfís or Muhammadan mystics.

The book is written in the simple and direct style suitable to such a work; and indeed Jámí's taste was too good and his sincerity too great to allow him to fall into the verbosity and bombast which mar so many books of this period.

[1] Sha'bán 23, A.H. 817.

Another of Jámí's prose works, the *Baháristán*, or "Spring-land," of which the form seems to have been suggested by Sa'dí's *Gulistán* or "Rose-garden," contains some biographical matter in chapter i, dealing with the sayings of the saints, and chapter vii, on poetry and poets. This work, however, is designed rather to yield amusement and instruction than accurate biographical information. In style it is distinctly more ornate than the *Nafaḥátu'l-Uns*. An English translation was published by the so-called "Káma-Shastra Society."

Jámí's *Baháristán*

(2) Dawlatsháh's *Tadhkiratu'sh-Shu'arά*.

Amír Dawlatsháh, son of 'Alá'u'd-Dawla Bakhtísháh Ghází of Samarqand, is the author of the best known "Memoirs of the Poets" existing in Persian, and is chiefly responsible, through his interpreter to the West, Von Hammer[1], for the perspective in which the Persian poets stand in European eyes. His "Memoirs" are divided into seven *Ṭabaqát* or Generations, each containing accounts of some twenty more or less contemporary poets and the princes under whose patronage they flourished. There is also an Introduction on the art of Poetry, and a Conclusion dealing with seven poets contemporary with the author and the virtues and accomplishments of his royal patron Abu'l-Ghází Sulṭán Ḥusayn. This is an entertaining but inaccurate work, containing a good selection of verses and a quantity of historical errors which have in some cases misled even such good and careful scholars as Rieu. The book was lithographed in Bombay in 1887 and published by me from a selection of the best available manuscripts in 1901 as the first volume of my short-lived "Persian Historical Texts Series." A Turkish version by Sulaymán Fahmí was also published in Constantinople in 1259/1843 under the title of *Safínatu'sh-Shu'arά*.

Dawlatsháh

[1] *Geschichte der schönen Redekünste Persiens, mit einen Blüthenlese aus zweihundert persischen Dichtern* (Vienna, 1818).

Biography of Dawlatsháh

The oldest account of Dawlatsháh is that given by his contemporary Mír 'Alí Shír Nawá'í in his *Majálisu'n-Nafá'is*, which will be mentioned directly. A notice is devoted to him in chapter vi of that work, dealing with "sundry gentlemen and noblemen of Khurásán and other places whose ingenuity and talent impelled them to write poetry, but who, by reason of their high estate and exalted rank, did not persevere therein." He is there described as "a wholly excellent youth, unassuming and of good parts," who relinquished worldly pomp and power for a life of seclusion and study, and "composed a Corpus Poetarum on the very same subject which is treated in this manual." After praising this work, Nawá'í adds that news had recently been received of his death, which the *Mir'átu's-Ṣafá*, according to Rieu[1], places in 900/1494–5. This does not agree with the statement of Nawá'í, who wrote in 896/1490–1, unless the report of Dawlatsháh's death which reached him was false. Dawlatsháh's "Memoir" was composed in 892/1487, when he was about fifty years of age. Of the living contemporary poets whom he mentions Jámí is by far the most eminent, and I believe that the notion prevalent amongst Persian students in Europe that he is "the last great classical poet of Persia" arises ultimately from the fact that, directly or indirectly, they derive their ideas from Dawlatsháh[2].

(3) Mír 'Alí Shír Nawá'í's *Majálisu'n-Nafá'is*.

The *Majálisu'n-Nafá'is* of Mír 'Alí Shír Nawá'í

Of Mír 'Alí Shír Nawá'í, the patron of a whole circle of poets, writers and artists, and himself a poet of no mean order, something has been said already, and more remains to be said. For the moment we are only concerned with his biographical work, the *Majálisu'n-Nafá'is*, written in the Eastern Turkí or

[1] *Pers. Cat.*, p. 354.

[2] Of the meagre information about Dawlatsháh which can be deduced from his book, an epitome will be found in my edition of his "Memoirs," p. 15 of the Preface.

Chaghatáy dialect of Turkish which he did so much to popularize and refine. This work, of which I possess a fine manuscript, transcribed in 937/1530–1 at Samarqand, was composed in 896/1490–1, and comprises an Introduction and eight books.

Book i treats of poets who died while the author was still young and whom he never had the good fortune to meet, of whom the first and most important is Qásimu'l-Anwár, who actually died in 835/1431–2, nine years before 'Alí Shír was born. Other celebrated poets mentioned in this chapter are Ádharí of Isfará'in, Kátibí, Khayálí, Bisáṭí, Síbak, Qudsí, Ṭúsí, Bábá-Sawdá'í, Badakhshí, Ṭálib of Jájarm, 'Árifí, Masíḥí, Sháhí of Sabzawár, etc.

Book ii treats of poets whom the author had known personally, but who were dead at the time his book was written. Of these the first and most celebrated is Sharafu'd-Dín 'Alí of Yazd, the author of the well-known history of Tímúr known as the *Ẓafar-náma.*

Book iii treats of poets who were flourishing when the author wrote and with whom he was personally acquainted, such as Amír Shaykhum Suhaylí, Sayfí, Áṣafí, Banná'í and Ahlí of Turshíz.

Book iv treats of eminent and pious men who, though not primarily poets, wrote occasional verses, such as Ḥusayn Wá'iẓ-i-Káshifí, the historian Mírkhwánd, etc.

Book v treats of Princes and members of the Royal Family in Khurásán and elsewhere who wrote occasional verses.

Book vi treats of scholars, poets and wits, not natives of Khurásán, who shewed poetic talent.

Book vii treats of Kings and Princes who have either composed verses, or cited the verses of others so appropriately as to entitle them to rank with poets. Amongst the rulers mentioned in this chapter are Tímúr himself, Sháh-rukh, Khalíl Sulṭán, Ulugh Beg, Báysunqur Mírzá, 'Abdu'l-Laṭíf Mírzá, and other Princes of the reigning house of Tímúr.

Book viii treats of the virtues and talents of the reigning King Abu'l-Ghází Sulṭán Ḥusayn ibn Bayqará, to the political events of whose reign, as M. Belin observes in the monograph on Mír 'Alí Shír which will be mentioned immediately, Mírkhwánd devotes the seventh book of his *Rawḍatu'ṣ-Ṣafá*[1].

The monograph mentioned in the last sentence, which contains the best account of Mír 'Alí Shír and his works with which I am acquainted, was published in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1861 and also as a *tirage-à-part* comprising 158 pages. It is entitled *Notice biographique et littéraire sur Mir Ali-Chir Névâii, suivie d'extraits tirés des œuvres du même auteur, par M. Belin, Secrétaire-Interprète de l'Ambassade de France à Constantinople.* The extracts from the *Majálisu'n-Nafá'is* (or "Galerie des Poètes" as Belin translates it) include the text and translations of the Introduction and Book vii. These suffice to give an adequate idea of the style and scope of the work, which, apart from the fact that it is written in Turkí instead of in Persian, differs from Dawlatsháh's *Memoirs* in being much smaller in extent, and in dealing only with contemporary poets. It is worth noting that while, as we have already seen, Nawá'í exercised a great influence over the development of Ottoman Turkish poetry, the Ottoman poets seem to have been entirely unknown to, or at least ignored by, him.

(4) Abu'l-Ghází Sulṭán Ḥusayn's *Majálisu'l-'Ushsháq.*

The *Majálisu'l-'Ushsháq*

But for the principle embodied in the well-known Arabic saying, "the Words of Kings are the Kings of Words," and the fact that another royal biographer, Sám Mírzá the Ṣafawí, has described it as supplying adequate proof of its author's literary gifts[2], this book, "the Conferences of Lovers," compiled by Sulṭán Ḥusayn in 908–9/1502–3, hardly deserves to be mentioned

[1] See p. 433 *supra.*

[2] See Rieu's *Pers. Cat.*, pp. 351–3.

as a serious biographical work. Beginning with a flowery Preface, filled with citations from the mystical poets, on "real" (*i.e.* ideal) and "metaphorical" (*i.e.* material) love, and the latter considered as a bridge to the former[1], the author proceeds to give 76 (or in some MSS. 77) articles, each entitled *Majlis* ("Conference" or "Séance"), and each containing a more or less romantic account of some saintly or royal personage, and, in most cases, of some Platonic love-affair in which he was concerned. As Rieu has pointed out, the first 55 articles follow a chronological order, beginning with the Imám Ja'far aṣ-Ṣádiq (d. 151/768), and ending with the author's contemporary the eminent poet Jámí (d. 898/1492–3). The last notice in the book is devoted to the author himself "Sulṭán Ḥusayn ibn Sulṭán Manṣúr ibn Báyqará ibn 'Umar Shaykh ibn Tímúr Kúrkán." The title of the book, *Majálisu'l-'Ushsháq*, is given in the following verse:

بُود چون پُر ز حرفِ عشق اوراق ' نام کردش مجالس العُشّاق '

The only copy of this book which I have been able to consult is a modern but clearly written manuscript bearing the class-mark **Or. 761** recently acquired by the Cambridge University Library, but I am informed that a lithographed edition has been published at Lucknow.

It should be added, however, that the great Bábur disputes the authorship of this book (*Bábur-náma*, ed. Ilminsky, p. 221), which he criticizes very harshly, and which he declares was really written by Kamálu'd-Dín Ḥusayn Gázargáhí, one of the pseudo-Ṣúfís who frequented the society and enjoyed the patronage of Mír 'Alí Shír Nawá'í. To this point I shall recur in discussing the work in question.

[1] According to the well-known saying of the Ṣúfí mystics: "*Al-Majázu qanṭaratu'l-Ḥaqíqat*" ("the Phenomenal is the Bridge to the Real").

(5) Ḥusayn Wá'iẓ-i-Káshifí's *Rawḍatu'sh-Shuhadá.*

Ḥusayn-i-Káshifí, surnamed *Wá'iẓ* ("the Preacher"), is better known as the author of that famous but over-estimated work the *Anwár-i-Suhaylí*, of which we shall speak presently; but his "Mausoleum" (or "Garden") "of Martyrs," which depicts in a rhetorical manner the persecutions and martyrdoms of the Prophets and Imáms, especially of the Prophet Muḥammad's grandson Ḥusayn, the third Imám of the Shí'ites, and the vengeance which overtook their persecutors, though of no great account from a historical point of view, deserves mention in this place. It is fully described by Rieu[1], and has been lithographed at Lahore in 1287/1870–1. It was translated into Turkish by the poet Fuḍúlí of Baghdad[2], with some additions, about half a century after its original composition.

The *Rawḍatu 'sh-Shuhadá* of Ḥusayn Wá'iẓ-i-Káshifí

(6) The *Rashaḥát-i-'Aynu'l-Ḥayát*, by the son of Ḥusayn-i-Káshifí.

This work, though composed in 909/1503–4 (a date indicated by the first word of its title *Rashaḥát*, or "Sprinklings") and therefore falling just outside the period dealt with in this chapter, had best be considered here, since its author 'Alí was the son of Ḥusayn-i-Káshifí, the author of the work last mentioned, while it was based on notes taken in Dhu'l-Qa'da 889 (Nov.–Dec. 1484) and Rabí' ii 893 (March–April, 1488) on the occasion of the writer's visits to Khwája 'Ubaydu'lláh (better known as Khwája Aḥrár), the great Naqshbandí Shaykh, whose predecessors, life, teachings, miracles and disciples form its subject-matter. A manuscript of this book is preserved in the British Museum and is fully described by Rieu[3], but it is not common, and, so far as I know, has never been published in its original form, though

The *Rashaḥát-i-'Aynu'l-Ḥayát*

[1] *Pers. Cat.*, pp. 152–3.

[2] See E. J. W. Gibb's *History of Ottoman Poetry*, vol. iii, p. 90. Fuḍúlí died in 963/1555–6.

[3] *Pers. Cat.*, pp. 353–4.

a Turkish translation was printed at Constantinople in 1236/1820–1.

Religion, Mysticism and Philosophy.

Less numerous and important in this period than the histories and biographies above enumerated are the works belonging to the above categories, but there are one or two of each class which deserve at least a brief notice.

(1) Ḥusayn-i-Káshifí's *Mawáhib-i-'Aliyya*[1].

The *Mawáhib-i-'Aliyya*, a commentary on the *Qur'án*

Ḥusayn-i-Káshifí, who has been already mentioned as the author of the *Rawḍatu'sh-Shuhadá*, also compiled for Mír 'Alí Shír a Persian Commentary on the *Qur'án*, which, in allusion to his patron's name, he entitled *Mawáhib-i-'Aliyya*. His original plan had been to write in four volumes a much larger and more detailed Commentary, entitled *Jawáhiru't-Tafsír li-Tuḥfati'l-Amír* ("Gems of Exegesis for a Gift to the Amír"), but after finishing the first volume he resolved to moderate his ambitions and write a much smaller, simpler and more concise work on the same subject, to wit the *Mawáhib*, or "Gifts," which he completed in 899/1493–4, eleven years before his death. Manuscripts of this book are not rare, but it is not often heard of, much less studied, at the present day in Persia. In India, however, I am informed that it is still widely read, and that it has been published there, though I have never seen a printed or lithographed edition.

(2) *Akhláq-i-Jalálí* and (3) *Akhláq-i-Muḥsiní*.

The three most popular treatises on Ethics in Persian

Of the older manuals of Ethics in Persian, the two best known and most popular after the *Akhláq-i-Náṣirí* (written about the middle of the thirteenth century of the Christian era by the celebrated astronomer Naṣíru'd-Dín-i-Ṭúsí[2]) are the *Akhláq-i-Jalálí* (properly entitled *Lawámi'u'l-*

[1] See Rieu's *Persian Cat.*, pp. 9–11.

[2] See Rieu's *Persian Cat.*, pp. 441–2, and vol. ii of my *Literary History of Persia*, pp. 220, 456 and 485.

Ishráq fí Makárimi'l-Akhláq) composed by the philosopher Jalálu'd-Dín Dawáni between A.D. 1467 and 1477, and dedicated to Úzún Ḥasan of the Áq-qoyúnlú or "White Sheep" dynasty; and the *Akhláq-i-Muḥsiní* compiled by the already mentioned Ḥusayn-i-Káshifí, "the Preacher," in 900/1494–5, and dedicated to Abu'l-Ghází Sulṭán Ḥusayn ibn Bayqará. All three books are available in printed or lithographed editions, which are enumerated by Rieu, and of that last mentioned both the text (A.D. 1823 and 1850) and the translation (A.D. 1851) have been printed at Hertford, for this book was, like its author's other work the *Anwár-i-Suhaylí*, formerly popular (especially as a text-book for examinations) amongst Anglo-Indian officials.

The *Akhláq-i-Jalálí* and *Akhláq-i-Muḥsiní*

It is to Metaphysics and Mysticism rather than to Ethics that the Persian genius turns, and none of these three books can be regarded as having any great value, except incidentally, as throwing light on Persian customs, institutions and ways of thought. The *Akhláq-i-Jalálí* is much the most florid in style, and used formerly to be regularly prescribed in the second or advanced part of Persian in the Oriental (formerly Indian) Languages Tripos at Cambridge, on account of its supposed difficulty, which, however, lies rather in the form than the substance. Aristotle, as interpreted by Avicenna (Abu 'Alí ibn Síná), has in the main determined the form and arrangement of Muhammadan Philosophy, which is primarily divided into "Practical Philosophy" (*Ḥikmat-i-'Amalí*) and "Theoretical Philosophy" (*Ḥikmat-i-Naẓarí*). Of these two main divisions each is subdivided into three branches: the Theoretical into Mathematics (*Riyáḍiyyát*), Physical Science (*Ṭabí'iyyát*), and Metaphysics (*Má fawqa'ṭ-Ṭabí'at* or *Má ba'da'ṭ-Ṭabí'at*); and the Practical into Ethics (*Tahdhíbu'l-Akhláq*), Œconomics (*Tadbíru'l-Manzil*), and Politics (*Siyásatu'l-Mudun*). It is with the three branches of the second division that the works now under consideration deal. The two which belong to this period have both been translated into English and

printed, the *Akhláq-i-Jalálí* by W. F. Thompson (London, 1839) under the title of "Practical Philosophy of the Muhammadan People"; and the *Akhláq-i-Muḥsiní* (Hertford, 1851) by H. G. Keene. The English reader who desires to acquaint himself with their contents can, therefore, easily do so, and no further description of them is required in this place.

Jalálu'd-Dín-i-Dawání

As regards their authors, Jalálu'd-Dín-i-Dawání was born in 830/1426–7 at the village of Dawán (from which he derives his *nisba*) in the province of Fárs near Kázarún, where his father was Qáḍí or judge. He himself held the same office in the province and was also a professor at the *Dáru'l-Aytám* or Orphans' College at Shíráz, where he passed most of his life. He died and was buried at his native place in 908/1502–3[1]. His fame even during his life-time spread far beyond the confines of his native land, and, as we have seen[2], received recognition even at the distant Ottoman Court. In spite of his fame, he seems to have left but little behind him besides his work on Ethics, except some Quatrains, written and commentated by himself, and an explanation of one of the odes of Ḥáfiẓ.

To Ḥusayn-i-Káshifí we shall recur later.

(4) The *Jawáhiru'l-Asrár*, (5) the *Lawá'iḥ*, and (6) the *Ashi"atu'l-Lama'át*.

Three mystical prose works

Of the rich mystical literature of this period the major portion, which is in verse, will be discussed when we come to speak of the poets. Of the prose portion the three books mentioned above may be taken as typical. Two are commentaries on earlier texts, while the third is an independent work.

The *Jawáhiru'l-Asrár wa Zawáhiru'l-Anwár* ("Gems of Mysteries and Manifestations of Lights") is a commentary on the great *Mystical Mathnawí* of Mawláná

[1] See Rieu's *Persian Cat.*, pp. 442–3.

[2] See p. 423 *supra*.

Jalálu'd-Dín Rúmí by Kamálu'd-Dín Ḥusayn b. Ḥasan of Khwárazm, the author or translator of several other works[1], who was killed by the Uzbeks some time between 835 and 840 (A.D. 1432–37). He was the pupil of a somewhat celebrated Ṣúfí Shaykh, Khwája Abu'l-Wafá, had assiduously studied the *Mathnawí* from his youth upwards, and had already written a briefer commentary on it entitled *Kunúzu'l-Ḥaqá'iq* ("Treasures of Truths"). The *Jawáhiru'l-Asrár*, the later and fuller commentary, has been lithographed in India. There is a manuscript of the first half in the British Museum[2], and one of the second Book (or *Daftar*) in the Cambridge University Library[3], besides a lithographed Indian edition. The most important part of the work is the Introduction, which deals with the history, terminology and doctrines of the Ṣúfís.

The *Jawáhiru'l-Asrár*

The two other works mentioned above are from the fertile pen of the great poet and mystic Mullá Núru'd-Dín 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán Jámí.

The *Ashi"atu'l-Lama'át*, or "Rays of the 'Flashes,'" is a running commentary on the *Lama'át* of 'Iráqí, which has been already discussed in a previous chapter[4]. Apart from manuscripts, which are not very common, the text has been published in Persia in an undated volume containing this and several other mystical treatises. Of the genesis of the work Jámí speaks thus in his Preface:

Jámí's *Ashi"atu'l-Lama'át*

"It is represented that at the time when the learned, practising, gnostic lover, the author of excellent prose and admirable verse, that cup-bearer of the bowl of generosity to men of high aspirations, Fakhru'd-Dín Ibráhím of Hamadán, commonly known as 'Iráqí, attained to the society of that Exemplar of learned seekers after Truth and that Model of Unitarian Gnostics Abu'l-Ma'álí Ṣadru'l-Ḥaqq Wa'l-Millat wa'd-Dín Muḥammad of Qúnya[5]

Quotation from the Preface

[1] See Rieu's *Persian Cat.*, pp. 144–6.

[2] Add. 14051. See Rieu's *Persian Cat.*, p. 558.

[3] Marked Or. 238.

[4] See pp. 132–9 *supra*.

[5] Or *Qonya*, the old Iconium.

(may God most High sanctify their secrets!), and heard from him the truths contained in the *Fuṣúṣu'l-Ḥikam*[1], he compiled a short manual, which, inasmuch as it comprised several "flashes" from the lightnings of these truths, he entitled *Lama'át*. Therein, in pleasant phrases and with charming allusions, he flung together jewels of verse and prose and mingled aphorisms Arabic and Persian, from which the signs of learning and wisdom were apparent, and in which the lights of taste and ecstasy were manifest, such as might awaken the sleeper, render him who is awakened cognizant of the mysteries, kindle the fire of Love and put in motion the chain of longing.

"But since the author ['Iráqí] had become the target of the tongues of '*the vilifiers of sundry men of good repute*,' and had suffered at the hands of '*certain ill-conditioned wanderers from the path*[2],' the blindly orthodox have imposed on him the stigma of repudiation, and withdrawn from him the skirt of acceptance. This humble writer also, in view of this rejection and repudiation, abstained from preoccupying himself therewith; until the most illustrious of the 'Brethren of Purity' in this country, and the most glorious of the friends of constancy (may God cause him to walk in the ways of His adept servants!), whose auspicious name has been enunciated in the course of this prayer in the best form of enigma and allusion between God and His servants, requested me to collate and correct the text thereof; which request could only be met with obedience. When I entered on this business, and ran over the details of its component parts, I saw in every leaf thereof a 'Flash' from the lights of Truths, and perceived in every page a gust of the declaration of Divine Wisdom. The heart was attracted to the understanding of its subtleties, and the mind was troubled at the difficulty of comprehending its purport. Manuscripts of the text differed, and some of them appeared to be perverted from the path of accuracy. In certain cases of concision and passages of difficulty reference was made to the commentaries on it; but neither was any difficulty solved thereby, nor in any of them was any concise statement properly amplified. As a necessary consequence, this thought passed through a heart disposed to the understanding of subtleties, and this wish established itself in a mind regardful of the essence of truths, that, to correct its sentences and elucidate its hints, a commentary should be compiled gleaned from the sayings of the elders of the Path and leaders in the Truth, especially

Unjust aspersions on 'Iráqí

[1] A well-known and highly esteemed mystical work in Arabic by Shaykh Muḥyi'd-Dín ibnu'l-'Arabí. See vol. ii of my *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, pp. 497–501.

[2] These two half-verses are from a quatrain generally ascribed to 'Umar Khayyám. See E. H. Whinfield's edition and versified translation, No. 199, pp. 134–5.

those two great Shaykhs Muḥyi'd-Dín Muḥammad ibnu'l-'Arabí and his disciple and pupil Ṣadru'd-Dín Muḥammad of Qúnya and their followers (may God most High sanctify their secrets!). So, in consequence of these promptings, the mind decided on undertaking this difficult task, which it brought to a conclusion, by the assistance of God's Grace, in the shortest time. And since most of the statements which are included in this commentary are of the kind which have shone forth upon the heart from the consideration of the luminous words of the text, it is proper that it should be named 'Rays of the "Flashes,"' and should be represented to the eyes of students by this description. It is hoped of such as regard justly, though not of scoffers characterized by obstinacy, that when they take this manual into their consideration, and devote their thoughts to its perusal, wherever they see aught of goodness and perfection they will account it the gift of God (Glory be to Him and exalted is He!), whilst wherever they find any fault or defect they will attribute it to the impotence and shortcomings of humanity; and that they will not specially make the humble author a target for the arrows of reproach, nor cast themselves into the vortex of evil-seeking and evil-saying. *We ask aid from God, to whom be glory!*"

This Introduction is followed by a long dissertation on various points in the philosophy of the Mystics, together with questions and answers designed to elucidate special difficulties, after which the running commentary on the text follows. The book ends with the following Perso-Arabic chronogram, in which the word *tammamtuhu* (تَمَّمْتُهُ, "I completed it") gives the date of completion as 885 (A.D. 1480–81):

بآثامِ هستی است جامی اسیر‘ مَحَى ٱللَّهُ آثَارَ آثَامِهِ‘
بتسویدِ این شرح توفیق یافت‘ مُقِرّاً بزلّاتِ أَقْدَامِهِ‘
وَ إِذْ قَالَ تَمَّمْتُهُ قَدْ بَدَا‘ بِمَا قَالَ تَارِيخُ إِتْمَامِهِ‘

Jámí's *Lawá'iḥ*

The *Lawá'iḥ*—a word which also, like *Lama'át*, means "Flashes" or "Effulgences" of Light—is a mystical treatise in prose mixed with quatrains comprising thirty sections called "Flashes." It has been published in *fac-simile* with a Preface, translation and appendices,

by Mr E. H. Whinfield, who has made such valuable contributions to our knowledge of Persian mysticism, aided by that great scholar Mírzá Muḥammad ibn 'Abdu'l-Wahháb of Qazwín. This little volume, the sixteenth in the New Series of the Oriental Translation Fund, was published in 1906 under the auspices of the Royal Asiatic Society, and, since it is easily accessible to English readers, any lengthy account of it would be superfluous. One of the most beautiful things in it, in my opinion, is the prayer which follows the Exordium and precedes the Preface, and which runs as follows:

الٰهی الٰهی خَلِّصْنَا مِنَ الاشتغال بالملاهی و أرِنا حقائق الاشیاء کما هی، غشاوتِ غفلت از بصرِ بصیرتِ ما بکشای و هر چیزرا چنانکه هست بما بنمای، نیستی‌را بر ما در صورتِ هستی جلوه مده، و از نیستی بر جمالِ هستی پرده منه، این صُوَرِ خیالی‌را آئینهٔ تجلّیاتِ جمالِ خود گردان نه علّتِ حجاب و دوری، و این نقوشِ وهمی‌را سرمایهٔ دانائی و بینائیِ ما گردان نه آلتِ جهالت و کوری، محرومی و مهجوریِ ما همه از ماست مارا بما مگذار مارا از ما رهائی کرامت کن و با خود آشنائی ارزانی دار،

"My God, my God! Save us from preoccupation with trifles, and show us the realities of things as they are! Withdraw from the eyes of our understanding the veil of heedlessness, and show us everything as it truly is! Display not to us Not-Being in the guise of Being, and place not a veil of Not-Being over the Beauty of Being. Make these phenomenal forms a Mirror of the Effulgences of Thy Beauty, not a cause of veiling and remoteness, and cause these phantasmal pictures to become the means of our knowledge and vision, not a cause of ignorance and blindness. All our deprivation and banishment is from ourselves: leave us not with ourselves, but grant us deliverance from ourselves, and vouchsafe us knowledge of Thyself!"

Jámí's prayer for spiritual enlightenment

Literature of the Ḥurúfí Sect.

In the account of the Ḥurúfí heresy given in the last chapter (pp. 365–375 *supra*) incidental mention has been made of the principal books emanating from or connected with that strange sect. From the purely literary point of view most of these (with the exception of a few poems like the *Iskandar-náma* published and translated by M. Cl. Huart in vol. ix of the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series) are of little merit[1], though to the student of religion and the psychologist they are deeply interesting. To the uninitiated reader Faḍlu'lláh's *Jáwidán-náma*, whatever esoteric mysteries it may contain, is a series of disconnected and almost unintelligible ravings, and the only one of his extant writings which strikes anything approaching a human note is a letter addressed to one of his disciples on the eve of his execution. From this letter it appears that Faḍlu'lláh was put to death at Shírwán, which, in allusion to the scene of the Imám Ḥusayn's martyrdom, he speaks of as "my Karbalá[2]."

Diffusion of the Ḥurúfí heresy in Turkey

In Persia, as already observed, the sect does not seem to have played an important *rôle*, or to have long survived the death of its founder and his immediate successor. In Turkey, whither it soon spread, it was far otherwise. There, in spite of several severe persecutions recorded by the Turkish historians, it counted many adherents, amongst the most famous of whom was the poet Nasímí (Nesímí), who was skinned alive for his heterodoxy in 820/1417–8, in the city of Aleppo. An admirable account of him and the Ḥurúfí sect is given by the late Mr E. J. W. Gibb[3], and also of his chief disciple, the Turkish poet Rafí'í, author of the

[1] This refers only to the Persian Ḥurúfí writings, for, as already indicated (p. 369, n. 1 *supra*), Mr Gibb regards Nesímí as "the first true poet of the Western Turks."

[2] See my second paper on the Ḥurúfís in the *J.R.A.S.* for July, 1907, pp. 9 and 10 of the *tirage-à-part*, where both text and translation are given.

[3] *History of Ottoman Poetry*, vol. i, pp. 336–388.

Bashárat-náma. Here it may be observed that the titles of nearly all Ḥurúfí works are compounded with the word *-náma*, "book." Thus in Persian we have the *Ádam-náma* ("Book of Adam," or "Book of Man"), the *'Arsh-náma* ("Book of God's Throne"), *Hidáyat-náma* ("Book of Guidance"), *Istiwá-náma*, *Kursí-náma*, *Maḥabbat-náma*, etc., and in Turkish, besides the above-mentioned *Bashárat-náma* ("Book of Good Tidings"), the *Ákhirat-náma*, *Faḍílat-náma*, *Faqr-náma*, *Fayḍ-náma*, *Ganj-náma*, *Ḥaqíqat-náma*, *'Ishq-náma*, and many others, of which the titles will be found in the Index appended to my second article on the Ḥurúfí Literature in the *J. R. A. S.* for July, 1907, where short descriptions of 45 Ḥurúfí MSS. are given. The list of works in that Index is undoubtedly far from complete, yet even these have for the most part received only the most cursory examination, so that there is plenty of scope for further research in this field. Ordinary curiosity about the sect and its history and literature will, however, be amply satisfied by what has been already published about it in English and French: to wit, my account of the *Jáwidán-i-Kabír*[1] and my two papers in the *J. R. A. S.* (for 1898 and 1907); the chapter in Mr E. J. W. Gibb's *History of Ottoman Poetry*; and vol. ix of the Gibb Memorial Series, published in 1909, entitled *Textes Persans relatifs à la secte des Houroûfís, publiés, traduits et annotés par M. Clément Huart, suivis d'une Étude sur la Religion des Houroûfís, par le Docteur Riẓá Tevfíq, connu sous le nom de Feylesouf Riẓá.*

Accounts of the Ḥurúfí sect in English and French

Isḥáq Efendi's refutation of the Ḥurúfís, written in Turkish in 1288/1871–2, and published in 1291/1874, under the title of the *Revealer of Mysteries and Repeller of Miscreants*[2], though very violent in tone, is fairly accurate in substance, and is the result of careful though prejudiced investigations. After a very brief doxology it begins as follows:

Isḥáq Efendi's refutation of the Ḥurúfís

[1] See my *Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the Cambridge University Library*, pp. 69–86.

[2] *Káshifu'l-Asrár wa Dáfi'u'l-Ashrár.*

"Be it known that of all those sects which devote themselves to the misleading of the Muslims, the Bektáshís are the chief offenders, and that although it is evident both from their deeds and words that they are not truly Muslims, yet in the year 1288/1871–2 they made this fact perfectly plain. The books called by these people *Jáwidán* ('Eternal') are six in number, of which one was composed by their original misleader Faḍlu'lláh the Ḥurúfí, while the other five are the works of his *Khalífas* (successors). And since in these five books their heresies and blasphemies are very evident, they are accustomed to teach and study them secretly among themselves; but as Firishta-záda in his *Jáwidán*, entitled *'Ishq-náma* ('the Book of Love'), did in some degree veil his blasphemies, and as consequently in the year above-mentioned (1288/1871–2) his followers made so bold as to print and publish it, it has beyond question become a matter of urgent necessity that a treatise should be compiled to warn the faithful as to the true nature and blasphemous character of the doctrines contained in their books. Therefore, relying on God, I have ventured to write such a treatise, comprising three chapters, *viz.*:

"*Chapter I.*—Setting forth the origin of Faḍl the Ḥurúfí, and the principles and rules of certain of the Bektáshís.

"*Chapter II.*—Setting forth the blasphemies of Firishta-záda's *Jáwidán.*

"*Chapter III.*—Setting forth the blasphemies contained in the other *Jáwidáns.*"

After a brief account of the Carmathians and other early heretics, and of Faḍlu'lláh of Astarábád, the founder of the Ḥurúfí sect, the author describes how "the son of Tímúr" (Mírán-sháh) caused him to be put to death, "after which he tied a rope to his legs, dragged him publicly through the streets and *bázárs*, and removed his foul existence from this nether world." Thereupon his nine *Khalífas* or "Vicars" dispersed through the lands of Islám, and he who was entitled *al-'Aliyyu'l-A'lá* ("the High, the Supreme")[1] came to the monastery of Ḥájji Bektásh in Anatolia, and, having won the confidence of its inmates, began secretly to teach the doctrines of the *Jáwidán*, pretending that they represented the esoteric doctrine of Ḥájji Bektásh, and naming them "the Secret," to divulge which was death. For the understanding of certain obscure symbols and passages in

[1] He died in 822/1419.

the *Jávidán*, a key entitled "the Key of Life" (*Miftáḥu'l-Ḥayát*)[1] was compiled. "Should one possess this," adds the author, "he will understand the *Jávidán*, which, without this aid, is incomprehensible."

Persecutions of the Ḥurúfís in Turkey

In spite of all their precautions, however, several severe persecutions of the Ḥurúfís and Bektáshís took place in Turkey, one of the latest of which was in 1240/1824–5, in the reign of Sulṭán Maḥmúd, who killed many of them, destroyed their monasteries, and made over their property to the Naqshbandí order of dervishes. Many of their surviving Shaykhs and ordinary members took refuge amongst the Naqshbandí, Qádirí, Rufá'í and Sa'dí orders of dervishes, and cautiously carried on their propaganda in these new environments. The order, however, speedily revived, and is still widely spread in Turkey, to which country rather than to Persia the later history of the Ḥurúfí sect belongs. Of the continued existence of the sect in Persia there appears to be no evidence, though doubtless many of their doctrines and ideas are still current amongst the dervish "gnostics" (*'urafá*) of that unforgetting land, while some of their peculiar views and terminology have been assimilated by such later heretical sects as the Bábís, who will be discussed in the concluding volume of this work.

The Turkí literature of this period, especially the Bábur-náma.

Claims of Turkí literature to some consideration even in a Literary History of Persia

The principle has been repeatedly laid down in this book that the literary history of a people in the wider sense should not be confined to what they wrote in their own language, and for this reason Arabic books written by Persians have been included in our survey. The case for saying something about the considerable Turkí

[1] Three MSS. of this "Key" are described in my second paper on the *Literature of the Ḥurúfís*, *viz.* Or. 5957 of the British Museum; Or. 488 of the Cambridge University Library; and a MS. of my own, B. 15.

literature produced at the Tímúrid courts, especially at Herát during the reign of Sulṭán Abu'l-Ghází Ḥusayn (A.H. 878–912 = A.D. 1473–1506), is not quite so strong, because those who produced it were for the most part, if not wholly, of Turkish race; though since in Transoxiana and Turkistán the two languages flourished (and, indeed, still flourish) side by side, the number of bilinguals must always have been considerable. The Persian, as being the more polished idiom, was more generally used, even by princes of the House of Tímúr like Ulugh Beg, Báysunqur, Mírzá Ḥaydar Dughlát and Sulṭán Ḥusayn himself, for literary purposes; but the great Mír 'Alí Shír Nawá'í, who did more than any other man to raise the Chaghatáy Turkí to the dignity of a literary language, actually maintained its superiority to Persian in a treatise entitled *Muḥákamatu'l-Lughatayn* ("the Arbitration between the two languages"). Of some of Mír 'Alí Shír's numerous works something has been already said, and those who desire fuller information can find it in M. Belin's monograph in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1861, already mentioned, and in another monograph of his on the *Maḥbúbu'l-Qulúb*[1] ("Hearts' Darling") published in the same periodical in 1866 under the title of *Caractères, Maximes et Pensées de Mîr Alî Chîr Névâïi.* Dawlatsháh also in the Conclusion (*Khátima*) of his *Memoirs of the Poets* mentions several other eminent Turkí poets amongst his contemporaries, while numerous other works in this tongue, both in prose and verse, will be found mentioned in Rieu's *Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts in the British Museum.* Yet, save to the student of Turkish in its wider sense, it is doubtful if the interest of this literature would be commensurate with the trouble of learning this particular dialect of Turkí, were it not for the sake of reading in its original form that unique work, the *Bábur-náma*, or Memoirs of the Emperor Bábur, of which at any rate the French or the English

Services of Mír 'Alí Shír Nawá'í to the Turkí language and literature

Unique character of Bábur's *Memoirs*

[1] The text of this has been printed (I think at Constantinople) in 189/1872-3.

translation should be read by every student of Persian or Indian history[1]. Enthusiastic as are the praises lavished on this most remarkable book, "singular in its own nature, and perfectly so if we consider the circumstances of the writer," by Erskine[2], Pavet de Courteille[3], and all others who have worked at it, no one who has perused its pages will deem them exaggerated. It is impossible to better the description of it given by Elphinstone[4], who describes it as containing "a minute account of the life of a great Tartar monarch, along with a natural effusion of his opinions and feelings free from disguise and reserve, and no less free from all affectation of extreme frankness and candour. The style is plain and manly, as well as lively and picturesque; it presents his countrymen and contemporaries in their appearance, manners, pursuits and actions as clearly as in a mirror. In this respect it is almost the only specimen of real history in Asia; for the ordinary writers, though they give pompous accounts of the deeds and ceremonies of the great, are apt to omit the lives and manners even of that class; while everything beneath their level is left entirely out of sight. In Báber the figures, dress, tastes and habits of each individual introduced are described with such minuteness and reality that we seem to live among them, and to know their persons as well as we do their characters. His descriptions of the countries he visited, their scenery, climate, productions, and works of art and industry are more full and accurate than will, perhaps, be found in equal space in any modern traveller; and, considering the circumstances in which they were compiled, are truly surprising."

Eulogies on the *Memoirs* by all who have made use of them

The book is, indeed, extraordinarily frank and intimate,

[1] Pavet de Courteille's French translation was made directly from the original Turkí, and is therefore preferable to Leyden and Erskine's English translation, which was made from the Persian version.

[2] *History of India*, vol. i, pp. 522–525.

[3] P. ii of the Preface to his translation.

[4] Vol. ii of his *History of India*, pp. 117–119.

being such a diary as a man writes for his own private delectation rather than for the perusal of even his most confidential friends, much less subjects; and probably no king at any rate ever wrote, or at any rate suffered to be circulated, such Confessions. While recording fully the many great historical events in which he took part, he does not hesitate to mention when he shaved for the first time[1] at the age of 23 in the year 909/1503–4; when he saw the star Canopus for the first time[2]; how he was first induced to taste wine[3] at Herát in 912/1506–7; and when he made his first attempt to write Turkí verse[4]. He describes his unhappy marriage with 'Á'isha Sulṭán Begum[5], his reckless and unrestrained passion for Báburí[6], his drinking-bouts[7], his favourite vintage[8], and how on one occasion he refrained from exceeding at a drinking-party in order to form an impartial opinion as to the effects of drunkenness on others[9]. Mention has already been made of the value of his geographical observations, but his notes on the fauna and flora of Central Asia and India are of nearly equal interest, while his impartial and acute delineations of the characters and personal peculiarities of his royal kinsmen and most notable contemporaries are of the highest interest and value. From our present point of view, however, no portion of his Memoirs is more interesting than that which he devotes to a series of literary portraits of the leading poets, writers and artists[10] who conferred such distinction on the court of Sulṭán Abu'l-Ghází Ḥusayn, beginning with that monarch himself and his eminent and accomplished minister Mír 'Alí Shír Nawá'í[11]. As the whole of it may be read in French in the first volume of Pavet de

Descriptions of men of letters and artists in the *Bábur-náma*

[1] *Bábur-náma*, ed. Ilminsky, p. 146.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 153.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 239.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 107.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 62.
[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 62–63.
[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 291, 293, 305.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 6.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 304.
[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 221–231.
[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 203–214.

Courteille's translation (pp. 364–415), it will be sufficient here to summarize a few of the more interesting passages.

Description of Sulṭán Ḥusayn

Having spoken of Sulṭán Ḥusayn's birth, death, family and personal appearance, Bábur mentions the predilection for the Shí'ite doctrine which he showed at the beginning of his reign, but which was checked by Mír 'Alí Shír. Chronic rheumatism prevented him from saying his prayers, but is no explanation of his neglect to keep the fast. After he had reigned six or seven years he took to drink, "and during the forty years for which he reigned over Khurásán, there was not a day whereon he did not drink after the morning prayer though he never drank in the early morning." His sons, soldiers and subjects imitated his example, and were for the most part dissolute and self-indulgent. He was, however, of proved valour, a very skilful swordsman, and wrote moderately good poetry in the Turkí language under the *nom de guerre* of Ḥasan. His kingdom of Khurásán extended eastwards to Balkh, westwards to Bisṭám and Dámghán, northwards to Khwárazm (Khiva), and southwards to Qandahár and Sístán. "His was a wonderful age," says Bábur a little further on; "Khurásán, and especially Herát, were filled with men of talent and incomparable artists. Whoever undertook any task, his aim and ambition was to perform it to perfection."

Of Mír 'Alí Shír Nawá'í

Mír 'Alí Shír Nawá'í is next discussed, and a high tribute is paid to his poetical talent, alike in romantic and lyric verse and in the quatrain, but his epistolary style is rated lower. Though he wrote chiefly in Turkí, he has also a Persian *Díwán*, in which he uses the pen-name of Fání. He was a great patron of art as well as of letters, and the fame attained by the painters Bihzád and Sháh Muẓaffar was largely due to his encouragement. He was devout, orthodox, and attentive to his religious duties, and was an enthusiastic chess-player. In this last respect he was excelled by Mír Murtáḍ the philosopher, who, when he found two good

players, would play a game with one while he held on to the skirt of the other to prevent him from going away until he had played a game with him also. He was a batchelor, without domestic ties, and very free and easy with his intimates. Thus on one occasion while engaged in playing chess he stretched out his foot and accidentally kicked the poet Banná'í, whereupon he jestingly exclaimed, "A plague on Herát! If you stretch out your feet, you kick the back-side of a poet." "And so you do if you draw in your feet[1]," retorted Banná'í.

Shaykhum Beg Suhaylí

Shaykhum Beg, who assumed the pen-name of Suhaylí, was another of Sulṭán Ḥusayn's *amírs* who had some poetical talent, but was criticized for an undue partiality for terrifying words and ideas. Thus on one occasion he recited the following verse in the presence of Jámí:

شبِ غم گردبادِ آهم از جا بُرْد گردونرا
فرو خورد اژدهای سیلِ اشکم ربع مسکونرا

"In the night of grief the whirl-wind of my sighs displaced the world;
The dragon of my tear-torrent engulfed the habitable quarter [of the globe]."

"Do you want to write poetry or to frighten your fellow-creatures?" Jámí enquired.

Kamálu'd-Dín Gázargáhí

"Kamálu'd-Dín Ḥusayn Gázargáhí," says Bábur a little further on[2], "although he was not a Ṣúfí, posed as such. Pretended Ṣúfís of this type were wont to gather round 'Alí Shír Beg and indulge in their ecstasies and religious music. This man's principles were better than most of them, and to this fact he probably owed the consideration which he enjoyed, for otherwise he had no special talent worth mentioning. He wrote a book entitled *Majálisu'l-'Ushsháq* ("Lovers' Meetings") of which he ascribed the authorship to Ḥusayn

[1] *I.e.* "sit on your heels" in the Persian fashion.
[2] Ed. Ilminsky, p. 221.

Mírzá[1]. It is a miserable production, mostly lies, and insipid and impertinent lies to boot, some of which raise a suspicion of heresy. Thus he attributes carnal loves to many prophets and saints, inventing for each one of them a paramour. Another astonishing piece of folly is that while describing the book in the preface as the work of Sulṭán Ḥusayn Mírzá himself, over every one of his own verses and sonnets occurring in the course of the book he puts 'by the author.'"

Jámí and Sayfu'd-Dín Taftázání

Of Jámí, by far the greatest poet of the time, Bábur refrains from uttering any criticism, because, he says, "he stands too high to need any praise," wherefore he only mentions his name "for luck and for a blessing." He praises the Arabic scholarship and theological attainments of the Shaykhu'l-Islám Sayfu'd-Dín Aḥmad, son of the celebrated Sa'du'd-Dín Taftázání, who is said to have regularly attended public prayer for nearly seventy years, and who was finally put to death by Sháh Isma'íl when he took Herát for refusing to conform to the Shí'ite doctrines and observances so fanatically insisted on by that monarch. A longer notice is devoted to Jámí's pupil and disciple Mullá 'Abdu'l-Ghafúr of Lár, who commentated his master's *Nafaḥátu'l-Uns*, and whose partiality for the society of dervishes was such that when he heard of one who had newly arrived he could not rest until he had seen and talked with him. Mention is next made of Mír 'Aṭá'u'lláh of Mashhad, a good Arabic scholar, who also composed in Persian a treatise on rhyme, of which Bábur considers the chief defect to be that the author's illustrations are all drawn from his own poems, as well as another treatise on rhetorical figures entitled *Badáyi'u'ṣ-Ṣanáyi'*.

'Abdu'l-Ghafúr-i-Lárí

Amongst the poets, besides those already noticed, of whom he makes mention are Áṣafí, Banná'í, Sayfí of Bukhárá

[1] Cf. pp. 439–440 *supra*.

(the author of a useful treatise on Prosody[1]), Hátifí (Jámí's nephew) also known as 'Abdu'lláh-i-*Mathnawí-gú*, Mír Ḥusayn *Mu'ammá'í*, Muḥammad of Badakhshán, Yúsuf Badí'í, Áhí, Muḥammad Ṣáliḥ, Sháh Ḥusayn Kámí, Ahlí and Hilálí, the last of whom Bábur criticizes very severely for the subject-matter and treatment of his poem "The Prince and the Beggar" (*Sháh u Darwísh* or *Sháh u Gadá*). Of the many calligraphists at the court he mentions only Sulṭán 'Alí of Mashhad, who copied manuscripts both for Sulṭán Ḥusayn and for Mír 'Alí Shír; and of the miniature-painters Bihzád and Sháh Muẓaffar, who was also a poet. His criticism on Bihzád's portraits is that though he drew bearded faces well, he was less successful with beardless boys and girls, where he had a tendency to exaggerate the chin[2]. Yet in another place[3], in speaking of Shaybání Khán's proceedings after he had captured Herát in 913/1507–8, he denounces his action in attempting to improve and touch up Bihzád's paintings. In conclusion Bábur mentions a number of musicians, minstrels and composers.

Other poets mentioned by Bábur

Calligraphists and artists

The materials for a literary history of this period, especially of its poets, are therefore singularly copious and authoritative, for besides Bábur's incidental notices of which we have just spoken, we have the voluminous *Memoirs of the Poets* compiled by Dawlatsháh in 892/1487, and Mír 'Alí Shír's Turkí *Majálisu'n-Nafá'is*, completed about four years later, of the contents of which some account has been given above[4]. As a pendant to these is the later work of another royal author, Sám Mírzá, son of Sháh Isma'íl the Ṣafawí, who was born in 923/1517 and put to death in 984/1576–7, and

Copious materials for literary history of this period

[1] Published with English translation and explanations by Blochmann at Calcutta.

[2] Ed. Ilminsky, pp. 228–229.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 262.

[4] Pp. 437–439 *supra*.

who in 957/1550 wrote his *Tuḥfa-i-Sámí*[1], a somewhat rare book which will be considered in the subsequent volume. In addition to these are the copious biographical notices contained in Khwándamír's *Ḥabíbu's-Siyar*. Of all these, however, Bábur is the most amusing and the most instructive, because he possesses both humour and a critical faculty lacking in the other biographers, who, by indiscriminate eulogies, deprive their appreciations of all real value.

[1] See Rieu's *Persian Catalogue*, pp. 367–368, and the references there given. There is also a MS. (**Or. 648**) in the Cambridge University Library.

CHAPTER VIII

POETS OF THE LATER TÍMÚRID PERIOD

Literary taste under the Tímúrids

As already indicated in more than one place, the characteristic of the art which prevailed under the Tímúrids, whether literary or pictorial, was an extreme elaboration and preciosity little in accordance with modern European taste, though very similar on its literary side to that evolved by John Lyly and the Euphuists in England nearly a century after Jámí's reputation had reached its zenith in Persia[1]. In England this florid, artificial style enjoyed but a brief popularity; in Persia it has flourished intermittently for a long period, especially under Tartar and Turkish patronage, but not continuously nor in all parts of the country, so that it is easy to point out fine specimens of simple, strong, natural Persian prose and verse both before and after the period now under consideration. During this period, however, the prevailing literary style in Persia was very ornate and artificial, and as it unfortunately happened that at no time was Persian literary influence greater in the adjoining lands of Turkey, India and Transoxiana, this style became stereotyped throughout Western and Central Asia, and has come to be regarded by many persons, especially those who have pursued their linguistic studies in India, as typically Persian. Still it is a fact that not only the Persians, Turks and Indians, but even the Arabs, whose natural tendency is to a chaster and more simple style, and who seldom quite forget their adage that "*the best speech is that which is brief and to the point*[2]," tend to regard form as more important than ideas

Period of greatest Persian influence on Turkish and Indian literary style

[1] Lyly was born in 1553–4 and wrote his *Euphues, the Anatomy of Wit* in 1578. Jámí composed his *Nafaḥátu'l-Uns* in 1478, and compiled his first *Díwán* in the following year.

[2] خَيْرُ ٱلْكَلَامِ مَا قَلَّ و دَلَّ

in literary composition, to care less what a writer says than how he says it, and to prefer conventionality to originality. Most instructive are the remarks of that great and original historian Ibn Khaldún, who was not only contemporary with Tímúr but came into personal relations with him when Damascus surrendered to him at the end of A.D. 1400[1]. These remarks, with other observations germane to this subject, I have given in a previous volume[2] to which the reader is referred. In particular the student of Persian poetry, especially of the later more ornate writers, may be recommended to read that curious work, "the Lovers' Companion" (*Anísu'l-'Ushsháq*), composed in 826/1423 by Sharafu'd-Dín Rámí at Maráǵha in Ádharbáyján, of which a French translation by M. Cl. Huart was published in Paris in 1875, and of which I have given a brief account in a previous volume[3].

The ornate style in Persian not so universal as supposed

It must not be supposed, however, that all the poets who will be mentioned in this chapter, or even all who flourished at the court of Sulṭán Ḥusayn at Herát, employ this inflated and ornate style, which, indeed, is more noticeable in prose-writers, including even historians, who ought to know better than to fill ten pages with what could very well be set forth in one. The earlier poets of whom we shall immediately speak, like Sháh Ni'matu'lláh and Qásimu'l-Anwár, are free from this blemish, for so we must regard it; and so also, as a rule, is Jámí, who is universally and justly regarded not only as the chief ornament of the court of Herát, but as one of the greatest Persian poets of all time. It is the ornate prose-writers and minor poets and versifiers of the later part of this period who are the chief offenders in this respect. The passion for the riddle and acrostic (*mu'ammá*) which prevailed amongst the latter is very characteristic,

[1] See Part i of the Baron McGuckin de Slane's translation in *Notices et Extraits*, pp. v and lxxxv–xcii.

[2] *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, vol. ii, pp. 17–89, especially pp. 86–89.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 83–84.

while the methods of the former are well illustrated by Ḥusayn Wá'iẓ-i-Káshifí's *Anwár-i-Suhaylí*, where, for example, a squeaking mouse is described as "raising its outcry to the aetherial sphere." In a previous volume I have shown[1] by parallel extracts from the *Book of Kalíla and Dimna* as rendered into Arabic by 'Abdu'lláh ibnu'l-Muqaffa' in the eighth century, and into Persian by Niẓámu'-d-Dín Abu'l-Ma'álí Naṣru'llah in the twelfth and Ḥusayn Wá'iẓ at the end of the sixteenth centuries how the last-named writer set himself to "write up" and improve upon the work of his predecessors.

1. *Sayyid Ni'matu'lláh of Kirmán.*

Though Jámí is unquestionably the greatest poet of the period which we are now considering, it seems better to adhere to chronological sequence and to begin with the earliest, Sayyid (or Sháh) Ni'matu'lláh of Kirmán, who died at an advanced age in the spring of 1431 (Rajab 22, 834), and was buried at the charming village of Máhán near Kirmán, of which some malicious wit has said:

Sayyid Ni'matu 'lláh of Kirmán

Epigram on Máhán

بهشتِ روی زمین است خطّهٔ ماهان،
بشرطِ آنکه تکانش دهند در دوزخ،

"Máhán an Earthly Paradise would be, I wot right well,
If you could clear its people out and shake them into hell."

The site of his grave is marked by a fine monastery inhabited by dervishes of the Sháh Ni'matu'lláhí order which he founded; for he was a great saint and mystic as well as a poet, and his verses abound in dark apocalyptic sayings concerning the "Mischief of the Last Days" (*Fitna-i-Ákhiru'z-Zamán*), the Advent of the Mahdí, and other similar matters. I visited this shrine in September, 1888, shortly before I left Kirmán, and was very hospitably entertained by its acolytes.

[1] *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, vol. ii, pp. 349–353.

As usual, the best account of Ni'matu'lláh is that given by Rieu in his *Persian Catalogue*[1], where the substance of the information given by the ordinary biographical works is supplemented by details drawn from a rare contemporary monograph existing in the British Museum[2] and from the history of Yazd and its most notable men known as the *Jámi'i-Mufídí*. His full name was Amír Núru'd-Dín Ni'matu'lláh, his father's name was Mír 'Abdu 'lláh, and he claimed descent from the fifth Imám of the Shí'a, Muḥammad Báqir, the great-grandson of 'Alí ibn Abí Ṭálib. He was born at Aleppo in 730/1329–30 or in the following year, but spent most of his youth in 'Iráq. At the age of 24 he visited Mecca, where he resided for seven years, and became one of the chief disciples of Shaykh 'Abdu'lláh al-Yáfi'í, a well-known mystical and historical writer, who died in 768/1366–7. His later life was passed in Samarqand, Herát, Yazd and finally, as already mentioned, at Máhán near Kirmán, where he spent the last twenty-five years of his life, and where he died on Rajab 22, 834 (April 5, 1431) aged more than a hundred years. The historian 'Abdu'r-Razzáq of Samarqand visited his grave in 845/1441–2.

Biography of Sayyid Ni'matu'lláh

Ni'matu'lláh was the king of dervishes (the title "Sháh" is always prefixed to his name) and the friend of kings. He enjoyed the special favour of Sháh-rukh, while Aḥmad Sháh Bahmaní, King of the Deccan, deemed himself fortunate in persuading to come to his court one of his grandsons. Two other grandsons with their father followed him thither, while several of Sháh Ni'matu'lláh's descendants who remained in Persia intermarried with the Royal Ṣafawí House. According to Rieu[3], Ni'matu'lláh left more than 500 Ṣúfí tracts besides his *Díwán* of verse, but the latter is his chief work, and it alone need be considered here. The only complete copy at my disposal is the lithographed edition

He and his descendants enjoy Royal favour

[1] Pp. 634–635. [2] Add. 16,837, ff. 339–355.

[3] *Pers. Cat.* p. 635.

published at Ṭihrán in 1276/1860, but numerous selections from it are contained in the various biographies and anthologies in which he is mentioned. His fame, however, is that of a saint and mystic rather than a poet, and his verse strikes one on the whole as monotonous and mediocre, similar in style and subject-matter to that of Maghribí, and altogether lacking the consuming ardour and brilliant illustration of Shams-i-Tabríz. His most characteristic poems, though few in number, are those couched in the prophetic strain, and these still exercise a certain influence, and are appealed to by other Persians than those who belong to the order of dervishes which he founded. The Bábís, for example, used to tell me in Kirmán that the date of the Báb's "Manifestation" (1260/1844) was foretold in the following poem. When I visited the saint's shrine I took the trouble to obtain from one of the dervishes a copy of the poem in question from the oldest and most trustworthy manuscript in their possession, and I found that there the date was given as 274 instead of 1260 (ع, ر, د = 70 + 200 + 4 instead of غ, ر, س = 1000 + 200 + 60), while in Riḍá-qulí Khán's *Majma'u'l-Fuṣaḥá*[1], where the same poem is quoted, the date becomes 1204 (غ + ر + د = 1000 + 200 + 4). In the last-named work the poem is thus entitled:

Importance attached to his prophetic utterances

"*Declaration of sundry mysteries and revelations by way of allegories.*"

(1)

در اظهار بعضی از رموزات و مکاشفات بر سبیل کنایات،

قدرتِ کردگار می بینم، حالتِ روزگار می بینم،
حالِ امسال صورتی دگرست، نه چو پیرار و پار می بینم،
از نجوم این سخن نمی گویم، بلکه از کردگار می بینم،
عین و را دال چون گذشت از سال، بو العجب کار و بار می بینم،

[1] Tihrán lithographed ed., vol. ii, p. 45.

در خراسان و مصر و شام و عراق، فتنه و کارزار می بینم،
ظلمتِ ظلمِ ظالمانِ دیار، بیحد و بیشمار می بینم،
قصّهٔ بس عجیب می شنوم، غصّهٔ در دیار می بینم،
جنگ و آشوب و فتنه و بیداد، از یمین و یسار می بینم،
غارت و قتل و لشکر بسیار، در میان و کنار می بینم،
بنده‌را خواجه‌وش همی بینم، خواجه‌را بنده‌وار می بینم،
سکّهٔ نو زنند بر رخِ زر، درهمش کم عیار می بینم،
دوستانِ عزیزِ هر قومی، گشته غمخوار و خوار می بینم،
هر یك از حاکمانِ هفت اقلیم، دیگری‌را دوچار می بینم،
ماه‌را رو سیاه می بینم، مهررا دلفگار می بینم،
نصب و عزلِ بتکجی و عمّال، هر یکی‌را دوبار می بینم،
ترك و تاجیك‌را بهمدیگر، خصمی و گیر و دار می بینم،
تاجر از دستِ دزد بی همراه، مانده در رهگذار می بینم،
مکر و تزویر و حیلهٔ بسیار، از صغار و کبار می بینم،
حالِ هندو خراب می یابم، جورِ ترك و تتار می بینم،
بقعهٔ خیر سخت گشته خراب، جای جمعی شرار می بینم،
بعضی اشجارِ بوستانِ جهان، بی بهار و ثمار می بینم،
اندکی امن اگر بود آن هم، در حدِ کوهسار می بینم،
همدمی و قناعت و کُنْجی، حالیا اختیار می بینم،
گرچه می بینم این همه غمها، شادی غمگسار می بینم،
غم مخور زآنکه من درین تشویش، خرمنِ وصلِ یار می بینم،
بعدِ امسال و چند سالِ دگر، عالمی چون نگار می بینم،
این جهان‌را چو مصر می نگرم، عدل اورا حصار می بینم،
هفت باشد وزیر و سلطانم، همه‌را کام یار می بینم،
عاصیان از امامِ معصومم، خجل و شرمسار می بینم،

بر کفِ دستِ ساقی وحدت، بادهٔ خوشگوار می بینم،
غازیِ دوستدارِ دشمن کُش، همدم و یارِ یار می بینم،
تیغ آهن دلان زنگی زده، کُنْد و بی اعتبار می بینم،
زینتِ شرع و رونقِ اسلام، هر یکی‌را دوبار می بینم،
گرگ با میش و شیر با آهو، در چرا بر قرار می بینم،
گنج کسری و نقد اسکندر، همه بر روی کار می بینم،
ترك عیّار مست می نگرم، خصم او در خُمار می بینم،
نعمت اللّه نشسته در کنجی، از همه بر کنار می بینم،
چون زمستان پنجمین بگذشت، ششمش خوش بهار می بینم،
نایبِ مهدیِ آشکار شود، بلکه من آشکار می بینم،
پادشاهی تمام دانائی، سروری با وقار می بینم،
بندگانِ جناب حضرتِ او، سر بسر تاجدار می بینم،
تا چهل سال ای برادرِ من، دَوْرِ آن شهریار می بینم،
دَوْرِ او چون شود تمام بکام، پسرش یادگار می بینم،
پادشاهی تمام دانائی، شاهِ عالی تبار می بینم،
بعد ازو خود امام خواهد بود، که جهان‌را مدار می بینم،
میم حا میم دال می خوانم، نامِ آن نامدار می بینم،
صورت و سیرتش چو پیغمبر، علم و حلمش شعار می بینم،
یدِ بیضا که باد پاینده، باز با ذو الفقار می بینم،
مهدیِ وقت و عیسیِ دوران، هر دورا شهسوار می بینم،
گلشنِ شرع‌را همی بویم،
گلِ دین‌را ببار می بینم،

The text here given is that copied for me at Máhán on August 9, 1888. Of the 50 verses which it contains only 24 are given in the *Majma'u'l-Fuṣaḥá*, which only adds one or

two new verses, but in some cases adopts a different order, besides supplying a few variants. The poem is not to be found at all in the lithographed edition.

(*Translation*)

"I see the Power of the Maker; I see the state of the time.
The state of this year is of another sort; not like last year and the year before do I see it.
These words I speak not from the stars; rather I see them from the Creator[1].
When '*ayn*, *rá* and *dál* (=274) have passed of the years I see wonderful doings.
In Khurásán, Egypt, Syria and 'Iráq I see sedition and strife.
I see the darkness of the tyranny of the lands' oppressors boundless and beyond computation.
I hear a very strange story; I see vexation in the land.
War, strife, mischief and injustice I see on the right and on the left.
Looting, slaughter and many armies I see in the midst and around.
I see the servant like the master; I see the master like the servant.
They impress a new superscription on the face of the gold; I see his *dirhams* of short weight.
I see the dear friends of every people grown sorrowful and abased.
Each of the rulers of the Seven Climes I see involved with another.
I see the face of the moon darkened; I see the heart of the sun transfixed.
The appointment and dismissal of officials and agents, each one I see twice repeated.
In Turk and Tájík[2] towards one another I see enmity and strife.
I see the merchant left friendless on the road at the hands of the thief.
I see from small and great much cunning, guile and trickery.
I find the condition of the Indian ruined; I see the oppression of Turks and Tartars.
I see the Holy Place fearfully desolated, the abode of a number of evil men.

[1] *I.e.* these predictions are not based on astrological predictions but inspired by revelation from God.

[2] *Tájík*, a term originally applied to the Arabs (*Tázík*, *Tází*) who garrisoned the towns of Khurásán and Transoxiana, was later and is still applied to the Persian settled population as opposed to the nomads of Turkish stock.

Some of the trees of the Garden of the World I see springless and fruitless.
If there be a little security, that too I see within the borders of the mountains.
A companion, contentment and a [quiet] corner I now see as most to be desired.
Although I see all these sorrows, I see the [final] joy of the sorrowful.
Grieve not, for in this trouble I see the harvest of union with the Friend.
After this year and a few years more[1] I see a world like a [fair] picture.
I behold this world like Egypt; I see Justice as its stronghold.
My king and his ministers are seven; all of these I see triumphant.
Such as rebel against my immaculate Imám I see ashamed and disgraced.
On the palm of the hand of the Cup-bearer of Unity I see the pleasant wine.
The friendly foe-destroying warrior I see as the comrade and friend of the friend.
I see the swords of those whose hearts are hard as iron rusted, blunt and of no account.
The beauty of the Law and the splendour of Islám, each one I see doubled[2].
I see the wolf and the sheep, the lion and the gazelle, dwelling together in the meadow.
I see the treasure of Chosroes and the coin of Alexander all put to good use.
I see the roguish Turk drunk, I see his enemy with the headache born of wine.
I see Ni'matu'lláh seated in a corner apart from all.
When the fifth winter has passed I see in the sixth a pleasant spring.
The vicar of the Mahdí will appear, yea, I see him plainly.
I see a king perfect in knowledge; I see a leader endowed with dignity.
I see the servants of His High Majesty all wearing crowns.
For forty years, O my brother, I see the cycle of that Prince continue.
When his cycle ends victoriously, I see his son as a memorial of him.
I see a king perfect in knowledge, a ruler of noble family.
After him will be the Imám himself, whom I see as the pivot of the world.
I read '*M. Ḥ. M. D.*': I see the name of that famous one[3].

[1] The variants in the *Majma'u'l-Fuṣaḥá* give a slightly different meaning, *viz.* "After that year for several years more."

[2] Or, if the variant be adopted, "strong and firmly established."

[3] *I.e.* Muḥammad.

I see his aspect and attributes like the Prophet: I see knowledge and clemency as his distinctive signs.
I see again 'the White Hand'[1] (long may it endure!) conjoined with Dhu'l-Fiqár[2].
I see the Mahdí of the time and the Jesus of the age both royally riding forth.
I smell the rose-garden of the Law, I see the flower of Religion in blossom."

Pantheistic poems

These "apocalyptic" poems, however, though they have attracted most attention in Persia, constitute but a small fraction of the whole. Most of Ni'matu'lláh's verses illustrate the doctrine of *Waḥdatu'l-Wujúd* (Pantheism), while a certain proportion (in which again the Bábís see an allusion to their founder) use the favourite illustration of the "Point" (*Nuqṭa*), of which the circle is only a manifestation; just as the letter *alif* is, in the world of calligraphy, a manifestation of the diacritical "point," which shares with the mathematical "point" the same title. A few specimens will suffice for the purpose of illustration.

(2)

پادشاه و گدا یکیست یکیست ' بی نوا و نوا یکیست یکیست '
دَردمندیم و دُرد می نوشیم ' دُرْد و دَرْد و دوا یکیست یکیست '
جز یکی نیست در همه عالم ' دو مگو چون خدا یکیست یکیست '
آینه صد هزار می بینم ' روی آن جانفزا یکیست یکیست '
مبتلای بلای بالائیم ' مبتلا و بلا یکیست یکیست '
قطره و بحر و موج و جوهر چار ' بیشکی نزدِ ما یکیست یکیست '
نعمت اللّه یکیست در عالم '
طلبش کن بیا یکیست یکیست '

"King and beggar are one, are one; foodless and food are one, are one.
We are stricken with grief and drain the dregs; dregs and sorrow and cure are one.

[1] Alluding to the miracle of Moses, when he drew forth his hand "white as snow."

[2] The famous sword of 'Alí ibn Abí Ṭálib.

In all the world there is naught but One; talk not of 'Two,' for God is One.
Mirrors a hundred thousand I see, but the face of that Giver of Life is one.
We are plagued with the plague of one tall and fair, but we the plagued and the plague are one.
Drop, wave and sea and the elements four without a doubt in our eyes are one.
Ni'matu'lláh is one in all the world: come, seek him out, he is one, is one."

(3)

نقطه در دائره نمود و نبود ' بلکه آن نقطه دائره بنمود '
نقطه در دَوْر دائره باشد ' نزد آن کس که دائره پیمود '
اوّل و آخرش بهم پیوست ' نقطه چون ختم دائره پیمود '
دائره چون تمام شد پرکار ' سر و پارا بهم نهاد آسود '
بیوجودیم بیوجود همه ' بیوجودیم ما و تو موجود '
همه عالم خیالِ او گفتم ' باز دیدم خیالِ او او بود '
خوشتر از گفتهای سیّدِ ما '
نعمت الله دگر سخن نشنود '

"The Point appeared in the circle and was not; nay, that Point produced the circle[1].
The Point in its revolution becomes a circle in the eyes of him who measured the circle.
Its beginning and end joined together when the Point measured the completion of the circle.
When the circle was completed, the compass put its head and feet together and rested.
We are all without Being, without Being; we are without Being and Thou art Existant.
I called the whole world His dream: I looked again, and lo, His dream was Himself.
Sweeter than the sayings of our Sayyid Ni'matu'lláh has heard no other words."

[1] Cf. l. 710 of the *Gulshan-i-Ráz* (Whinfield's edition).

(4)

یك مسمّی دان و اسما صد هزار، یك وجود و صد هزارش اعتبار،
صورتش جامست و معنی می بُوَد، گرچه هر دو نزدِ ما یك شی بود،
در دو می‌دان یك یکی و دو یکی، نیك دریابش که گفتم نیککی،
بیوجودِ او همه عالم عدم، بر وجود و جودِ او عالم عَلَم،
عالم از بسطِ وجود عامِ اوست، هرچه می بینی زجودِ عام اوست،
اوئی او ذاتی و مائئ ما، عارضی باشد فنا شو زین فنا،
مائئ عالم نقابِ عالم است، بلکه عالم خود حجابِ عالم است،
جاودانست این حجاب ای جانِ من، ای خلیل اللهِ من برهانِ من،
حالِ عالم با تو میگویم تمام،
تا بدانی حالِ عالم و السّلام،

"Know that the Named is one and the Names a hundred thousand,
That Being is one, but its aspects are a hundred thousand.
Its Form is the Glass, and its Meaning the Wine,
Although both are one substance in our eyes.
Perceive in two one unit and two units[1];
Search it out well, for I have told you a good bit.
Without His Being all the world is non-existant,
Of His Being and Bounty the world is a sign.
The world arises from the diffusion of His universal Being;
Whatever thou seest is from His universal Bounty.
His Ipseity is essential, while our Ipseity
Is but casual: be annihilated, then, from this annihilation!
The Ipseity of the world is the veil of the world:
Nay, the world itself is the veil of the world.
This veil is eternal, O my soul,
O my Friend of God, and O my Proof!
I tell thee the state of the world in its entirety,
So that thou may'st know the state of the world, and so farewell!"

The lithographed edition of Ni'matu'lláh's poems contains approximately some 14,000 verses, including a number of quatrains, and from the following verse it would appear

[1] *I.e.* 1 × 2 = 2.

that his literary activities continued until he had reached a very advanced age:

نود و هفت سال عمرِ خوشی ' بنده‌را داد حیّ پاینده '

"The Living and Eternal [God] hath vouchsafed to this servant ninety and seven years of pleasant life."

2. *Qásimu'l-Anwár.*

Qásimu'l-Anwár

The next poet of this epoch who claims our attention was like the last a Sayyid and a mystic. The main facts concerning his life are thus summarized by Rieu[1]. "He was born in Saráb (Saráw) in the district of Tabríz in 757/1356, and had for religious instructors Shaykh Ṣadru'd-Dín Ardabílí, an ancestor of the Ṣafawís, and after him Shaykh Ṣadru'd-Dín Yamaní, a disciple of Shaykh Awḥadu'd-Dín Kirmání. After staying some time in Gílán he went to Khurásán and settled in Herát, where he lived during the reigns of Tímúr and Sháh-rukh. There disciples flocked to him in such numbers and he acquired so great an influence as to give umbrage to the sovereign. 'Abdu'r-Razzáq relates in the *Maṭla'u's-Sa'dayn* that in 830/1426–7, Sháh-rukh having been stabbed in the mosque of Herát by a certain Aḥmad-i-Lur[2], Sayyid Qásim was charged by Mírzá Báysunqur with having harboured the intended assassin, and was obliged to leave Herát[3] and repair to Samarqand, where he found a protector in Mírzá Ulugh Beg. He returned, however, some years later to Khurásán, and took up his abode in Kharjird, a town in the district of Jám, where he died in 837/1433–4."

The intimacy of Qásimu'l-Anwár's relations with Shaykh Ṣadru'd-Dín of Ardabíl, the ancestor of the Ṣafawí kings

[1] *Pers. Cat.*, pp. 635–637.

[2] See above pp. 365–366, where I have endeavoured to show that this attempt was instigated by the Ḥurúfí sect.

[3] A pretty but probably fictitious anecdote about this event is given by Ouseley in his *Notices of the Persian Poets* (London, 1846), pp. 101–103.

of Persia, is abundantly confirmed by an unpublished Persian work on the genealogy of that dynasty entitled *Silsilatu'n-Nasab-i-Ṣafawiyya*, of which I possess a manuscript from the library of the late Sir Albert Houtum Schindler. In this MS. (ff. 27^b—28^b) the poet is mentioned as one of the Shaykh's most enthusiastic disciples, and an account is given of the rigid discipline whereby he attained in the great Mosque of Ardabíl to that vision wherein he beheld himself distributing the light to his fellow-disciples, whereby he earned the title of *Qásimu'l-Anwár* ("the Apportioner of the Lights"). On the death of Shaykh Ṣafí, the father of Shaykh Ṣadru'd-Dín, he composed the following verses[1].

Relations of Qásimu'l-Anwár with Shaykh Ṣadru'd-Dín

(1)

صدرِ ولایت که نقدِ شیخ صفیّ است،
قربِ نود سال بود رهبرِ این راه،
جانش بوقتِ رحیل عطسه زد و گفت،
یا ملك ٱلموت قد وصلْتُ الی الله؛
حالتِ اورا ملك چو دید عجب ماند،
گفت که یا شیخ الف یرحمك الله،
سوختهٔ قاسمی ز فرقتِ خواجه،
صبر کن اندر فراق صبّرك الله،

"The chief representative of saintship, who is actually Shaykh Ṣafí,
Was for nearly ninety years the guide on this road.
His soul at the moment of its departure sneezed[2] and exclaimed,
'O Angel of Death, I have attained unto God!'
When the Angel saw his condition he was amazed and cried,
'O Shaykh, a thousand times may God have mercy upon thee!'
Thou art utterly consumed, O Qásimí, by separation from the Master;
Be patient in separation: may God give thee patience!"

[1] These verses also occur in one of my MSS. of the poems of Qásimu'l-Anwár.

[2] For sneezing as a sign of life (here, apparently, of Eternal Life) see Sir J. G. Frazer's *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, vol. i, pp. 6 and 9.

Jámí, in the notice which he consecrates to Qásimu'l-Anwár in the *Nafaḥátu'l-Uns*[1], alludes to the suspicions which fell upon him in connection with the attempt on Sháh-rukh's life in 830/1426–7 and which led to his banishment, and also observes that opinions differed as to his character, but that most of his disciples with whom he was personally acquainted had abandoned the observances of Islám, for which they expressed contempt, and had adopted a kind of communism. There is therefore good reason to suspect that Qásimu'l-Anwár was at any rate something of an antinomian, even if he had not some quasi-political relation with the Shí'ite partisans of the still uncrowned Ṣafawís, or with the still more irreconcilable Ḥurúfí heretics.

Suspected of heresy and antinomianism

The literary work of Qásimu'l-Anwár consists of an unpublished *Díwán* of lyrical and some *mathnawí* poetry, of which I possess two good manuscripts, one dated 861/1456–7, only 24 years after the author's death. Several of these poems are in Turkish and others in some dialect of Persian. The poems are followed in this older manuscript by two treatises, written wholly or partly in prose, entitled respectively *Anísu'l-'Árifín* ("the Gnostics' Familiar") and the *Anísu'l-'Áshiqín* ("Lovers' Familiar"), or *Risála-i-Amána* ("Treatise of the Trust"). There is also a poem beginning:

الا ای شاه بازِ قدس لاهوت ' مقیّد مانده ٔ در دام ناسوت '

in which there is supposed to be a reference to Tímúr's death, though it is so vague as to be capable of application to any public calamity.

The poetry of Qásimu'l-Anwár, so far as a foreigner may venture to judge it, is only of average merit, and is generally of the same mystical character as that of Maghribí and other kindred poets. Of its general type the two following *ghazals* may serve as fair specimens.

[1] Ed. Nassau Lees, pp. 689–693.

(2)

ساقی ز کرم پُر کن آن جامِ مصفّارا،
آن روحِ مقدّس‌را وآن جانِ معلّارا،
روزی که دهی جامی از بهر سر انجامی،
یك جرعه تصدّق کن آن واعظِ رعنارا،
خواهی که برقص آید ذرّاتِ جهان با تو،
در رقص بر افشانی آن زلفِ چلیپارا،
ناصح برَو و بنشین افسانه مخوان چندین،
از سر نتوان بردن آن علّتِ سودارا،
گفتی که ز خود گُم شو تا راه بخود[1] یابی،
تفسیر نمی دانم این رمزِ معمّارا،
هر بار که من مُردم صد جانِ دگر بُردم،
احصا نتوان کردن اعجاز مسیحارا،
قاسم نشود عاشق هرگز بهوای خود،
لیکن چه توان کردن آن مالكِ دلهارا،

"Of thy favour, Cup-bearer, fill me up that clear and crystalline bowl,
That spirit of holy sanctity, that high and exalted soul!
What day thou givest a cup of wine to settle our whole affair
Bestow, I pray, of your charity a draught on yon Preacher rare!
Wouldst thou that the motes of the universe may with thee in the dance be whirled?
Then toss aside in thy dance's stride thy tresses tangled and curled!
O chiding mentor, get thee hence: desist and cease thy strain,
For never thy windy talk can drive from our heads this passion and pain.
'Lose thyself,' thou didst say, 'that thou to thyself the way may'st gain!'
But this riddle dark and inscrutable I cannot solve or explain.
Whenever I cast my life away, a hundred I win in its place:
Who can limit the miracles of Christ and His healing grace?
Qásim ne'er of his own free will would play the lover's part,
But what can one do when the matter lies with the Lord of the Soul and Heart?"

[1] One MS. has بما as a variant.

(3)

پیش از بنای خانقه و دَیْرِ سومنات،
ما با تو بوده‌ایم در اطوارِ کاینات،
اندر میان حکایتِ پیغام در گذشت،
چون با منی همیشه چه حاجت بمرسلات،
از ما خلافِ دوست نیاید که با حبیب،
همراه بوده‌ایم در انواعِ واردات،
زنهار ذکرِ غیر دگر بر زبان مران،
صاحب دلان بغیر نکردند التفات،
هشیار شرط نیست که باشی که در طریق،
هر ذرّه از ذرایرِ کَوْنند ساقیات،
زاهد مکن مبالغه با ما واین بدان،
بر جنسِ طیّبین حلالست طیّبات،
قاسم خموش باش و عنانِ سخن بکش،
تا پیرِ عشق با تو بگوید ز باقیات،

"Ere ever cloistered cell was built, or Somnath's ancient fane
We dwelt with Thee in every phase of life on Being's plane.
'Twixt us all talk of Messenger and Message[1] falls away:
What need of Messenger when Thou dost bide with me for aye?
Can I oppose the Loved One's will, when ever with the Friend
I hold communion sweet in moods and musings without end?
From mention of all 'others'[2] let thy tongue be cleansed and freed,
Since those in whom the Spirit works of 'others' take no heed.
Sober to tread the mystic Path no obligation's thine:
Each atom in the Universe intoxicates like wine.
O Zealot, press me not, I pray, in language harsh and rude,
For unto those of goodly kind allowed are all things good[3].
O Qásim, silence! to the steed of speech apply the rein,
That Love's High Priest may speak of things that neither fade nor wane[4]."

[1] *I.e.* presumably of Prophet and Revelation.
[2] *I.e.* other than God.
[3] *Qur'án*, xxiv, 26.
[4] *Qur'án*, xviii, 44.

The following ode is interesting as showing traces of Ḥurúfí ideas:

(4)

ستّة ایّام گفت سبع سمٰوات،
ثمّ علی ٱلعرش استواست نهایات،
حضرت حق‌را عروشِ نا متناهیست،
فاش بگویم عروش جملهٔ ذرّات،
بر سرِ هر ذرّه مستویست باسمی،
چون بشناسی رسی بنیلِ مرادات،
هرچه که گویم فقیه گوید هی هی،
هرچه که گوید فقیه گویم هیهات،
هرکه شرابِ خدا ز جام محمّد،
نوش کند وا رهد ز عشوه و طامات[1]،
نعرهٔ مستی مزن که مستِ هوائی،
غایت عمیا بود بجهل مباهات،
قاسمی و صحبتِ فقیهِ مقلّد،
فاتحه خوانیم بهر دفع بلیّات،

"'*In six days*' runs God's Word, while Seven
Marks the divisions of the Heaven.
Then at the last '*He mounts His Throne*[2]';
Nay, Thrones, to which no limit's known.
Each mote's a Throne, to put it plain,
Where He in some new Name doth reign[3]:
Know this, and so to Truth attain!
'Fie, fie!' the zealot answers back
Whate'er I say. I cry 'Alack!'

[1] One MS. has ز عشق طامات

[2] That God created the heavens in six days and then ascended (or settled Himself) on His Throne is mentioned repeatedly in the *Qur'án*, *e.g.* v, 52; x, 3; xxv, 60, *etc.* The number of the heavens, not mentioned in these verses, is given as *seven* in ii, 27 *etc.* The numbers 7, 14 and 28 have great significance in the Ḥurúfí doctrine.

[3] This is the characteristic pantheistic interpretation of the Ḥurúfís.

'Who from the Prophet's cup drinks free
God's Wine, escapes calamity,
And over-boldness to dispense
With proper forms of reverence[1] !'
O drunk with fancies, cease to bawl,
Nor plague us with thy drunken brawl!
To glory in thine ignorance
Is but thy blindness to enhance.
O Qásimí, what canst thou find
In jurists blind with leaders blind?
Repeat a *Fátiḥa*[2], I pray,
That so this plague may pass away!"

Although the traces of Ḥurúfí influence in this poem are unmistakeable, it cannot on such evidence alone be proved that Qásimu'l-Anwár was actually a member of that sect, though his association with an admitted disciple of Faḍlu'lláh of Astarábád and the suspicion which he thereby incurred[3] afford strong corroboration of this conjecture. But his saints and heroes were many, and we find in his poems encomiums of theologians like al-Ghazzálí, mystics like Shaykh Aḥmad-i-Jám, Báyazíd of Bisṭám, and Khwája 'Abdu'lláh Anṣárí, and theosophic poets like Shaykh Farídu'd-Dín 'Aṭṭár and Mawláná Jalálu'd-Dín Rúmí, whose works he bids his readers bind together in one volume:

دوئی بگذار و دریك جلد کن جمع ' همه اقوالِ مولانا و عطّار'

It is indeed likely that one of his half-Turkish poems with the refrain *Chelebí, bizi onutma* ("O Chelebí, forget us not!") may be addressed to the "Chelebí Efendi," or hereditary superior of the Mawlawí or Mevleví order of *darwíshes*, of Qonya in Asiatic Turkey. Of these Turkish or half-Turkish poems there are only two or three, nor are they of a high quality. The poems in some Persian dialect (probably that of Gílán) are more numerous and more

[1] I take these four lines to embody the orthodox objection to mystical antinomianism, while the succeeding lines embody the poet's dislike of the orthodox.

[2] The opening chapter of the *Qur'án*.

[3] See p. 366 *supra*.

interesting, though our knowledge of these dialects in their mediæval forms is insufficient as a rule to enable us fully to interpret them. The text of one, based on the two MSS., is here given as a specimen.

(5)

قبلهٔ جانِ من توئی گیلِ فرشته رنگ و بوی‘
ماهِ سپهرِ مکرمت سروِ ریاضِ آرزو‘
گیل نهٔ فرشتهٔ وز دل و جان سرشتهٔ‘
گیل که بو که بوا چنین حوروَش و فرشته‌خو‘
می دل و دین تنی فدی خوا ببرا که وس خوشی‘
قبله توئی کجا روم شهر بشهر و کو بکو،
تی سرِ زلف مشکبو آنچه بمن کدن ز جور‘
شرح دهم اگر بود با تو مجال مو بمو‘
آینه‌را اگر رسد عکسِ جمالِ تو دمی‘
کی رسد آنکه باشدش با تو همیشه رو برو‘
دوش بغمزه گفتیَم روز نما ترا بغم‘
نوبتِ دیگر از کرم قصّهٔ دوش باز گو‘
گفتمش ای مرادِ جان وعدهٔ وصل کردهٔ‘
گفت که آن حکایتا وا مطلب که آن بشو‘
گفتمش ای عزیزِ من خوار شدم ز عشقِ تو‘
گفت که نا نه خوار بین کاور میره لاوه لو‘
گفتمش عاشقِ توام چیست دوای دردِ من‘
گفت تو گوئی این سخن بی تو و وا بسر نشو‘
قاسمی از فراق و غم گُم شد و بیخبر ز خود‘
گم شدهٔ فراق‌را از کرم تو وا و جو‘

"Thou art the *Qibla* of my soul, O Gíl[1] with the colour and fragrance of an angel,
The Moon of the Heaven of Nobility, the Cypress of the Gardens of Desire.
Thou art not a Gíl but an angel, compounded of heart and soul,
How should any Gíl be thus Ḥúrí-like and of such angelic temper?
May my heart and faith be thy sacrifice! Take them if thou wilt[2], for thou art very fair:
Thou art the *Qibla*: why should I wander from city to city, from street to street?
The tyranny which thy musky tresses have wrought upon me
I will explain to thee hair by hair, if opportunity offers.
If the reflection of thy beauty reaches the mirror for a moment
How [much the more] should it reach him who is ever face to face with thee?
Last night thou didst signify to me by hints, 'Tomorrow I will not leave thee in sorrow[3]':
Once again of thy clemency repeat the tale of yesterday!
I said to her, 'O Desire of the Soul, thou didst give me a promise of union!'
She said, 'Seek not to recall those stories, for that has gone by!'
I said to her, 'O my Dear, I have been brought low by thy love!'
She said, 'No, regard not as low one who has spoken with me lip to lip[2]!'
I said, 'I am thy lover: what is the cure for my pain?'
She said, 'Thou speakest this word being beside thyself, and it will yield no result[2].'
Qásimí, through separation and grief, is lost and heedless of himself:
Of thy clemency seek to win back him who is lost in separation!"

[1] This term is applied to a native of the Caspian province of Gílán. Riḍá-qulí Khán in his *Farhang-i-Anjuman-árá-yi Náṣirí* says (*s.v.*) that it is also pronounced *Gayl* (*Gêl*), in proof of which he cites the following quatrain by Qásimu'l-Anwár in which it rhymes with *mayl* and *sayl*:

ای جانِ جهان جهانِ جان دلبر گیل‘
می دل همه روح دارتی دیمی میل‘
سیلابِ سرشکِ قاسم از ابرِ غمت‘
اندی بشو که ببرد گیلانا سیل‘

[2] These words are entirely in dialect, and the sense given is only conjectural.

[3] Meaning doubtful.

That Qásimu'l-Anwár was familiar with Gílán and other regions bordering on the Caspian Sea is confirmed by other poems in which he mentions Ástárá, Láhiján, Ardabíl and other places in that part of Persia. Further facts about him might undoubtedly be deduced from an attentive examination of his poems, but space only permits me to give two more extracts from them, both taken from his *mathnawí* poem the *Anísu'l-'Árifín*, in the prose preface to which he gives his full name as "'Alí b. Naṣír b. Hárún b. Abu'l-Qásim al-Ḥusayní at-Tabrízí, better known as Qásimí." The first extract is an allegory of the sinner who clings to his sin because it is sweet to him.

(6)

بود زنگی زادهٔ بی دین و داد،
غولِ غفلت داده عمرش‌را بباد،
داشت در خُم چند من دوشاب دُرْد،
از قضا موشی دران افتاد و مُرْد،
موش‌را بگرفت و بیرون کرد زود،
موش مشؤوم از حریصی مُرده بود،
نزدِ قاضی رفت زنگی با ملال،
موش‌را بگرفت و گفت از سوء حال،
کرد بر دوشاب او حکمِ حرام،
مرد قاضی در میانِ خاص و عام،
این سخن نشنید زنگیٔ سقط،
گفت قاضی‌را که کردی بس غلط،
من چشیدم بود شیرینم بکام،
چون بود شیرین چرا باشد حرام،
گر شدی دوشابِ من تلخ آنگهی،
من حرامش گفتمی بی شبههٔ،

بود طبع زنگی وارون پلید‘
لا جرم در تلخ و شیرین عکس دید‘
ای چو روی زنگیان رویت سیاه‘
تلخت آید طاعت و شیرین گناه‘
نفس‌را باطل بود شیرین بکام‘
تلخ باشد حق ولی بر طبع عام‘
چونکه رنجورند و صفرائی مزاج‘
یابد از شکّر دهانشان طعم زاج‘
جمله دل بیمارِ دُنْیٰی سر بسر‘
زرد روی از آرزوی سیم و زر‘
ای بدامِ لذّتِ دُنْیٰی اسیر‘
همچو موش از حرص شیرینی ممیر‘
طاعتِ حق گرچه تلخ آید ترا‘
داروی تلخست دردت‌را دوا‘
تلخ دارو نافع آید عاقبت‘
خسته‌را بخشد شفا و عافیت‘

"A negro, lacking reason, faith and taste,
Whose life the demon Folly had laid waste
Had in a jar some treacle set aside,
And by mischance a mouse fell in and died.
He seized the mouse and plucked it out with speed—
That cursed mouse, whose death was caused by greed.
Then to the Qáḍí sped the unwilling wight,
Taking the mouse, and told of Fortune's spite.
The Judge before the folk, refined and rude,
Condemned the treacle as unfit for food.
The luckless negro scouted this award,
Saying, 'You make a great mistake, my Lord!
I tasted it, and found it sweet and good;
If sweet, it cannot be unfit for food.

Had this my treacle bitter been, then sure
Unlawful had I held it and impure.'
The mind perverted of this black accursed
Bitter and sweet confounded and reversed.
Sin seemeth sweet and service sour, alack!
To thee whose face is as a negro's black.
To passion's palate falsehood seemeth sweet;
Bitter is truth to natures incomplete.
When men are sick and biliously inclined
The taste of sugar alum calls to mind.
Sick for this world all hearts, both young and old,
Jaundiced for love of silver and of gold.
O captive in the snare of worldly joys,
Perish not mouse-like for the sweet that cloys!
Though bitter seems God's discipline to thee
This bitter drug is thy sure remedy.
This bitter drug will cause thine ill's surcease,
And give the patient healing, rest and peace."

The second extract is of greater interest, for it describes a meeting between Shaykh Ṣafiyyu'd-Dín, the ancestor of the Ṣafawís, who take their name from him, and the famous Shaykh Sa'dí of Shíráz. Some independent corroboration of this interview, or at least of its possibility, is afforded by the previously-quoted *Silsilatu'n-Nasab-i-Ṣafawiyya*[1], which gives the date of Ṣafiyyu'd-Dín's birth as "in the last days of the 'Abbásid Caliphs in A.H. 650" (A.D. 1252–3), at which time, the author adds, Shams-i-Tabríz had been dead five years, Shaykh Muḥyi'd-Dín ibnu'l-'Arabí twelve years, and Shaykh Najmu'd-Dín Kubrá thirty-two years; while of eminent contemporary saints and poets, Jalálu'd-Dín Rúmí died when he was twenty-two and Sa'dí when he was forty-one years of age. He was also contemporary with Amír 'Abdu'lláh of Shíráz, Shaykh Najíbu'd-Dín Buzghúsh, 'Alá'u'd-Dín Simnání, and Maḥmúd Shabistarí[2]. A page or two further on we read how Ṣafiyyu'd-Dín went to Shíráz to seek guidance from the above Shaykh Najíbu'd-Dín Buzghúsh, but found on his arrival that this saintly personage

[1] See p. 474 *supra*. The passage here referred to occurs on f. 9 of the MS.

[2] See pp. 146–150 *supra*.

SA'DÍ

Add. 7468 (Brit. Mus.), f. 19

To face p. 484

had passed away. This, no doubt, is the occasion to which the following passage in the *Anísu'l-'Árifín* refers.

شیخِ عالم آفتابِ اولیا،
پیشوای دین صفیّ الاصفیا،
آنکه از وی گشت مشهور اردویل،
وز جمالش گشت پُر نور اردویل،
دل نوازِ طالبانِ جان گداز،
واقفِ اسرارِ شاهِ بی نیاز[1]،
چون بشهرِ شُهرهٔ شیراز شد،
شیخ سعدی شیخرا دمساز شد،
شیخرا پرسید مردِ خُرده دان،
کای منوّر از جمالت جسم و جان،
در بیابانِ طلب مقصود چیست،
این همه دردِ دلِ ممدود چیست،
از کمالِ همّتِ خود پاك باز،
قصّهٔ با شیخ سعدی گفت باز،
چون شنید این قصّه سرگردان بماند،
وز کمالِ همّتش حیران بماند،
شیخرا گفت ای بمعنی بهره‌مند،
وز کمالِ همّتِ خود سر بلند،
آن مقامی را که فرمودی نشان،
مرغِ سعدیرا نبودست آشیان،
در دلم شد زین سخن دردی مقیم،
عاجزم در سرِّ این معنی عظیم،

[1] The MS. has شه بیت نیاز which I have ventured to emend as in the text.

لیکن ار گوئی من از دیوانِ خویش،
گوهری چندی دهم از کانِ خویش،
در جوابش گفت شیخ از عینِ درد،
جانِ ما از غیرِ جانان است فرد،
در دل از دیوانِ حق دارم بسی،
نیستم پروای دیوانِ کسی،
ما بدردِ او تولّا کرده‌ایم،
وز جهان و جان تبرّا کرده‌ایم،
دل بدردِ دلبری دیوانه شد،
وز خیالِ غیرِ او بیگانه شد،
شیخ سعدی زین سخن بگریست زار،
شیخ را گفت ای بزرگِ کامکار،
گوی دولت‌را بچوگانِ طلب،
بُرده‌ٔ در حالِ میدانِ طرب،
داری الحق ملکتِ بی مُنتها،
یرلغش اللّهُ یهدی من یشا،

From this passage, which is hardly worth translating in full, we learn that, while at Shíráz, Shaykh Ṣafiyyu'd-Dín, whose reputation had made Ardabíl (or Ardawíl) famous, became acquainted with the great Sa'dí, who was so much impressed by his sanctity and holy enthusiasm that he offered to add to his *Díwán* some poems in his praise. This offer, however, Ṣafiyyu'd-Dín declined, on the ground that he was too much preoccupied with "the Beloved" to concern himself with anything else; a refusal which evidently caused poor Sa'dí some chagrin, as he "wept bitterly," while paying tribute to the Shaykh's exalted motives.

Between the subjects of the last two biographies, who, if not very remarkable poets, had at least a certain character and individuality, and the great Jámí, in whom culminated

the literary talent of this period, there intervene a number of minor poets amongst whom it is difficult to make a selection, but of whom half a dozen or more deserve at least a brief mention. Little, as a rule, is known of their lives or personal characteristics, though most of them are noticed in the numerous biographical works of the period, and for convenience they may best be arranged in chronological order, according to the dates of their death.

Kátibí of Níshápúr.

Kátibí of Níshápúr

Kátibí of Níshápúr (or of Turshíz), who died in 838/1434–5, comes first in sequence and perhaps in merit. Mír 'Alí Shír Nawá'í, in his *Majálisu'n-Nafá'is*, classes him amongst the poets who were living in his time but whom he had never had the honour of meeting, and writes of him :

Mír 'Alí Shír's opinion of him

"He was incomparable in his time, and introduced wonderful ideas into whatever kind of verse he attempted, especially his *qaṣídas*, even inventing new artifices, which were entirely successful. So also his *mathnawís*, such as 'Love and Beauty' (*Ḥusn u 'Ishq*), 'Regarder and Regarded' (*Názir u Manẓúr*), 'Bahrám and Gul-andám,' which illustrate such artifices as the double metre (*dhu'l-baḥrayn*), the double rhyme (*dhu'l-qáfiyatayn*) and various kinds of word-plays[1]. His *Díwán* of *ghazals* (odes) and *qaṣídas* (elegies) is, however, more celebrated and better. Towards the end of his life he attempted an imitation of the *Khamsa* (Quintet), in which he advanced great pretensions ; probably for this reason he failed to complete it. In my humble opinion his poetical talent was such that had he enjoyed the patronage of a ruler, like our own most fortunate Sovereign, capable of appreciating good verse, and had his life endured longer, he would have captured the hearts of all with his effusions, but through his ill-fortune he did not survive into either of the two reigns here mentioned[2]."

Mír 'Alí Shír then quotes a verse each from a *qaṣída* and a *ghazal* of his, and finally the two following verses

[1] Dawlatsháh, however, implies that these were separate poems entitled *Majma'u'l-Baḥrayn*, *Dhu'l-Qáfiyatayn*, and *Dah-náma-i-Tajnísát*.

[2] Probably Sulṭán Abú Sa'íd and Abu'l-Ghází Ḥusayn are meant.

which Khwándamír[1] adduces as a proof that he perished in the outbreak of plague at Astarábád to which he alludes[2]:

ز آتشِ قهرِ وبا گردید نا گاهان خراب ‘
استرابادی که خاکش بود خوشبوتر ز مُشك ‘
اندرو از پیر و برنا هیچ کس باقی نماند ‘
آتش اندر بیشه چون افتد نه تر ماند نه خُشك ‘

"That Astarábád whose dust was more fragrant than musk
Was suddenly made desolate by the fiery wrath of the pestilence.
No one, old or young, survived therein:
When fire falls on the forest neither moist nor dry remains."

Dawlatsháh consecrates ten pages of his *Memoirs of the Poets*[3] to Kátibí, who, according to him, was born at a village between Turshíz and Níshápúr, whence he is sometimes called Turshízí and sometimes Níshápúrí. He learned the art of calligraphy from the poet Símí[4], who, however, became jealous of him, so that he left Níshápúr for Herát. Finding his talent unappreciated at the court there, he went to Astarábád and Shírwán, where he attached himself for a time to Amír Shaykh Ibráhím, from whom he received large sums of money which he dissipated in a short while, so that he was reduced to the state of penury depicted in the following verses:

مطبخی‌را دی طلب کردم که بغرائی پزد ‘
تا شود زآن آش کارِ ما و مهمان ساخته ‘
گفت لحم و دنبه گر یابم که خواهد داد آرد ‘
گفتم آنکو آسیای چرخ گردان ساخته ‘

[1] *Ḥabíbu's-Siyar*, vol. iii, part 3, p. 149.

[2] These verses are also given by Dawlatsháh (pp. 389–390 of my edition), who merely says that he composed them "on the plague and the fierceness of the pestilence."

[3] Pp. 381–391 of my edition.

[4] Símí's life is given by Dawlatsháh, pp. 412–417.

"Yesterday I called my cook and bade him bake for me a pie
That my guest's needs and mine own might eke be satisfied thereby.
'If,' said he, 'I get the meat and get the fat, who'll give the meal?'
'He,' I answered, 'who the millstone of the heavens made to wheel.'"

Kátibí next proceeded to Ádharbáyján, and composed a *qaṣída* in praise of the Turkmán ruler Iskandar ibn Qará Yúsuf. As this potentate failed to appreciate his efforts or to reward him for them, he wrote a very coarse lampoon on him and departed to Iṣfahán, where he seems to have undergone a kind of conversion at the hands of Ṣá'inu'd-Dín Tarika, to have renounced the adulation of princes and attendance at courts, and to have adopted the outlook of the Ṣúfí mystics. Dawlatsháh[1] quotes one of his poems (also occurring, with two additional verses, in a manuscript of mine) which reflects this change of heart, but is more conspicuous for piety than for literary merit. From Iṣfahán he went to Rasht and thence once more to Astarábád, where, as we have seen, he died.

Jámí, a better judge than Dawlatsháh, is more guarded in his praise of Kátibí, of whom he says in the seventh chapter of his *Baháristán* that he had many original ideas which he expressed in an original way, but that his verse was unequal and uneven—"cats and camels" (*shutur gurba*). I possess a good manuscript of his *Díwán* (hitherto, so far as I know, unpublished) dated 923/1517 and containing nearly 3000 verses, odes, fragments and quatrains. As usual the fragments are the most personal, and therefore, from the biographical point of view, the most interesting, though unfortunately ignorance of the persons and circumstances to which they refer often render a full appreciation impossible. Of these fragments my MS. contains 105 (ff. 104^{b}–115^{b}), mostly consisting of only two verses, of which only two can be precisely dated. The first records the death by violence of Minúchihr Sháh in 825/1422, and the second the death of Mír 'Ádil Sháh in 827/1424. The following have been selected as presenting some special

[1] P. 384 of my edition.

feature of interest. The first is remarkable only on account of the ingenious rhyme and alliteration :

ای دل ار خواهی که باشی در رهِ عزّت سوار،
اسپِ همّت‌را بمیدانِ قناعت تاز تیز،
تا شود واقف دلت از سرِّ هر کاری که هست،
نقدِ هستی سر بسر در پای اهلِ راز ریز،
گر شود کم جوهرِ جانت چو بیزی خاكِ فقر،
مگذران زین رهگذر بر دل غُبار و باز بیز،
ور بحق دانستهٔ جای نشست و خاست‌را،
خواه در ارمن نشین و خواه در ابخاز خیز،

"O heart, if thou wouldst ride on the road of honour, swiftly gallop the steed of ambition into the arena of contentment.
That thy heart may become acquainted with the mystery of everything that is, cast the cash of thy being in full at the feet of the mystics.
If the substance of thy soul be diminished when thou siftest the dust of poverty, suffer not dust from this road [to settle] on thy heart, but sift again.
And if thou knowest rightly the occasions for sitting and rising[1], sit if thou wilt in Armenia, or rise up if thou wilt in Abkház.

The alliterations *táz tíz*, *ráz ríz*, *báz bíz*, and *Abkház khíz* are very ingenious, though otherwise the lines are not remarkable. The reference in the following fragment may be to the poet Salmán of Sáwa himself[2], or possibly to Kátibí's contemporary 'Árifí of Herát, who, as Mír 'Alí Shír tells us in his *Majálisu'n-Nafá'is*, was called by his admirers "the second Salmán."

آن قوم که در دعوی از جانبِ سلمانند،
در معرضِ شعرِ من از بهرِ چه می آیند،
شعرِ منِ روشن دل آنگه سخنِ سلمان،
من هیچ نمی گویم مردم همه بینایند،

[1] By the "rules of sitting and rising" the Persians understand the laws of etiquette.

[2] See pp. 260–271 *supra*.

"Those people who advance a claim on behalf of Salmán, why do they take objection to my verse?
The verse of me the illuminated and then Salmán's poetry...—I say nothing; all men can see [the difference for themselves]!"

In the following squib the Kamál referred to may be Kamál of Khujand, but is more probably Kátibí's contemporary Kamálu'd-Dín Ghiyáth al-Fársí of Shíráz[1], while Khusraw and Ḥasan are presumably the two eminent poets of Dihlí already noticed[2].

گر حسن معنی ز خسرو بُرد نتوان کرد منع،
ز آنکه استادست خسرو بلکه ز استادان زیاد،
ور معانئ حسن‌را بُرد از دیوان کمال،
هیچ نتوان گفتن اورا دزد بر دزد اوفتاد،

"If Ḥasan stole ideas from Khusraw, one cannot prevent him,
For Khusraw is a master, nay, more than the masters!
And if Kamál stole Ḥasan's ideas from his *Díwán*
One can say nothing to him: a thief has fallen on a thief!"

The two following pleasant quips, which help to explain Kátibí's unpopularity with his colleagues, are addressed to a contemporary poet named Badr ("Full Moon"). Dawlatsháh, who accords him a brief notice[3], tells us that this Badr was for many years the principal poet of Shírwán, where, as we have seen, Kátibí established himself for a time. Dawlatsháh gives the first of the two following fragments as a specimen of the literary duels which took place between these two, and adds that though some critics prefer Badr's poetry to Kátibí's, the people of Samarqand hold a contrary opinion.

لقب کاتبی دارم ای بدر امّا، محمّد رسید اسم از آسمانم،
محمّد مرا نام گشت و تو بدری، بانگشت آنِ تو از هم درانم،[4]

[1] See Dawlatsháh, pp. 418–420 of my edition.
[2] See pp. 108–110 *supra*.
[3] Pp. 377–378 of my edition.
[4] Dawlatsháh has the better variant: بانگشت سبّابه‌ات بر درانم، "I will tear thee asunder with my index finger."

"I have the title Kátibí, O Badr, but Muḥammad is the name which
came to me from heaven;
Muḥammad became my name, and thou art Badr; with my finger
I will tear thine asunder[1]."

دی بدرکِ بدرگ‌را گفتم که نهٔ شاعر،
آنکز شعرا باشد انگیختنش باید،
گفتا که بهر شهری آویخته‌ام شعری،
شعر آنکه چنان گوید آویختنش باید،

"Yesterday I said to the ill-conditioned little Badr, 'Thou art no poet!
He who is of the poets, him should one encourage.'
'In every city,' he replied, 'I have hung up[2] a poem':
One who produces such poetry ought [himself] to be hung!"

The following, on the other hand, is a tribute to the skill shown by Abú Isḥáq (Busḥáq) of Shíráz[3] in the gastronomic poems contained in his *Díwán-i-Aṭ'ima*:

شیخ بُسْحاق دام نعمته، گرم پخت او خیال اطعمه‌را،
سفرهٔ او فگند از نعمت، هست بر خوانِ او صلا همه‌را،

"Shaykh Busḥáq (may his luxury endure!) dished up hot the idea of
foods:
He spread a table of luxuries: all are invited to his table."

The following satire on a poet named Shams-i-'Alá is imitated, and indeed partly borrowed, from a well-known poem by 'Ubayd-i-Zákání[4]:

رفت آخر از جهان شمسِ علا، آنکه گه گه در شماری آمدی،
او برفت و ماند ازو دیوانِ شعر، هم نماندی گر بکاری آمدی،

[1] The allusion is to the Prophet Muḥammad's miracle of cleaving the full moon (*Badr*) asunder with his finger. "Thine" means "thy name."

[2] Probably alludes to the common belief that the classical *Mu'allaqát* of the Arabs were so called because they were "suspended" on the door of the Ka'ba at Mecca. Badr means that he has produced a prize poem in every city.

[3] See pp. 344–351 *supra*.

[4] See pp. 230–257 *supra*.

"Shams-i-'Alá hath at length departed from the world, he who now and again used to be taken into account.
He hath departed and left behind him a *Díwán* of verse; even that would not be left if it were of any use!"

In the following he accuses the poet Símí[1], who taught him calligraphy, of plagiarism:

میانِ شهر نیشاپور سیمی، چو اشعارِ ملیحِ کاتبی دید،
بمشهد رفت و بر نامِ خودش بست، نمك خورد و نمکدان‌را بدزدید،

"When Símí saw the tasteful poems of Kátibí in the city of Níshápúr
He went to Mashhad and produced them in his own name: he ate the salt and stole the salt-cellar!"

Here is another denunciation of plagiarists:

شاعر نباشد آنکو هنگامِ بیت گفتن،
ز اشعارِ اوستادان آرد خیال در هم،
هر خانهٔ که اورا از خشتِ کهنه سازند،
مانند خانهٔ نو نبود بناش محکم،

"He is no poet who, when he produces verses, brings together images from the poems of the masters;
No house which is made of old bricks stands on so firm a foundation as a new house."

Here is a gentle hint to one of his royal patrons to see that he gets his full allowance of wine at the banquet:

خسروا آنی که از بهر وقارِ مهرِ تو،
پُشتِ طاقِ لا مکان چون گنبدِ گردون خمست،

[1] Dawlatsháh (pp. 412–417) consecrates an article to him, in which he mentions his migration from Níshápúr to Mashhad. Besides being a notable penman, poet and maker of acrostics, he was an expert in gilding, illumination, and all arts connected with books, and gave instruction in these subjects. He is said to have composed 3000 verses of poetry in one night. He had also so voracious an appetite that on one occasion he ate twelve maunds of food and fruit without suffering any evil effects.

نعمتِ ما نیست کم از جودِ بسیارت ولی‘

مَی که می آرند همچون عمرِ بدخواهت کمست‘

"O Prince, thou art he on account of the weight of whose love the back of the arch of the Placeless is bowed even as the vault of Heaven!

Our share of favour is not lacking out of thy abounding liberality, but the wine they bring is of short measure, like the life of thine enemy."

Finally here is an epigram addressed to his pen:

فریاد ز دستِ خامهٔ قیر اندود‘

کو رازِ دلم بدشمن و دوست نمود‘

گفتم که زبانش ببُرم گُنگ شود‘

ببریدم از آن فصیح‌تر گشت که بود‘

"Alack at the hands of my pitch-stained pen, which showed forth my secret to foe and friend!

I said, 'I will cut its tongue that it may become dumb': I did so, and it waxed more eloquent than before[1]."

There are references to other places, such as Sárí in Mázandarán, and to other individuals whom I cannot identify, such as Khwája Niẓám, 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán, a poet named Amín, and Shápúr, Jamshíd and Ardashír, who were perhaps Zoroastrians, since the first two of the three are mentioned in connection with wine. The last seems to have been a rebel against the king of Shírwán, who, having got him into his power, hesitated between killing and blinding him; whereon the poet advises the latter course in these verses:

شاها مکُش اردشیرِ سر گردانرا‘

هرچند شکست پایهٔ شروانرا‘

گفتی کُشمش یا کَشمش میل بچشم‘

کُشتن نه نکوست کور کن شیطانرا‘

[1] The nibs of the reed-pen (*qalam*) are cut to make it write better.

"O king, do not kill the rebel Ardashír, although he hath broken the support of Shírwán:
Thou didst ask, 'Shall I kill him, or apply the needle to his eyes?'
It is not good to kill; blind the devil!"

'Árifí of Herát.

'Árifí of Herát

The next poet of whom something must be said is 'Árifí of Herát, whose best-known work is the mystical and allegorical poem properly entitled *Ḥál-náma* ("the Book of Ecstasy"), but more commonly known, from its subject, as *Gúy u Chawgán* ("the Ball and the Polo-stick"), which was written in 842/1438–9 in the space of a fortnight, and for which the author received as a reward from his royal patron a horse and the sum of one thousand *dínárs*[1]. As he was, according to his own statement, over fifty years old at the time, he must have been born about 791/1389, the year in which the great Ḥáfíz died. His own death appears to have taken place in 853/1449.

As already mentioned[2], he was called by his admirers "the second Salmán," partly because his style was deemed similar to that of the earlier poet, and partly, as Mír 'Alí Shír informs us in his *Majálisu'n-Nafá'is*, because both poets suffered from weak and inflamed eyes. This is proved in the case of 'Árifí by the following verse:

بر پلكِ سُرخِ دیدهٔ من داروی سفید
باشد بعینه نمكِ سوده بر كباب

"The white salve on the red lid of my eye is exactly like powdered salt on roast meat."

Though almost all the biographers (except the modern Riḍá-qulí Khán in his *Majma'u'l-Fuṣaḥá*) make mention of 'Árifí, the particulars which they give about him are very

[1] See Rieu's *Persian Catalogue*, pp. 639–640, and his *Persian Supplement*, p. 185.

[2] P. 490 *supra*.

meagre. His *Ḥál-náma*, which Jámí calls "one of his best poems," comprises only some 500 verses. It has not, I think, been printed, but I have looked at a pretty and fairly good manuscript of it in the Cambridge University Library[1], transcribed in 952/1546, and found it, I regret to confess, laboured and insipid. The following passage, describing the king's polo-pony, includes some of the specimen verses given both by Jámí and Mír 'Alí Shír, and may therefore be assumed to be a favourable sample:

خورشید سریرِ ماه مسند ' سلطانِ جهانیان محمّد '
شاهی که چو بر گرفت چوگان ' مه گوئی شد و سپهر میدان '
آن لحظه که پا بزین در آورد ' گرد از کُرهٔ زمین بر آورد '
چون ابرش بادپا بر انگیخت ' گوئی که بباد آتش آمیخت '
چوگانئ شه که در تگاپوی ' از توسنِ چرخ میبَرَد گوی '
در جَسْتَنش ار نه سر کشیدی ' بر کوی سپهر بر دویدی '
هر بار که در عرق شدی غرق ' باران بودی و در میان برق '
بگریخته آذر از سُمِ او ' آویخته صرصر از دُمِ او '

"The King of the denizens of earth Muḥammad[2], whose throne is the sun and his cushion the moon,
That King for whom, when he lifts his polo-stick, the moon becomes the ball and heaven the playing-field.
At what time he throws his leg over the saddle he raises the dust from the terrestrial sphere.
When his spur excites his horse, thou wouldst say that fire mingled with wind.
When the King's polo-pony is at the gallop it snatches away the ball from the steed of heaven.
If he did not restrain it in its leaping, it would overshoot the goal of heaven.
When it is drenched in perspiration it is like rain with lightning in the midst.
Fire flies from its hoof, while the whirlwind clings to its tail."

[1] Add. 3150. See my *Camb. Pers. Cat.*, pp. 365–6.

[2] *I.e.* Prince Muḥammad ibn Báysunqur. See Rieu's *Pers. Cat.*, *loc. cit.*

The whole poem is filled with these ingenious and often far-fetched similes and metaphors drawn from the game of polo, but to most European readers they will seem tasteless and artificial, and the resulting product hardly worthy to be called poetry in the sense in which we understand the word.

Of the poets who died in the second half of the ninth century of the *hijra* (fifteenth of the Christian era) it is difficult to decide which are of sufficient importance to deserve mention in a work like this, until we come to the last and greatest of them, Jámí, whose claim to be regarded as one of the most notable poets of Persia is indisputable. That there is no lack of them, so far as numbers go, will be evident to anyone who consults the contemporary biographers. Thus Dawlatsháh gives notices of some two score of this period, while Mír 'Alí Shír Nawá'í in his *Majálisu'n-Nafá'is* (composed in the Turkí language) mentions forty-six in the first chapter (*Majlis*) of his work, wherein he treats of those poets who were still living in his time, though he had never met them. Some of these poets are familiar by name to students of Persian literature, and most of them have produced graceful verses, but few if any attain a degree of excellence which would preserve their names from oblivion but for their association with princes and rulers who gloried not only in the quality but in the quantity of the men of letters who frequented their courts and enjoyed their patronage. Dawlatsháh, implicitly recognizing this fact, often makes a brief notice of some minor poet the peg on which to hang a much fuller account of his royal patron. Thus in his notice of Sháh Ni'matu'lláh, who really has claims to distinction as a mystic if not as a poet, he concludes by enumerating[1] the chief *Shaykhs*, men of learning, poets and artists who added lustre to the court of Sháhrukh. Of the poets he mentions Shaykh Ádharí of Isfará'in (d. 866/1461–2), Bábá Sawdá'í of Abíward (d. 853/1449–50),

[1] P. 340 of my edition.

Mawláná 'Alí Shiháb of Turshíz, Amír Sháhí of Sabzawár (d. 857/1453), Kátibí of Turshíz (d. 839/1435–6), and Nasímí, "the fame of whose writings and *díwáns*," he adds, "is celebrated throughout the habitable quarter of the world." "There were," he concludes, "four talented artists at the court of Sháh-rukh who in their own time had no peer, Khwája 'Abdu'l-Qádir of Maráǵha in the art of music and roundels (*adwár*), Yúsuf of Andakán in singing and minstrelsy, Ustád Qiwámu'd-Dín in geometry, design and architecture, and Mawláná Khalíl the painter, who was second only to Mání[1]." Yet the verses of these poets, for the most part unpublished till this day and very rare even in manuscript, were probably but little known even in their own time outside Khurásán, and we may consider ourselves fortunate if we can individualize them by some special personal characteristic or incident in their lives, such as that Ádharí visited Sháh Ni'matu'lláh, became a mystic and renounced the flattery of kings, and made a journey to India[2]; or that Sháhí was a descendant of the Sarbadárí rulers of Sabzawár and a Shí'a, which latter fact has won for him a long and laudatory notice in the *Majálisu'l-Mú'minín* ("Assemblies of true believers," *i.e.* Shí'ites) of Núru'lláh ibn Sayyid Sharíf al-Mar'ashí of Shúshtar[3]. "Scholars are agreed," says Dawlatsháh[4], with his usual exaggeration, "that in the verse of Amír Sháhí are combined the ardour of Khusraw, the grace of Ḥasan, the delicacy of Kamál, and the clarity of Ḥáfiz." That he entertained no mean opinion of himself is shown by the following verses which he extemporized when assigned a lower place at the reception of some prince than that to which he considered himself entitled[5]:

[1] It is commonly believed by the Persians that Mání (Manes), the founder of Manichæanism, claimed that his skill in painting was the miraculous proof of his divine mission.

[2] See pp. 399–400 of my edition of Dawlatsháh.

[3] Composed about 993/1585. See Rieu's *Persian Cat.*, pp. 337–8.

[4] P. 426 of my edition.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 427.

شاها مدارِ چرخِ فلك در هزار سال،
چون من یگانهٔ ننماید بصد هنر،
گر زیرِ دستِ هر کس و ناکس نشانیَم،
اینجا لطیفه‌ایست بدانم من اینقدر،
بحریست مجلسِ تو و در بحر بی خلاف،
لؤلؤ بزیر باشد و خاشاك بر زبر،

"O king, the revolution of heaven's wheel in a thousand years
Will not show forth one like me, unique in a hundred accomplishments.
If thou makest me to sit below everybody and nobody
Herein is a subtle point; so much I know.
Thy court is an ocean, and in the ocean, without dispute,
The pearl is at the bottom and the rubbish at the top."

What, again, is to be thought of such a verse as this of Qudsí of Herát in which he alludes to the slobbering mouth with which he was afflicted as the result of some paralytic affection of the face[1]?

با وجودِ چنین دهن که مراست، شعر گویم که آب از آن بچکد،

"Notwithstanding such a mouth as I have
I utter verse from which water[2] drips."

Such ingenuities are very characteristic of the time and place of which we are speaking, and therefore deserve notice, but they do not constitute what we understand by poetry. The following passage from Dawlatsháh[3] gives a good idea of what the courts of these Tímúrid princes were like.

"Now the auspicious birth of Prince Báysunghur took place in the year 802/1399–1400. He possessed a perfect comeliness and favourable fortune and prosperity. Alike in talent and in the encouragement of talent he was famous throughout the world. Calligraphy and poetry were highly esteemed in his time, and scholars and men of talent, attracted by his renown, flocked from all regions and quarters to enter his service. It is said that forty calligraphers were busy copying in his library, of which scribes the chief was Mawláná Ja'far of Tabríz.

[1] Cited by Mír 'Alí Shír Nawá'í in his *Majálisu'n-Nafá'is*.

[2] *Áb* means water, but also lustre, temper (of steel), water (of diamonds), splendour, and the like.

[3] Pp. 350–351 of my edition.

He showed favour to men of talent, loved poets, strove after refinement and luxury, and entertained witty courtiers and boon-companions. Of the kings of all times since Khusraw Parwíz[1] none lived so joyous and splendid a life as Báysunghur Sulṭán. He composed and appreciated good verse both in Turkí and Persian, and wrote six different hands. This verse is by him :

'گدای کوی تو شد بایسنغر' گدای کوی خوبان پادشاهست'

'Báysunghur hath become the beggar in thy street :
The king is the beggar in the street of the fair.'

"It is related that, in the time of Sulṭán Báysunghur, Khwája Yúsuf of Andakán had no peer in song and minstrelsy throughout the Seven Climes. His notes, sweet as David's song, lacerated the soul, while his 'Royal Mode[2]' sprinkled salt on wounded hearts. On several occasions Sulṭán Ibráhím the son of Sháh-rukh sent from Shíráz to ask for Khwája Yúsuf from Báysunghur Sulṭán, who, however, raised difficulties. Finally he sent a hundred thousand *dínárs* in cash in order that Mírzá Báysunghur might send Khwája Yúsuf for him, but Báysunghur answered his brother in this verse :

'ما یوسفِ خود نمی فروشیم' تو سیمِ سیاهِ خود نگه دار'

'We will not sell our Yúsuf [Joseph] : keep thy black silver !'

"Between Ulugh Beg Kúrkán, Báysunghur Bahádur and Ibráhím Sulṭán there passed many pleasant sayings and much correspondence which transcend the scope of this Memoir, but faithless Fortune and the cruel Sphere laid hands on the life of that joyous prince in the days of his youth, nor did the ministers of Fate and Destiny take pity on his immaturity. One night, by the decree of the Lord of lords, through excess of wine he was overwhelmed by the deep sleep of death, of which the inhabitants of Herát supposed apoplexy to be the cause.

'گویند که مرگ طرفه خوابیست' آن خوابِ گران گرفت مارا'

'They say that death is a strange sleep : that heavy sleep overtook us.'

"So the Prince, half-drunken, staggered to the bed of earth, whence he shall rise up bemused on the Resurrection Morning, with others drugged with the Wine of Death, to seek from the cup-bearers of '*and their Lord shall give them to drink pure wine*[3]' the purification of the

[1] The Sásánian, contemporary with the Prophet Muḥammad (seventh century after Christ).

[2] *Áhang-i-Khusrawání*, the name of one of the modes or airs of Persian music.

[3] *Qur'án*, lxxvi, 21.

headache-healing wine of '*a full bumper*[1].' It is our firm hope that the All-Merciful Judge will overlook his sin, which naught but the dew of His Mercy can wash away. This tragic catastrophe of Báysunghur Sulṭán took place in the metropolis of Herát in the White Garden in the year 837/1433–4, his age being then thirty-five years. The poets who were attached to the service of Báysunghur Bahádur during the reign of Sháh-rukh Sulṭán were Bábá Sawdá'í, Mawláná Yúsuf Amírí, Amír Sháhí of Sabzawár, Mawláná Kátibí of Turshíz, and Amír Yamínu'd-Dín...The poets composed elegies on Sulṭán Báysunghur's death, but Amír Sháhí surpassed them all in this quatrain:

'در ماتمِ تو دهر بسی شیون کرد'

'لاله همه خونِ دیده در دامن کرد'

'گُل جیبِ قبای ارغوانی بدرید'

'قمری نمدِ سیاه در گردن کرد'

'The age lamented much in mourning for thee; the red anemone poured forth all the blood of its eyes into its skirt;
The rose rent the collar of its crimson mantle; the dove clothed its neck in black felt.'"

Dawlatsháh, in spite of all his faults, of which inaccuracy and an intolerable floridity of style are the worst, does succeed in depicting better than many contemporary historians and biographers the strange mixture of murder, drunkenness, love of Art and literary taste which characterized the courts of these Tímúrid princes, and it may not be amiss to add to the preceding extracts the portrait of one of the most accomplished of them, Ulugh Beg, with which he concludes his notice of the poet 'Iṣmat of Bukhárá, the master of Bisáṭí and Khayálí, and the contemporary of Rustam of Khúriyán, Ṭáhir of Abíward, and Barandaq of Bukhárá. After mentioning that 'Iṣmat died in 829/1425–6 he continues[2]:

"Now as to the late Sulṭán of blessed memory Ulugh Beg Kúrkán, he was learned, just, masterful and energetic, and attained a high degree in the science of Astronomy, while in Rhetoric he could split hairs. In his reign the status of men of learning reached its highest

[1] *Qur'án*, lxxviii, 34. [2] Pp. 391 *et seqq.* of my edition.

zenith, and in his period the rank of scholars was at its greatest. In the science of Geometry he was an expositor of subtleties, and on questions of Cosmography an elucidator of the Almagest. Scholars and philosophers are agreed that in Islámic times, nay, from the days of [Alexander] 'the Two-horned' until now no monarch like unto Mírzá Ulugh Beg Kúrkán in philosophy and science has ever sat on a royal throne. He had the most complete knowledge of the mathematical sciences, so that he recorded observations of the stars with the cooperation of the greatest scientists of his age, such as Qáḍí-záda-i-Rúmí[1] and Mawláná Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Jamshíd. These two great scholars, however, died before completing their work, and the Sulṭán, devoting all his energies to this task, completed the observations and produced the *Zíj-i-Sulṭání*[2] ('Royal Almanac'), to which he himself prefixed an exordium. These tables are today in use and highly esteemed by philosophers, some of whom prefer them to the *Zíj-i-Ílkhání* of Naṣíru'd-Dín of Ṭús[3].

"He further constructed a fine college in Samarqand, the like of which in beauty, rank and worth is not to be found throughout the seven climes, and in which at the present time more than a hundred students are domiciled and provided for. During the reign of his father Sháh-rukh he exercised absolute sway over Samarqand and Transoxiana....

"It is related that Mírzá Ulugh Beg's intelligence and power of memory were such that a record was kept of every animal which he overthrew in the chase, with the place and date of the hunting, recording the day, the locality, and the nature of the quarry. By chance this book was mislaid, and seek as they might they could not find it, so that the librarians were filled with apprehension. 'Be not troubled,' said Ulugh Beg, 'for I remember all these particulars from beginning to end.' So he summoned the scribes and repeated the dates and circumstances, all of which the scribes took down until the record was completed. After a while by chance the original record turned up. They collated the two copies, and found divergences only in four or five places.

"Many such marvels are related of the genius and intelligence of this prince. Thus the learned Shaykh Ádharí (the poet) relates as follows:

[1] His proper name was Ṣaláḥu'd-Dín Músá.

[2] Concerning this important work, probably completed about 841/1437–8, see Rieu's *Persian Catalogue* and the references there given, especially to the partial text and translation published by Sédillot (Paris, 1847 and 1853).

[3] Rieu's *Pers. Cat.* pp. 454–5. Some account of Naṣíru'd-Dín of Ṭús will be found in my *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, vol. ii, pp. 484–6.

"'In the year 800/1397–8, when I was in Qará-bágh with my maternal uncle, who was story-teller to the great Amír, the Lord of the Fortunate Conjunction, Tímúr Kúrkán, I became attached to the service of Ulugh Beg Mírzá in the days of his childhood, and for several years was that Prince's playmate in childish games and used to tell him tales and stories, while he, after the fashion of children, became familiar and intimate with me. In the year 852/1448–9, when the above-mentioned Prince conquered Khurásán and halted at Isfará'in, I arose, after the grey dawn of age had been kindled from the evening of youth[1], and hastened to wait upon him. When he saw me from afar off in the garb of the religious mendicants and men of God, after saluting me and enquiring after my health, he said, "O *darwísh*, thou seemest to be my ancient companion and friend. Art thou not the nephew of our story-teller?" I was amazed at the quick apprehension and clear memory of the King, and replied, that I was. He spoke of Qará-bágh, the wars in Georgia and the marvels of that country, while I answered to the best of my recollection.'

"Many similar instances are related of this Prince's keenness of memory, but more than this much exceeds the scope of these Memoirs."

A year after the meeting described above (in 853/1449–1450) the talented Ulugh Beg was murdered by his unnatural son 'Abdu'l-Laṭíf, who was himself murdered seven months later.

Ḥusayn Wá'iẓ-*i-Káshifí.*

Ḥusayn *Wá'iẓ*-i-Káshifí

Almost all the literary achievements of the latest period treated in this volume centre round that great and liberal patron of the arts the Minister Mír 'Alí Shír Nawá'í, as they culminate in the brilliant and many-sided poet Jámí, with some account of whom we shall conclude. First, however, a few more words must be added about Mír Alí Shír and also about Ḥusayn *Wá'iẓ*-i-Káshifí, agreeably to a promise given in the preceding chapter, where something was said about their more solid prose work. Of the latter a notice is given by Khwándamír in his *Ḥabíbu's-Siyar*[2], of which the substance

[1] The turning grey of black hair is often poetically described by the Persians as the dawn coming up out of the night.

[2] Bombay lith. ed. of 1273/1857, vol. iii, part 3, p. 341.

is as follows. His full name was Kamálu'd-Dín Ḥusayn, and, as his title *Wá'iẓ* implies, he was by profession a preacher. He had a fine and melodious voice and a considerable knowledge of theology and traditions. Every Friday morning he used to preach in the *Dáru's-Siyádat-i-Sulṭání* at Herát, and afterwards used to officiate in the Mosque of Mír 'Alí Shír. On Tuesday he used to preach in the Royal College, and on Wednesday at the tomb of Khwája Abu'l-Walíd Aḥmad. In the latter part of his life he also sometimes preached on Thursday in the chapel of Sulṭán Aḥmad Mírzá. He was skilled in astronomy as well as in the art of literary composition, and could hold his own with his compeers in other branches of learning. His son Fakhru'd-Dín 'Alí, who succeeded him as a preacher, was something of a poet and composed the romantic *mathnawí* known as *Maḥmúd and Ayáz*. The father, however, does not seem to have written poetry, but preferred to display his skill in fine writing, chiefly in the well-known *Anwár-i-Suhaylí*, or "Lights of Canopus." This florid and verbose rendering of the famous Book of Kalíla and Dimna, thanks to the reputation which it enjoys in India, has attracted an undue amount of attention amongst English students of Persian: it was for many years one of the text-books prescribed for candidates for the India Civil Service, and is one of the lengthiest Persian texts which ever issued from an English printing-press[1]. The way in which this wordy and bombastic writer has embroidered and expanded not only the original Arabic version of Ibnu'l-Muqaffa', but even the earlier Persian version, may be appreciated by the English reader who will refer to vol. ii of my *Literary History of Persia*, pp. 350–353. The other works of Ḥusayn *Wá'iẓ* have been already mentioned[2], except an epistolary manual entitled *Makhzanu'l-Inshá* which I have not seen. He died in 910/1504–5, nineteen years before Khwándamír's notice of his life was written.

[1] Messrs Austin of Hertford, 1805.

[2] Pp. 441, 442 *supra*.

Mír 'Alí Shír Nawá'í.

Mír 'Alí Shír Nawá'í

The importance and influence of Mír 'Alí Shír, both as a writer and a patron of literary men, was, as pointed out in the last chapter, immense, and he may without exaggeration be described as the Mæcenas of his time and country. He was the friend and patron of Jámí, who dedicated many of his works to him, and on whose death in 898/1492 he composed an elegy of which Khwándamír quotes the opening lines, and his name occurs in connection with a large proportion of the scholars and poets noticed by the last-named writer in the section which he devotes in the *Ḥabíbu's-Siyar*[1] to the men of letters of Sulṭán Ḥusayn's time. Bábur, who is much more critical and much less addicted to indiscriminate praise than biographers like Dawlatsháh and Khwándamír, speaks in the highest terms of Mír 'Alí Shír[2], and says that he knows of no such generous and successful patron of talent. Apart from the numerous writers and poets whom he encouraged and patronized, the painters Bihzád and Sháh Muẓaffar and the incomparable musicians Qul-Muḥammad, Shaykhí Ná'í and Ḥusayn 'Údí owed their success to him. He himself was a successful musician, composer and painter, and unrivalled as a poet in the Turkí language, in which he produced four *Díwáns* of lyric poetry and six long *mathnawís*, five in imitation of Niẓámí's *Khamsa* ("Quintet"), and one in imitation of 'Aṭṭár's *Mantiqu't-Ṭayr* ("Speech of the Birds") entitled *Lisánu't-Ṭayr* ("the Language of the Birds"). In Persian poetry, which he wrote under the pen-name of Fání, he was, according to Bábur, less successful, for though some of his verses were not bad, most were weak and poor. His prosody also was lacking in accuracy, and in the treatise entitled *Mízánu'l-Awzán* ("the Measure of Metres") which he wrote on that subject Bábur asserts

[1] Bombay lith. ed. of 1273/1857, vol. iii, part 3, pp. 334–351.

[2] *Bábur-náma*, ed. Ilminsky, pp. 213–214 (=Pavet de Courteille's French translation, vol. i, pp. 382–385).

that he made erroneous statements about four of the twenty-four quatrain-metres which he discussed.

It is on his Turkish rather than on his Persian poetry, therefore, that Mír 'Alí Shír's claims to literary fame are based, though his munificent patronage of all literature and art entitles him to honourable mention in any history of Persian literature. Such as desire further particulars of his life and work will find them in the admirable monograph published by M. Belin in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1861 under the title of *Notice biographique et littéraire sur Mir Ali-Chir Névâii, suivie d'extraits tirés des œuvres du même auteur*[1]. He was born at Herát in 844/1440–1 and died and was buried there on the 12th of Jumáda ii, 906 (January 3, 1501). His life, for a statesman in so troublous a land and time, was singularly peaceful, and throughout it he enjoyed the friendship and confidence of Sulṭán Abu'l-Ghází Ḥusayn, his school-fellow in childhood and his sovereign in maturer age[2]. For public life and political power he cared little, and would willingly have renounced them in favour of spiritual contemplation and literary leisure, nor did he ever take to himself a wife. He was even admitted by the illustrious Jámí into the Naqshbandí order of *darwíshes*[3]. His zeal for good works was unfailing, and he is stated to have founded, or restored, and endowed no fewer than 370 mosques, colleges, rest-houses and other pious and charitable institutions in Khurásán alone. He was a prolific writer, and Belin[4] enumerates 29 of his works, composed at various dates between the accession of Sulṭán Ḥusayn and his death. The latest of these was his *Muḥákamatu'l-Lughatayn*, or "Judgement between the two Languages," in which he endeavours to establish the superiority of the Turkí over the Persian tongue. This was written in 905/1499–1500, only the year before his death.

[1] Also published separately as a pamphlet of 158 pages.

[2] He succeeded to the throne of Herát on the death of Abú Sa'íd in Ramaḍán 873 (March–April, 1469).

[3] Belin, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 59–64.

Jámí.

Jámí

Mullá Núru'd-Dín 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán Jámí, who was born at the little town of Jám in Khurásán on Sha'bán 23, 817 (November 7, 1414), and died at Herát on Muḥarram 18, 898 (November 9, 1492), was one of the most remarkable geniuses whom Persia ever produced, for he was at once a great poet, a great scholar, and a great mystic. Besides his poetry, which, apart from minor productions, consisted of three *Díwáns* of lyrical poetry and seven romantic or didactic *mathnawís*, he wrote on the exegesis of the *Qur'án*, the evidence of the Divine Mission of the Prophet Muḥammad, traditions, lives of the Saints, Mysticism, Arabic grammar, Rhyme, Prosody, Music, acrostics (*mu'ammá*) and other matters. In the *Tuḥfa-i-Sámí* forty-six of his works are enumerated, and I do not think this list is exhaustive. He was held in the highest honour by his contemporaries, not only by his fellow-countrymen, but, as we have seen[1], even by the Ottoman Sulṭán, who vainly endeavoured to induce him to visit his court. By his most illustrious contemporaries he was regarded as so eminent as to be beyond praise and so well known as to need no detailed biography. Thus Bábur[2], after observing that "in exoteric and esoteric learning there was none equal to him in that time," says that he is "too exalted for there to be any need for praising him," and that he only introduces his name "for luck and for a blessing." Sám Mírzá, the son of Sháh Isma'íl the Ṣafawí, places him first in the fifth section (*Ṣaḥífa*) of his *Tuḥfa-i-Sámí*[3], and says "by reason of the extreme elevation of his genius...there is no need to describe his condition or set forth any account of him, since the rays of his virtues have reached from the East to the uttermost parts of the

High esteem in which Jámí was held by Bábur

— by Sám Mírzá

[1] See pp. 422–3 *supra*.

[2] *Bábur-náma* (ed. Ilminsky), pp. 222–223.

[3] Cambridge MS. Or. 648, pp. 93–100.

West, while the bountiful table of his excellencies is spread from shore to shore." Dawlatsháh, who puts him first, before Mír 'Alí Shír, in the concluding section of his *Memoirs*[1], which deals with living contemporary poets, speaks in a similar strain. Mír 'Alí Shír, besides the brief notice of him at the beginning of his *Majálisu'n-Nafá'is*, has devoted an entire work, the *Khamsatu'l-Mutaḥayyirín* ("Quintet of the Astonished") to his praises. This work, fully described by Belin[2], is so entitled because it is divided into five parts, a preface, three chapters and an epilogue, which treat respectively (1) of the origin, birth and life of Jámí, and of the author's acquaintance with him; (2) of events and conversations between the author and Jámí indicating the degree of their intimacy; (3) of the correspondence between them preserved in Jámí's works; (4) of the works composed by Jámí at the author's suggestion and instigation; (5) of the books and treatises read by the author under Jámí's direction, with an account of his death and funeral, which was celebrated with extraordinary pomp, and attended by many members of the Royal Family, noblemen, divines and scholars, besides a vast concourse of the common people. But the most valuable biography of him is probably that written by his most eminent disciple, 'Abdu'l-Ghafúr of Lár, who died on Sha'bán 5, 912 (December 21, 1506) and was buried beside his master[3].

— by Dawlatsháh

— by Mír 'Alí Shír

Biography by 'Abdu'l-Ghafúr of Lár

All the essential facts of Jámí's life, however, are given in the excellent *Biographical Sketch* (pp. 1–20) prefixed by Captain Nassau Lees to his edition of the *Nafaḥátu'l-Uns*[4], a sketch only marred by a violent and uncalled-for attack on Mysticism. The details are far fuller and better vouched for than, for instance, in the case of Ḥáfiẓ. Jámí himself

[1] Pp. 483 *et seqq.* of my edition.
[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 101–158.
[3] Rieu's *Persian Catalogue*, pp. 350–1.
[4] Published at Calcutta in 1859.

کُلّ ما لیس کُلّه یُدرَک
زآلِ فرعون یود ناسَره
بود بر صورت کلیم الله
سر بتقلید وی برآوردی
نشد آن مسخره هلاک از غرق
وی بدین مکرمت چرا زنده است
هر که بر صورت کژیده ماست
آن که از محض دوستی خیزد
بود در دل جنان که این دفتر
یک خامه ز جنبش بیوست
دهم از سر تراش آن خامه
داشت جهدی دیر حرخ برین

خلاص شدن مسخرهٔ فرعونیان از غرقه شدن بواسطهٔ انکه در
بصورت موسی علیه السلام برآوردی و مسخری کردی

کاه و بیکاه با عصا و کلاه
هر چه دیدی ز وی همان کردی
در لحت موسی زد در خاک بفرق
که همه مرده اند و وی زنده است
بعذاب مخالفان نه سزاست

بیش فرعونیان ز ناسرگی
ما تم غرق چون زد جبریل
کای نکو کار از بن تبه کردار
گفت حق کای گزیده وی یکچند
این تشتبه کار عداوت خاست

اعتذار کردن از اقتصار این دفتر از سلسلة الذهب
بر همین مقدار

جون بدینجا رسید سر بشکست
بر سانم بقطع این نامه
در رقم کردن حروف سنین
هم برین حرف این نخجسته کلام

جرخ اگر باز بگذرد ز ستیز
ورنه آنرا که خاطر صافی است
جون بر قومش بصاد و ضاد رسید
ختم شد والسّلام والاکرام

کلّه لا تجوز و ان یترک
هر زه گوی مسخ روی مسخره
مثل موسی شدن نه مسخرگی
جامهٔ عمر قبطیان در نیل
از همه بیش دیده ام آزار
ساختی با نوخویش را مانند
بین که جون مرگ کاه و عمر فزاست
کس چه داند که تا چه انگیزد
نبود از نصف اولین کمتر
ساندم کز لک عزیمت تیز
این قدر هم که گفته شد کافی است
خامه را حکم ایستاد رسید

٨٩

فرغ من تسویده الفقیر عبد الرحمن الجامی عفی عنه
فی الحادی عشرین من شهر ذی الحجة سنة ٨٩٠

See p. 509 of the text

JÁMÍ'S AUTOGRAPH DATED A.H. 890 (A.D. 1485)

To face p. 508

has recorded the date of his birth and the double reason for which he adopted the pen-name by which he is known, and he has also recorded the dates when most of his poems and other works were composed, for the most part during the last fourteen or fifteen years of his long life. These dates, as well as the texts of the poems, rest on an unusually firm foundation, for there exists at St Petersburg, in the *Institut des Langues Orientales du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères*, an autograph manuscript of the poet's *Kulliyyát*, or Complete Works, which has been described in great detail by the late Baron Victor Rosen[1], and which has finally settled several doubtful points of chronology. For further details of his life and character there is no lack of contemporary evidence. Even as a boy he showed remarkable quickness and ability, and, as he grew older and pursued his studies under more famous masters, he rapidly assimilated such knowledge as they were able to impart, and often finished by being able to confute them in argument. Of his scholarship Nassau Lees writes as follows:

"Considering Jámí, not as a poet, but simply as a scholar, it cannot be denied that he was a man of remarkable genius and great erudition; and it is to be regretted that he does not seem to have been free from self-conceit, supercilious hauteur, and contempt for the *literati* of his day, so commonly the characteristic of the votaries of his peculiar philosophy. He was extremely reluctant to admit that he was indebted to any of his masters for his acquirements. 'I have found,' said he, 'no master with whom I have read superior to myself. On the contrary I have invariably found that in argument I could defeat them all. I acknowledge, therefore, the obligations of a pupil to his master to none of them; for if I am a pupil of anyone it is of my own father, who taught me the language.'"

Jámí's independence of spirit

More pleasing, though possibly due to the same motives, was his refusal to flatter or humble himself before the rich and powerful, a rare virtue amongst the poets of that day, which led his biographer 'Alí the son of Ḥusayn *Wá'iẓ* al-Káshifí to

[1] *Collections Scientifiques de l'Institut etc. Les Manuscrits Persans*, pp. 215–259.

remark that to no one more than Jámí did the following lines of Niẓámí apply[1]:

چون بعهدِ جوانی از برِ تو‘ بدرِ کس نرفتم از درِ تو‘
همه‌را بر درم فرستادی‘ من نمی خواستم تو میدادی‘

"Since in my youth I ne'er forsook Thy gate
To seek elsewhere the favours of the great,
Thou in return didst send them all to me:
I sought it not; it was a boon from Thee."

To his spiritual teachers, on the other hand, and to those who guided him in the mystic's path Jámí showed the greatest veneration and rendered the most ungrudging homage; a fact abundantly illustrated by Nassau Lees in his *Biographical Sketch*[2].

But though, or perhaps because, he refused to flatter or fawn on the great, few Persian poets have enjoyed during their lives such profound and widespread respect, or have lived so long without being exposed to such disagreeable experiences or discouraging vicissitudes of fortune as fell to the lot of even the greatest of them, such as Firdawsí, Náṣir-i-Khusraw, Anwarí, Sa'di or Ḥáfiẓ. The only unpleasant incident recorded as having befallen Jámí, and one from which he easily and speedily extricated himself, occurred at Baghdád when he was returning from the Pilgrimage in 877–8/1472[3]. A garbled citation from one of his poems, the *Silsilatu'dh-Dhahab*, or "Chain of Gold," was employed by some ill-disposed persons to convict him of hostility to the House of 'Alí, in spite of a remarkable poem[4] in praise of al-Ḥusayn, 'Alí's son, which he had composed a little while before when he visited the scene of his martyrdom at Karbalá. In a crowded meeting presided over by the chief doctors of Baghdád, Jámí easily succeeded in refuting the accusation and turning the tables on his detractors, adding that "if he had any fears at all in writing

[1] Nassau Lees's *Biographical Sketch*, p. 5.
[2] Pp. 5–11. [3] *Ibid.*, pp. 12–15. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

this book they were that...the people of Khurásán might accuse him of Shí'a tendencies, but that it never occurred to him to imagine that on account of it he should fall into trouble at the hands of the Shí'a." The incident, however, rankled in his mind, and is commemorated in a rather bitter poem beginning[1]:

بکشای ساقیا بلبِ شط سرِ سبوی
وز خاطرم کدورتِ بغدادیان بشوی
مهرم بلب نه از قدحِ مَی که هیچ کس
ز ابنای این دیار نیرزد بگفت و گوی
از ناکسان وفا و مروّت طمع مدار
از طبع دیو خاصیتِ آدمی مجوی

"O cupbearer, unseal the [wine-]jar by the brink of the Shaṭṭ[2], and wash from my memory the unpleasantness of the Baghdádís.
Seal my lips with the wine-cup, for not one of the people of this land is worth discussion.
Expect not faithfulness or generosity from the unworthy; seek not for the virtues of men from the disposition of devils."

Notwithstanding his piety and mysticism, Jámí had a sharp tongue and was ready at repartee. Thus on one occasion he was repeating with fervour the line:

بسکه در جانِ فگار و چشمِ بیدارم توئی
هر که پیدا میشود از دور پندارم توئی

"So constantly art thou in my stricken soul and sleepless eye
That whosoever should appear from afar, I should think that it was thou."

An irreverent bystander interrupted him with the question, "Suppose it were an ass?" "I should think that it was thou," replied Jámí[3].

[1] Nassau Lees, *op. cit.*, pp. 14–15.

[2] The *Shaṭṭu'l-'Arab* is the name given to the united streams of the Tigris and Euphrates

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

On another occasion Jámí composed the following verses on a contemporary poet named Ságharí who had accused his fellow-poets of plagiarizing his ideas :

ساغری میگفت دزدانِ معانی بُرده‌اند
هر کجا در شعرِ من یك معنی خوش دیده‌اند
دیدم اکثر شعرهایش‌را یکی معنی نداشت
راست میگفت آنکه معنیهاش‌را دزدیده‌اند

"Ságharí was saying, 'Wherever the plagiarists have seen a fine idea in my poetry they have stolen it.'
I have noticed that most of his poems are devoid of ideas: whoever said that the ideas had been stolen spoke the truth."

When Ságharí angrily reproached Jámí for this verse, he said, "It is not my fault. What I wrote was *shá'irí* ('a certain poet,' شاعری), not *Ságharí* (ساغری), but some mischief-maker has altered the dots over the letters to annoy you[1]."

Amongst the chronograms which commemorate the date of Jámí's death the two best known are وَمَنْ دَخَلَهُ كَانَ آمِنًا (*Qur'án*, iii, 91: 6 + 40 + 50 + 4 + 600 + 30 + 5 + 20 + 1 + 50 + 1 + 40 + 50 + 1 = 898) "*And whosoever entereth it is safe*"; and دود از خراسان بر آمد, "*Smoke* [of the heart, *i.e.* sighs] *came up* [or 'was subtracted'] *from Khurásán.*" *Khurásán* gives 600+200+1+60+1+50=912; *smoke* (*dúd*) gives 4+6+4=14; 912−14=898.

Jámí's prose works

We pass now to a consideration of Jámí's numerous works, which fall primarily into two categories, prose and poetry. Of his chief prose works, the *Nafaḥátu'l-Uns* (Biographies of Ṣúfí saints, composed in 883/1478), the *Shawáhidu'n-Nubuwwat* ("Evidences of Prophethood," composed in 885/1480), the commentary on 'Iráqí's *Lama'át* (known as *Ashi"atu'l-Lama'át*, composed in 886/1481), and the *Lawá'iḥ* ("Flashes") mention has been already

Contents of the *Shawáhidu'n-Nubuwwat*

[1] Nassau Lees, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

made. Of these the second only, so far as I know, remains unpublished. I possess a fine old manuscript of it, on which the following table of contents is based.

Preface (*Muqaddama*). On the meaning of *Nabí* (Prophet) and *Rasúl* (Apostle), and other matter connected therewith.

First chapter (*Rukn*). On the signs and evidences which preceded the birth of His Holiness the Prophet.

Second chapter. Setting forth what took place from the time of his birth until [the beginning of] his mission.

Third chapter. Setting forth what took place from [the beginning of] his mission until the Flight.

Fourth chapter. Setting forth what took place from the Flight until his death.

Fifth chapter. Setting forth what has, or is known to have, no special connection with any one of these periods, and that whereof the significance became apparent only after his death.

Sixth chapter. Setting forth the signs and evidences which became apparent through his Noble Companions and the Imáms of his House (may God be well pleased with them!).

Seventh chapter. Setting forth the evidences which were manifested through the Followers [of the Companions] and the Followers of the Followers, down to the generation of the [first] Ṣúfís[1].

Conclusion (*Khátima*). On the punishment of his enemies.

This book is written in a very simple style, and would, if published, constitute an admirable introduction to the beliefs of the Muslims about their Prophet.

Three other mystical works which I have not had an opportunity of reading are the *Lawámi'* ("Gleams"), a Commentary on the celebrated *Fuṣúṣu'l-Ḥikam* of the great

[1] On this classification (Companions; Followers; Followers of the Followers; Ṣúfís) compare the *Nafaḥátu'l-Uns* (ed. Nassau Lees), p. 31.

mystic Shaykh Muḥyi'd-Dín ibnu'l-'Arabí (composed in 896/1491), and a Commentary on the *Nuṣúṣ* of his disciple Shaykh Ṣadru'd-Dín al-Qunyawí. This is entitled *Naqdu'n-Nuṣúṣ*, and is one of Jámí's earliest works, for it was composed in 863/1458–59.

Jámí's minor works

Of Jámí's minor works I have noted some two dozen, included by Sám Mírzá in the list of forty-six which he gives in his *Tuḥfa-i-Sámí*, but this latter number is more than doubled by the *Mirátu'l-Khayal*[1], which states that Jámí left behind him some ninety works. These minor works include commentaries on portions of the *Qur'án*, *e.g.* the *Súratu'l-Fátiḥa*; commentaries on Forty Traditions and on the Traditions of Abú Dharr; theological tracts on the Divine Unity (*Risála-i-Tahlíliyya* and *Lá iláha illa 'lláh*), the Rites of the Pilgrimage (*Manásik-i-Ḥajj*) and the like; monographs on the lives or sayings of various eminent mystics, such as Jalálu'd-Dín Rúmí, Khwája Pársá and 'Abdu'lláh Anṣárí; tracts on Ṣúfí ethics and practice (*e.g.* the *Ṭaríq-i-Ṣúfiyán* and *Taḥqíq-i-Madhhab-i-Ṣúfiyán*); and commentaries on Arabic and Persian mystical verses, such as the *Tá'iyya* and *Mímiyya* (or *Khamriyya*) of 'Umar ibnu'l-Fáriḍ, the opening verses of the *Mathnawí* (also known as the *Nay-náma*, or "Reed-book" from its subject), a couplet of Amír Khusraw of Dihlí, and a commentary of some of his own quatrains. Besides all these Jámí wrote treatises on prosody, rhyme[2] and music, a commentary on the *Miftáḥu'l-Ghayb*, and another for his son Ḍiyá'u'd-Dín[3] on the well-known Arabic grammar of Ibnu'l-Ḥájib known as the *Káfiya*. There is also a collection of Jámí's letters (*Munshá'át*), and five treatises on the *Mu'ammá*, or Acrostic, which was so popular at this period.

[1] Cited by Nassau Lees, *loc. cit.*, p. 19.

[2] Published by Blochmann at the end of his *Persian Prosody* (Calcutta, 1872).

[3] This book, commonly called *Sharḥ-i-Mullá Jámí*, is properly entitled, in allusion to the son's name, *al-Fawá'idu'ḍ-Ḍiyá'iyya*, and is well known and widely used in the East.

Last, but not least, amongst Jámí's prose works is the *Baháristán*, or "Spring land," a book similar in character and arrangement to the more celebrated *Gulistán* of Sa'dí, composed in 892/1487. It comprises eight chapters (each called *Rawḍa*, "Garden"), the first containing anecdotes about Saints and Ṣúfís; the second sayings of Philosophers and Wise Men; the third on the Justice of Kings; the fourth on Generosity; the fifth on Love; the sixth on Jokes and Witticisms[1]; the seventh on Poets[2]; and the eighth on dumb animals. The work is written in mixed prose and verse, the proportion of verse being very considerable. The text, accompanied by a German translation by Schlechta-Wssehrd, was published at Vienna in 1846. There are also several Constantinople printed editions of the text[3], a complete English translation published in 1887 by the Kama Shastra Society, and an English version of the sixth book entitled "Persian Wit and Humour" by C. E. Wilson. The curious reader can therefore easily acquaint himself more fully with the contents of this book, even if he does not read Persian, and it is therefore superfluous to describe it more fully in this place.

The *Baháristán*

It is as a poet, however, that Jámí is best known, and it is of his poetical works that we must now speak. These comprise seven *mathnawí* poems, known collectively as the *Sab'a* ("Septet") or *Haft Awrang* ("Seven Thrones," one of the names by which the constellation of the Great Bear is known in Persia), and three separate *Díwáns*, or collections of lyrical poetry, known respectively as the *Fátiḥatu'sh-Shabáb* ("Opening of Youth"), compiled in 884/1479–1480; the *Wásiṭatu'l-'Iqd*

Jámí's poetry

[1] This chapter contains 53 "witticisms," many of them very coarse, and hardly any of them sufficiently amusing to raise a smile.

[2] Particulars of some three dozen are given, but the notices given by Jámí of his own contemporaries are very brief.

[3] I possess that printed at the *Akhtar* Press in 1294/1877. See also Ethé's *India Office Persian Catalogue*, col. 771–2.

("Middle of the Necklace"), compiled in 894/1489; and the *Khátimatu'l-Ḥayát* ("End of Life"), compiled in 896/1490–1, only two years before the author's death.

The *Haft Awrang* comprises the seven following poems:

(1) *Silsilatu'dh-Dhahab* (the "Chain of Gold") composed in 890/1485.

The *Haft Awrang*

(2) *Salámán wa Absál*, published by Forbes Falconer in 1850, and translated into English in 1856. This edition contains 1131 verses. Another English prose abridged translation by Edward FitzGerald was published in London in 1856 (pp. xvi + 84).

(3) *Tuḥfatu'l-Aḥrár* ("the Gift of the Noble"), composed in 886/1481, was published by Forbes Falconer in 1848, and contains 1710 verses.

(4) *Subḥatu'l-Abrár* ("the Rosary of the Pious") has been twice printed (1811 and 1848) and once lithographed (1818) at Calcutta.

(5) *Yúsuf u Zulaykhá*, composed in 888/1483, the best known and most popular of these seven poems, was published with a German verse-translation by Rosenzweig (Vienna, 1824). There is an English translation by R. T. H. Griffith (London, 1881), and another in very mediocre verse by A. Rogers (London, 1892).

(6) *Laylá wa Majnún*, composed in 889/1484, has been translated into French by Chézy (Paris, 1805) and into German by Hartmann (Leipzig, 1807).

(7) *Khirad-náma-i-Sikandarí* ("the Book of Wisdom of Alexander") has received the least attention of the seven poems, and, so far as I can ascertain, has never been published or translated.

1. *The Chain of Gold.*

Of the *Silsilatu'dh-Dhahab*, or "Chain of Gold," I possess a good manuscript transcribed in 997/1588–9. This poem discusses various philosophical, ethical and religious subjects with illustrative anecdotes, and comprises some 7200 couplets.

Silsilatu'dh-Dhahab (the "Chain of Gold")

A certain incoherence and scrappiness, combined with a not very pleasing metre, seem to have rendered it less popular than the remaining poems of the "Septet," and hence probably its comparative rarity. It is dedicated to Sulṭán Ḥusayn, "whose justice bound the hands of the Sphere from aggression":

شاه سلطان حسین آنکو بست ' چرخ‌را عدلش از تعدّی دست '

and there follows a most elaborate and artificial acrostic on this Prince's name, full of the most far-fetched conceits.

As a specimen of the poem we may take the following anecdote concerning the distress of a poet who composed a brilliant panegyric on a king, which no one applauded save an ignorant fellow who had no acquaintance with the forms of poetry.

(قصّهٔ گریستن آن شاعر که قصیدهٔ غرّا در حضرت پادشاه خواند و هیچ کس تحسین او نکرد جز جاهلی که باسالیب سخن عارف نبود)

شاعری در سخنوری ساحر '
در فنِ مدح گستری ماهر '
بهرِ شاهی لوای مدح افراخت '
پر صنایع قصیدهٔ پرداخت '
مدحِ شاهان بعقل و شرع رواست '
زانکه شاهند و شاه ظلّ خداست '
هست عاید بنفسِ صاحب دل '
مدحتِ ظلّ بمدحِ صاحب ظل '
برد روزی یکی نکو خوانرا '
که رساند بعرضِ شاه آنرا '

نظمرا حسنِ صوت می باید،
تا از آن حسنِ آن بیفزاید،
پای تا سر قصیده‌را بر خواند،
حرف حرفش بسمع شاه رساند،
در سخن واجبست حسنِ بیان،
حقّ از آن گفت رَتِّلِ ٱلْقُرآن،
خواندنش چون بآخر انجامید،
وز ادای سخن بیارامید،
داشت شاعر باهلِ مجلس گوش،
که بتحسینِ او کنند خروش،
ز آن هنرمند میکنَد جانی،
کش ستایش کند هنردانی،
هیچ کس دم نزد زبان نکشاد،
دادِ تحسینِ آن قصیده نداد،
ناگهان شهرهٔ بجهل و غرور،
بانگ زد از حریم مجلس دور،
بارك اللّه فلان نکو گفتی،
گوهرِ مدحِ شهَ نکو سُفْتی،
مردِ شاعر چو سوی او نگریست،
دست بر روی نهاد و زار گریست،
گفت بشکست ازین حدیثم پشت،
بلکه تحسینِ این خبیثم کشت،
ترکِ تحسینِ پادشاه و گدا،
روی بختِ مرا نکرد سیاه،

و آفرینی که این مغفّل کرد،
روزِ عیشِ مرا مبدّل کرد،
هرچه از بوستانِ بیخردیست،
گرچه شاخِ قبول بیخ ردیست،
شعر کافتد قبولِ خاطرِ عام،
خاص داند که سُست باشد و خام،
میلِ هر کس بسوی جنسِ وی است،
آنچه پختست جنسِ خام کی است،
زاغ خواند نفیر ناخوش زاغ،
چه شناسد صفیرِ بلبلِ باغ،
چغد سازد بکنجِ ویرانه،
کی پذیرد ز قصرِ شه خانه،
نیست چون دیدهٔ سخن بینش،
عار می آیدم ز تحسینش،
همچنین رافضی بآن دغلی،
چون کند مدح و آفرینِ علی،
آید از مدحِ او علی‌را عار،
و آفرینش بود علی‌را بار،
گر تو گوئی که میلِ دل هرگز،
نیست خالی ز نسبتی جایز،
رافضی بس دنی علی عالیست،
میل چون از مناسبت خالیست،
باز گویم حکایتی در یاب،
کز تأمّل درآن رسی بجواب،

"A bard whose verse with magic charm was filled,
Who in all arts of eulogy was skilled,
Did for some king a flag of honour raise,
And wrought a poem filled with arts of praise.
Reason and Law the praise of kings approve;
Kings are the shadow of the Lord above.
The shadow's praise doth to the wise accord
With praises rendered to the shadow's Lord.
A skilful rhapsodist the bard one day
Brought in his verse before the King to lay.
Melodious verse melodious voice doth need
That so its beauty may increase indeed.
From end to end these praises of the King
Unto his ears the rhapsodist did bring.
A fine delivery is speech's need:
The Book God bids melodiously to read[1].
When to the end he had declaimed the piece
And from reciting it at length did cease,
The poet strained his ears to hear the pause
Swiftly curtailed by thunders of applause.
The man of talent travaileth with pain
Hoping the critic's well-earned praise to gain,
Yet no one breathed a word or showed a sign
Of recognition of those verses fine,
Till one renowned for ignorance and pride,
Standing beyond the cultured circle, cried,
'God bless thee! Well thou singest, well dost string
'Fair pearls of speech to please our Lord the King!'
The poet gazed on him with saddened eye,
Covered his face, and sore began to cry.
'By this,' he wailed, 'my back is snapped in twain:
'The praise of this lewd fellow me hath slain!
'That King and beggar grudged my praises due
'My fortune's face with black did not imbrue,
'But this fool-fellow's baseless ill-judged praise
'Hath changed to woe the pleasure of my days!'
In folly's garden every flower and fruit,
Though fair of branch and bud, is foul of root.
'Verse which accordeth with the vulgar mood
'Is known to men of taste as weak and crude.
'Like seeks for like; this is the common law;
'How can the ripe foregather with the raw?

[1] *Qur'án* lxxiii, 4: "and chant the *Qur'án* with a well-measured recitation."

'The crow repeats the crow's unlovely wail,
'And scorns the warbling of the nightingale.
'The owl to some forsaken nook doth cling,
'Nor home desires in palace of the King.
'He hath no eye to judge the worth of verse,
'So from his praise I suffer shame and worse!'
E'en so the Ráfiḍí[1] fulfilled with fraud,
When occupied with 'Alí's praise and laud,
Shame comes to 'Alí from his shameless praise,
Which praise on him a grievous burden lays.
If thou shouldst say, 'A heart's devotion ne'er
'Can be devoid of some relation fair;
''Alí so high, the Ráfiḍí so mean,
'Doth no relationship subsist between?'
Another anecdote I pray thee hear,
Ponder it well, and rend an answer clear[2]."

The *Silsilatu'dh-Dhahab* is divided into three books or *daftars*, whereof the first ends with an *I'tiqád-náma*, or Confession of Faith, which exhibits Jámí, in spite of his mysticism, as a thoroughly orthodox Sunní. This is sufficiently shown by the sectional headings, which run as follows: Necessary Existence; Unity of God; the Attributes of God, *viz.* Life, Knowledge, Will, Power, Hearing, Seeing, Speech; Divine Actions; existence of the Angels; belief in all the Prophets; superiority of Muḥammad over all other prophets; finality of Muḥammad's mission; the Prophet's Law; his Night-Ascent to Heaven; his miracles; God's Scriptures; eternal pre-existence of God's Word[3]; superiority of the people of Muḥammad over all other peoples; unlawfulness of regarding as infidels any of the

[1] Literally "Rejector" (*i.e.* of the first three orthodox Caliphs), a term of vituperation applied by the Sunnís to the Shí'a.

[2] The following lines, which are a continuation of these, are entitled: "Story of that Ráfiḍí who begged a certain scholar to describe 'Alí, and how that scholar enquired, 'Which 'Alí shall I describe, the 'Alí in whom I believe, or the 'Alí in whom you believe?'"

[3] This important dogma, hotly repudiated by the Mu'tazila, was one of the test-beliefs of what ultimately became the orthodox doctrine of Islám.

"people of the *Qibla*[1]"; the Angels of the Tomb, Munkir and Nakír; the two blasts of the trumpet; the distribution of the books kept by the recording angels; the Balance; the Bridge of *Ṣiráṭ*; the fifty stations of *'Araṣát*; indicating that the infidels shall remain in Hell-fire for ever, while sinners shall escape therefrom by the intercession of the virtuous and the pious; Paradise and its degrees.

The second book of the "Chain of Gold" consists chiefly of dissertations on the different kinds and phases of Love, "metaphorical" and "real," and anecdotes of saints and lovers. The third contains for the most part anecdotes of kings, and towards the end several about physicians. Amongst the latter it is interesting to find two borrowed from the fourth Discourse of the *Chahár Maqála* of Niẓámí-i-'Arúḍí of Samarqand, one related by Avicenna concerning a certain physician at the Sámánid Court who healed a maidservant by psychical treatment, and the other describing how Avicenna himself cured a prince of the House of Buwayh of melancholic delusions[2]. These are followed by a disquisition on the two opposite kinds of poetry, the one "a comfort to the soul" and the other "a diminution of the heart"; and an interesting dissertation on poets of old time who rewarded their royal patrons by immortalizing their names, which would otherwise have passed into oblivion. The poets of whom mention is here made are Rúdakí, 'Unṣurí, Saná'í, Niẓámí, Mu'izzí, Anwarí, Kháqání, Ẓahír, Sa'dí, Kamál and Salmán of Sáwa. Another anecdote from the *Chahár Maqála*[3] about one of 'Unṣurí's happy improvisations is also introduced in this place. The book ends somewhat abruptly with a short conclusion which, one cannot help feeling, would have seemed almost equally appropriate at any other point in the text. In a word, the "Chain of Gold" could bear the withdrawal of many of its component

[1] *I.e.* those who turn towards Mecca when they pray.

[2] See my translation of the *Chahár Maqála*, Anecdotes xxxiii (pp. 113–115) and xxxvii (pp. 125–128).

[3] *Ibid.*, Anecdote xiv, pp. 56–58.

links without suffering much detriment. It contains some excellent matter, but is too long, and lacks artistic unity of conception.

2. *Salámán and Absál.*

Salámán and Absál

The character and scope of the curious allegorical poem of *Salámán and Absál* may be readily apprehended by the English reader from Edward FitzGerald's rather free and somewhat abridged translation. His rendering in blank verse is generally graceful and sometimes eloquent; but the employment of the metre of *Hiawatha* for the illustrative anecdotes (which, as is generally the case in poems of this class, frequently interrupt the continuity of the text) is a less happy experiment. The story is of the slenderest kind, the *dramatis personæ* being a King of Greece, a Wise Man who is his constant mentor and adviser, his beautiful and dearly beloved son Salámán, Absál the fair nurse of the boy, and Zuhra (the planet Venus), representing the heavenly Beauty which finally expels the memory of Absál from Salámán's mind. Amongst the somewhat grotesque features of the story are the birth of Salámán without a mother to bear him (the poet's misogyny holding marriage in abhorrence, though he was himself married), and the seniority by some twenty years of the charming Absál over her nursling, whom, when he reached maturity, she entangles in an attachment highly distasteful to the king and the sage. The latter, by a kind of mesmeric power, compels Salámán in the earthly paradise whither he has fled with Absál to build and kindle a great pyre of brushwood, into which the two lovers cast themselves, with the result that, while poor Absál is burned to ashes, Salámán emerges unhurt, purified from all earthly desires, and fit to receive the crown and throne which his father hastens to confer upon him. The allegory, transparent enough without commentary, is fully explained in the Epilogue[1].

[1] Pp. 71–5 of FitzGerald's translation; ll. 1076–1120 of the original in Forbes Falconer's edition.

As FitzGerald's work has a special interest in the eyes of all amateurs of Persian literature, I here give an extract of his translation with the corresponding passage of the original[1]. The passage selected describes the arrival of the lovers, in the course of their flight from the King's reproaches, in the enchanted island where they spend their joyous days of dalliance.

از پسِ ماهی که زورق رانده اند،
وز دمِ دریا ز رونق مانده اند،
شد میانِ بحر پیدا بیشهٔ،
وصفِ او بیرون ز هر اندیشهٔ،
هیچ مرغ اندر همه عالم نبود،
کاندر آن عشرتگهِ خرّم نبود،
یك طرف در جلوه با هم جوق جوق،
چون تذرو از تاج و چون قمری ز طوق،
یك طرف صف صف همه دستان سرای،
ساز دستان کرده از منقار نای،
نو درختان شاخ در شاخ اندرو،
در نوا مرغان گستاخ اندرو،
میوه در پای درختان ریخته،
خشك و تر با یکدگر آمیخته،
چشمهٔ آبی بزیر هر درخت،
آفتاب و سایه کردش لخت لخت،
شاخ بود از باد دستی رعشه دار،
مشت پر دینار از بهرِ نثار،
چون نبودی نیك گیرا مُشْتِ او،
ریختی از فرجهٔ انگشتِ او،

[1] Pp. 48–49 of the translation, ll. 802–824 of the text.

گوئیا باغِ ارم چون در نهفت،
غنچهٔ پیدائیش آنجا شگفت،
یا بهشتِ عدن بی روزِ حساب،
بر گرفت از روی خویش آنجا نقاب،
چون سلامان دید لطفِ بیشه‌را،
از سفر کوتاه کرد اندیشه‌را،
با دلِ فارغ ز هر امید و بیم،
گشت با ابسال در بیشه مُقیم،
هر دو شادان همچو جان و تن بهم،
هر دو خرّم چون گُل و سوسن بهم،
صحبتی ز آویزشِ اغیار دور،
راحتی ز آمیزشِ تیمار دور،
نی ملامت پیشه با ایشان بجنگ،
نی نفاق اندیشه با ایشان دو رنگ،
گل در آغوش و خراشِ خار نی،
گنج در پهلو و زخمِ مار نی،
هر زمان در مرغزاری کرده خواب،
هر نفس از چشمه ساری خورده‌آب،
گاه با بلبل بگفتار آمده،
گاه با طوطی شکرخوار آمده،
گاه با طاؤس در جولانگری،
گاه در رفتار با کبکِ دری،
قصّه کوتاه دل پر از عیش و طرب،
هر دو میبردند روز خود بشب،
خود چه زآن بهتر که باشد با تو یار،
در میان و عیب جویان بر کنار،

FitzGerald's translation (pp. 48–49).

"When they had sailed their Vessel for a Moon
And marr'd their Beauty with the wind o' th' Sea,
Suddenly in mid Sea revealed itself
An Isle, beyond Description beautiful;
An Isle that all was Garden; not a Bird
Of Note or Plume in all the World but there;
There as in Bridal Retinue array'd
The Pheasant in his Crown, the Dove in her Collar;
And those who tuned their Bills among the Trees
That Arm in Arm from Fingers paralyz'd
With any Breath of Air Fruit moist and dry
Down scattered in Profusion at their Feet,
Where Fountains of Sweet Water ran, and round
Sunshine and Shadow chequer-chased the Ground.
Here Iram Garden seemed in Secresy
Blowing the Rosebud of its Revelation;
Or Paradise, forgetful of the Day
Of Audit, lifted from her Face the Veil.

Salámán saw the Isle, and thought no more
Of Further—there with Absál he sat down,
Absál and He together side by side
Rejoicing like the Lily and the Rose,
Together like the Body and the Soul.
Under its Trees in one another's Arms
They slept—they drank its Fountains hand in hand—
Sought Sugar with the Parrot—or in sport
Paraded with the Peacock—raced the Partridge—
Or fell a-talking with the Nightingale.
There was the Rose without a Thorn, and there
The Treasure and no Serpent to beware—
What sweeter than your Mistress at your side
In such a Solitude, and none to chide!"

3. *The Gift of the Free.*

The *Tuḥfatu'l-Aḥrár*, or "Gift of the Free," is a didactic and moral poem of theological and ethical contents comprising, besides doxologies, eulogies of the Prophet, and Supplications to God (*Munáját*), twenty *Maqálát* or Discourses, of which the last[1]

Tuḥfatu'l-Aḥrár

[1] See note on p. 527.

is addressed to the poet's little son Yúsuf Ḍiyá'u'd-Dín, who was then only four years of age, while his father was sixty. Each discourse is, as a rule, followed by one or more illustrative anecdotes. In a short prose preface prefixed to the poem Jámí implies that it was inspired by the *Makhzanu'l-Asrár* ("Treasury of Mysteries") of Niẓámí and the *Maṭla'u'l-Anwár* ("Dayspring of Lights") of Amír Khusraw of Dihlí. The poem is on the whole dull and monotonous, and cannot be regarded as a favourable specimen of Jámí's work. As a specimen I give a prose translation of part of the author's above-mentioned address to his son, the original of which can be consulted by those who desire it in Forbes Falconer's printed text[1].

Twentieth Discourse,
giving counsel to my precious son.
(*May he be nurtured on the Herb of Beauty in the Garden of Childhood, and may he find his way to the Limit of Perfection in the School of Eloquence!*)

(1615)

"O New Moon to the night of my hope, to whose Image the eye of my fortune is a pledge!

The Crescent Moon arises after thirty days, while thou didst show thy face after sixty years.

Thy years are four at the time of reckoning: may thy four be forty and thy forty four[2]!

May each forty [years] of thine be *quadraginta*[3], wherein, by knowledge and ecstasy, thou mayst explore the degrees of Perfection!

Thy name is the *Yúsuf* [Joseph] of the Egypt of Faith: may thy title be the Light (*Ḍiyá*) of the Empire and of Religion!

With the pen which initeth wisdom I write this Book of Wisdom for thee.

Although thou hast not at present understanding of advice, when thou attainest the age of understanding put it into practice.

[1] Pp. 91–93 of Forbes Falconer's edition, ll. 1615–1659.

[2] *I.e.*, I suppose, "may thy four years increase to forty years, yea, to four times forty!"

[3] *Chilla* (Arabic *Arba'ín*), a period of fasting and religious exercises lasting forty days practised by *darwíshes* and seekers after occult powers. See my *Year amongst the Persians*, p. 148.

Until the hair of thy face becomes a veil, set not thy foot outside the house into the market and the street[1].

Be the enchainer of thine own feet; be the [willing] prisoner of thine own apartments (*ḥaram*).

Never carry thy goods from the companionship of thy house-fellows to the doors of strangers.

The sight of a stranger is not auspicious, especially if his age exceed thine.

If they set thee to work at school and place the tables of the alphabet in thy lap,

Do not sit beside every low-born [school-fellow]: separate thyself from all and sit alone.

Although the letter *alif* (ا) is not by itself of crooked stature, see how crooked it becomes [in combination] as *lam-alif* (لا).

When thou placest thy slate in thy lap lift not up thy finger like an *alif* therefrom.

Modestly hang thy head like the letter *dal* (د); fix thine eyes upon it like the letter *ṣád* (ص).

Smiling now at this one, now at that one, show not thy teeth like the letter *sín* (س).

Divide not thy heart with errant thoughts; be like the letter *mím* (م) too narrow-mouthed for speech.

Hearken not vainly to every kind of tittle-tattle, so that thou mayst not suffer the pain of a box on the ear.

Take heed of right behaviour during the teacher's lessons, lest thou become the little drum[2] of the school-room.

Although the [master's] slaps impart virtue, yet is it better if thou dost not bring the affair to slapping!"

Excellent as this paternal advice (and there is much more of it) may be, it does not constitute what we should regard as suitable material for poetry, while here again the many fanciful conceits about the ethical lessons to be learned from the shapes of the letters of the alphabet make it difficult to produce a tolerable translation even in prose.

4. *The Rosary of the Pious.*

Subhatu'l-Abrár

The *Subḥatu'l-Abrár*, or "Rosary of the Pious" is a didactic poem of theological, mystical and ethical contents very similar to the last, equally lacking in coherence and even less attractive in

[1] Young boys in the East are almost as carefully secluded as girls.

[2] By being beaten with the sticks.

form and matter. The following story of Abraham and the aged Fire-Worshipper, which also occurs in Sa'dí's *Bústán*[1], and is the subject of some very lengthy reflections in Forbes's *Persian Grammar*[2], where it is quoted amongst the extracts, may serve as a specimen.

کرد از معبدِ خود عزمِ رحیل ‘
میهمان شد بسرِ خوانِ خلیل ‘
چون خلیل آن خللش در دین دید ‘
بر سرِ خوانِ خودش نپسندید ‘
چونکه دیدش ز خدا بیگانه ‘
چهره پُر دود ز آتشخانه ‘
گفت با واهبِ روزی بگرو ‘
یا ازین مائده بر خیز و برو ‘
پیر بر خاست که ای نیك نهاد ‘
دینِ خودرا بشکم نتوان داد ‘
با لبی خشك و دهانی نا خورد ‘
روی از آن مرحله در راه آورد ‘
آمد از عالمِ بالا به خلیل ‘
وحی کای در همه اخلاق جمیل ‘
گرچه آن پیر نه بر دینِ تو بود ‘
منعش از طعمه نه آئینِ تو بود ‘
عمرِ او بیشتر از هفتادست ‘
که درین معبدِ کفر آباد است ‘
روزیش وا نگرفتم روزی ‘
که نداری دلِ دین اندوزی ‘

[1] See Graf's edition (Vienna, 1858), pp. 142–3, ll. 37–54.
[2] Pp. 152–4 and 164–70.

چه شود گر تو [هم] از سفرهٔ خویش،
دهیش یك دو سه لقمه کم و بیش،
از عقب داد خلیل آوازش،
گشت بر خوانِ کرم دمسازش،
پیر پرسید که آن لجّهٔ جود،
از پی منع عطا بهرِ چه بود،
گفت با پیر خطابی که رسید،
وآن جگرسوز عتابی که رسید،
پیر گفت آنکه کند گاهِ خطاب،
آشنارا پی بیگانه عتاب،
راهِ بیگانگیش چون سپرم،
ز آشنائیش چرا بر نخورم،
روی در قبلهٔ احسان آورد،
دست بکرفتش و ایمان آورد،

"One from a heathen temple took the road
And lodged as guest in Abraham's abode,
Who, seeing that his practice did accord
Ill with true faith, dismissed him from his board.
Beholding him a stranger to God's Grace,
The Fire-fane's smoke apparent in his face,
Bade him confess the Lord who doth bestow
Men's daily bread, or leave the board and go.
The aged man arose, and 'Friend,' quoth he,
'Can Faith the vassal of the Belly be?'
With lips athirst and mouth unfilled with food
He turned away his face and took the road.
To Abraham a message from the skies
Came, saying, 'O most fair in qualities!
'Although that stranger held an alien creed,
'Food to forbid him was no righteous deed.
'For more than threescore years and ten, in fine,
'He offered worship at a heathen shrine,

'Yet ne'er did I his sustenance withhold,
'Saying, "Thy heart is dead to faith and cold."
'What harm were it if from thine ample store
'Some morsels thou shouldst give him, less or more?'
Abraham called him back, and did accord
A place to him at his most bounteous board.
'This flood of grace,' the aged man enquired,
'After that first rebuff what thought inspired?'
He told the message which his act had banned,
And told him too of that stern reprimand.
'To one,' the old man said, 'who thus can take
'To task his servant for a stranger's sake
'Can I endure a stranger to remain,
'Or fail his love and friendship to attain?'
Unto the Source of Good he then addressed
His homage, and his faith in God professed."

The story and the moral are admirable, but most Persian scholars will, I think, prefer Sa'dí's older to Jámí's later version.

5. *Yúsuf and Zulaykhá.*

Yúsuf and Zulaykhá

The fifth of the "Seven Thrones," the Romance of Yúsuf (Joseph) and Zulaykhá (Potiphar's wife), is by far the most celebrated and popular, and is also the most accessible both in the original and in translation. The entire text, with German metrical translation and notes by Vincenz Edlem von Rosenzweig, was published in a fine folio volume at Vienna in 1824, and there are several Oriental editions of the text[1]. I have already alluded to the late Mr A. Rogers' English rhymed translation (1892) which cannot be described as happy; R. T. H. Griffith's earlier translation (1881) I have not seen. Of two fine passages on the nature of Beauty and its essential desire to manifest itself, and on love of the creature considered as the bridge leading to love of the Creator[2] I have published translations, originally in a lecture on

[1] See Ethé's *India Office Persian Catalogue*, col. 746–747.

[2] This latter passage is practically a commentary on the well-known Ṣúfí aphorism, "the Phenomenal is the Bridge to the Real."
(المجاز قنطرة الحقيقة)

Ṣúfíism contributed to the *Religious Systems of the World*[1] and again in part in vol. i of my *Literary History of Persia* (pp. 439 and 442).

The story itself, based on the *Súratu Yúsuf* (*Qur'án* xii), which describes it as "the most beautiful of stories," is one of the most popular themes of romantic poetry in Persia and Turkey, and engaged the attention of the great Firdawsí after he had finished the *Sháh-náma*, and after him of a whole series of Persian poets. Of the Turkish renderings of the tale a pretty complete list will be found in a footnote in the second volume of Gibb's *History of Ottoman Poetry*[2]. But of all these renderings of the well-known tale Jámí's deservedly holds the highest place, and on it his reputation largely rests. The text of the following translation, which unfortunately is a very inadequate representation of the original, occurs on p. 81 of von Rosenzweig's edition, ll. 19–42.

"This speech from Bázigha[3] when Joseph heard
From his sweet mouth came forth this living word:
'That Master-craftsman's work am I,' said he;
'One single drop contents me from His Sea.
'One dot is Heaven from His Pen of Power,
'And from His Beauty's garth this world a flower.
'The Sun's a gleam from out His Wisdom's Light,
'The Earth's a bubble on His Sea of Might.
'Each mundane atom He a Mirror made,
'And His Reflection in each one displayed.
'His Beauty from all faults and flaws is free,
'Hid 'neath the Veil of what no eye can see.
'Discerning eyes in all that's dowered with Grace
'See naught, when well they look, except His Face[4].
'Beside the Prototype the Shadow's dim;
'See His Reflection, haste thee unto Him.
'If from the Prototype you stand bereft,
'When fades the Shadow, naught to you is left.

[1] Published by Swan Sonnenschein in 1892, pp. 314–332.

[2] Vol. ii, pp. 148–150 *ad calc.*

[3] A lady who, like Zulaykhá, falls in love with Joseph, but is turned by his exhortations from love of the creature to love of the Creator.

[4] Cf. *Qur'án* ii, 109.

'Nor will the Shadow long remain with thee;
'The Rose's colour hath no constancy.
'Look to the Source, if permanence you claim;
'Go to the Root, if constancy's your aim.
'Can that which is, and soon is not again,
'Make throb the heart, or twinge the vital vein?'"

6. *Laylá and Majnún.*

Laylá wa Majnún

Of the last two of Jámí's "Seven Thrones," the Romance of Laylá and Majnún and the Book of Wisdom of Alexander, copies are rare, but I have been able to examine them cursorily in a fine manuscript[1], transcribed in 937/1530–1, belonging to Trinity College, Cambridge, and have selected the following passages as typical. The first two are from the *Laylá and Majnún*[2].

در معنی عشقِ صادقان و صدقِ عاشقان'

چون صُبحِ ازل ز عشق دم زد'
عشق آتشِ شوق در قلم زد'
از لوحِ عدم قلم سر افراشت'
صد نقشِ بدیع پیکر انگاشت'
هستند افلاك زادهٔ عشق'
ارکان بزمین فتادهٔ عشق'
بی عشق نشان ز نیك و بد نیست'
چیزی که ز عشق نیست خود نیست'
این سقفِ بلند لاجوردی'
روزان و شبان بگَرْد گَرْدی'
نیلوفرِ بوستانِ عشق است'
گوی خَمِ صولجانِ عشق است'

[1] It bears the class-mark R. 13. 8.
[2] Ff. 68ᵇ–69ᵇ.

مقناطیسی که طبع سنگ است،
در آهن سخت کرده چنگ است،
عشقیست فتاده آهن آهنگ،
سر بر زده از درونهٔ سنگ،
بین سنگ که چون درین نشیمن،
بی سنگ شود ز شوقِ دشمن،
زان گیر قیاسِ دردمندان،
در جذبهٔ عشقِ دلپسندان،
هرچند که عشق دردناکست،
آسایشِ سینه‌های پاکست،
از محنتِ چرخِ باز گون گرد،
بی دولتِ عشق کی رهد مرد،

On the meaning of the Love of the Loyal and the Loyalty of Lovers.

"When the Dawn of Eternity whispered of Love, Love cast the Fire of Longing into the Pen.
The Pen raised its head from the Tablet of Not-Being, and drew a hundred pictures of wondrous aspect.
The Heavens are the offspring of Love: the Elements fell to Earth through Love.
Without Love is no token of Good or Evil: that thing which is not of Love is indeed non-existent.
This lofty azure Roof which revolveth through the days and nights
Is the Lotus of the Garden of Love, and the Ball [which lies] in the curve of Love's Polo-stick.
That Magnetism which is inherent in the Stone, and which fastens its grasp so firmly on the Iron,
Is a Love precipitated in Iron Resolve which hath appeared from within the Stone.
Behold the Stone, how in this resting-place it becomes without weight through longing for its opponent:
Judge therefrom of those who suffer sorrow in the attraction of the love of those dear to the heart.
Although Love is painful, it is the consolation of pure bosoms.
Without the blessing of Love how shall a man escape from the sorrow of the inverted Wheel [of Heaven]?"

در سببِ نظمِ کتاب و باعثِ ترتیبِ این خطاب،

زین راز چو پرده باز کردم، وین طرفه ترانه ساز کردم،
شد طوطیِ طبعِ من شکرخا، از قصّهٔ یوسف و زلیخا،
جست از کلکم دران شکر ریز، شیرین سخنانِ شکّر آمیز،
در عالم از آن فتاد شوری، در خاطرِ عاشقان سروری،
سر چشمهٔ لطف بود لیکن، ز آن تشنگیم نگشت ساکن،
مرغِ دلِ من ز جای دیگر، میخواست زند نوای دیگر،
چون قرعه زدم بفال میمون، افتاد بشرحِ حالِ مجنون،
هرچند که پیش ازین دو استاد، از ملکِ سخن بلند بنیاد،
در نکته دری زبان کشادند، دادِ سخن اندران بدادند،
از گنجه چو گنج آن گهر ریز، در هند چو طوطی آن شکر ریز،
آن مقرعه زن بگوشِ دعوی، وین جلوه دهِ عروسِ معنی،
آن کنده ز نظم نقش در سنگ، وین داده بحسنِ صنعتش رنگ،
آن برده عَلَم باوجِ اعزاز، وین کرده فسونِ ساحری ساز،
من هم کمر از قفا ببستم، بر ناقهٔ بادپا نشستم،
هرجا که رسید رخشِ ایشان، از خاطرِ فیض بخشِ ایشان،
من نیز بفاقه ناقه راندم، خودرا بغبارشان رساندم،
گر مانده‌ام از شمارشان پس، بر چهرهٔ من غبارشان بس،

Concerning the cause of the versification of this Book, and the reason of the arrangement of this Address.

"When I withdrew the Veil from this Mystery, and prepared this strange Song,
The Parrot of my Genius became an eater of sugar from the Story of Joseph and Zulaykhá.
In this outpouring of sugar there sprang from my Pen sweet verses mingled with sugar.

Therefrom tumult fell upon the World, and a gladness in the hearts of lovers.
It was a Fountain of Graciousness, but therefrom my thirst was not appeased.
The Bird of my Heart desired to sing another song on another topic.
When under fortunate auspices I cast lots, [the lot] fell on an account of Majnún's plight.
Although aforetime two Masters, raised high above the Realm of Verse,
Unloosed their tongues in the enunciation of subtleties, and therein did full justice to speech;
That one[1] pouring forth pearls like a Treasure (*ganj*) from Ganja, and this one[2] scattering sugar like a Parrot in India;
That one smiting the ears of [unjustified] pretension, and this one unveiling the bride of the Ideal;
That one with his verse engraving an inscription on the rock, and this one giving colour [to the tale] by his exquisite art;
That one raising his standard to the Zenith of Glory, and this one preparing the spells of Magic;
I also bound my girdle behind me, and seated myself on my dromedary fleet as the wind,
And wherever their Pegasus[3] attained, through their inspiring minds
I also urged onwards my camel in humility, and brought myself within the range of their dust.
Though I fall behind their reckoning, yet their dust upon my face sufficeth me."

7. *The Book of Wisdom of Alexander.*

The following anecdote from the *Khirad-náma-i-Sikandarí*, or "Book of Wisdom of Alexander," is taken from the same manuscript[4] as the last two extracts:

(حکایتِ آن خاد که گوش بر افسانهٔ غوك نهاد و نقدرا بامیدِ نسیه از دست بداد)

کنون میدهد دورِ چرخم بیاد
بضرب آلمثل قصّهٔ غوك و خاد

[1] *I.e.*, Nizámí of Ganja.
[2] Amír Khusraw of Dihlí.
[3] *Rakhsh*, the name of Rustam's celebrated charger.
[4] R. 13. 8 of Trinity College, Cambridge, f. 171[a].

یکی خاد مرغِ هوائی شکار،
فرو ماند از ضعفِ پیری ز کار،
ز بال و پرش زورِ پرواز رفت،
بصیدِ غرض چنگش از کار رفت،
ز بی قُوتَیش خاست از جان نفیر،
وطن ساخت گردِ یکی آبگیر،
پس از مدّتی کرد آنجا درنگ،
در افتاد غوکیش ناگه بچنگ،
بر آورد فریاد بیچاره غوک،
که ای سورم از دستِ تو گشته سوگ،
مکن یکزمان در هلاکم شتاب،
زمامِ شتاب از هلاکم بتاب،
نَیَم من بجز طعمهٔ طبع کوب،
نه در کام نیکم نه در معده خوب،
تنم نیست جز پوستی ناگوار،
بآن کی قناعت کند گوشت خوار،
اگر لب کشائی بآزادِیَم،
فرستی بدل مژدهٔ شادِیَم،
بهر لحظه ز آئینِ سحر و فسون،
بتو ماهئی‌را شوم رهنمون،
در آبِ روان پرورش یافته،
ز الوانِ نعمت خورش یافته،
تنِ او همه گوشت سر تا بدُم،
ازو پوست دور استخوان نیز کُم،

بپُشْت آبگون وز شکم سیمِ ناب،
بچشمان چو عکسِ کواکب در آب،
چو در شب سپهر از نثارِ کرم،
همه پُشْت و پهلوی او پُر درم،
نه در طبعِ اهلِ خرد رد چو من،
یکی لقمه از وی به از صد چو من،
بتلقینِ سوگندها لب کشاد،
ز منقارِ او غوك بیرون فتاد،
بیك جستن افتاد در آبگیر،
بحرمان دگر بار شد خاد اسیر،
گرسنه بخاكِ تباهی نشست،
نه غوکش بپنجه نه ماهی بشست،
منم همچو آن خاد حرمان زده،
رهِ خرّمی بر دل و جان زده،
ز فکرِ سخن رفته از دل حضور،
ز نقصانِ فکرم سخن پر قصور،
بدستم ز محرومیِ بختِ من،
نه جمعیّتِ دل نه لطفِ سخن،
بیآ ساقیا ساغری می بیار،
فلك‌وار دورِ پیاپی بیار،
از آن می که آسایشِ دل دهد،
خلاصی ز آلایشِ گِل دهد،
بیا مطربا عود بنهاده گوش،
بیك گوشمال آور اندر خروش،
خروشی که دل‌را بهوش آورد،
بدانا پیامِ سروش آورد،

Story of the Kite which lent an ear to the Frog's talk, and in hope of credit let slip the cash from its hand.

"The cycle of heaven now bids me indite
For example the tale of the frog and the kite.
A kite, wont to prey on the birds of the air,
By the weakness of age was reduced to despair.
For soaring its pinions no longer avail;
For hunting the strength of its talons doth fail.
From the depth of its soul bitter wailing arose;
An abode by the shore of a lakelet it chose.
Now when in that place it had dwelt for a spell
On a sudden a frog in its clutches there fell.
The miserable frog made a piteous appeal:
'To woe thou hast turned,' it lamented, 'my weal!'
'O haste not to seek my destruction,' it cried;
'Turn the steed of intent from my murder aside!
'An unsavoury morsel I yield at the best,
'Neither sweet to the palate not good to digest.
'My body is nothing save ill-flavoured skin:
'What eater of meat can find pleasure therein?
'Unclose then thy beak, leave me free to depart,
'And tidings of gladness convey to my heart!
'Then by magic and spells evermore at thy wish
'I will guide thee to toothsome and savoury fish,
'In the river's clear streamlets long nurtured and bred,
'And with various food-stuffs abundantly fed,
'From the head to the tail flesh and fatness alone,
'With scarcely a skin and with hardly a bone!
'Their bellies like silver, their backs bright of blee,
'Their eyes like reflections of stars in the sea.
'With silvery scales back and sides are alight
'As with God's starry largesse the heavens by night.
'Far better, all persons of taste will agree,
'Is a mouthful of such than a hundred like me.'

The kite, by an oath confirmation to seek,
Relaxed its control: the frog fell from its beak;
With one leap it returned to its watery lair,
And the kite once again was the slave of despair.
Its seat in the dust of destruction it took,
Neither frog in its talons nor fish on its hook.

That kite disappointed is like unto me,
Whose soul has been turned from the pathway of glee.
Composure has quitted my heart at the thought
Of finding expression for thoughts so distraught.
In my hands, through my lack of good fortune, I find
Neither graces of speech nor composure of mind.
O cupbearer, come, pass the bowl, I entreat,
And like heaven, I pray thee, the cycle repeat!
That wine I desire which to peace giveth birth,
And frees us from all the defilements of earth.
O minstrel, approach, that the listening lute
At the touch of thy fingers may cease to be mute.
The heart of the heedless shall wake at its cry,
And the message of angels descend from the sky."

As the *Sab'a* ("Septet") of Jámí was admittedly inspired by and modelled on the *Khamsa* ("Quintet") of Niẓámí, some comparison of their respective styles and methods may fairly be demanded. As I consider that in questions of literary taste it is very difficult for a foreigner to judge, I requested my Persian colleague, Mírzá Bihrúz, son of the distinguished physician and writer Mírzá Abu'l-Faḍl of Sáwa, a young man of great promise and ability, well read in both Arabic and Persian literature, to write a short essay on this point, and I here reproduce in English the gist of his opinions.

Comparison of Jámí as a romantic poet with Niẓámí

Jámí's verses, writes Mírzá Bihrúz, rival, and perhaps even excel, those of Niẓámí in poetical form, sweetness and simplicity, being unlaboured and altogether free from artificiality; but they fall far short of them in strength (*matánat*), poetic imagination and eloquence. To appreciate and enjoy Niẓámí a profound knowledge of the Persian language is required, while Jámí can be read with pleasure by all, whence his greater fame and popularity, especially in India, Turkey and other lands where Persian literature is an exotic. Moreover Niẓámí was a man of far-reaching attainments, not only in the language and history of his country, but in the sciences, especially the mathematical sciences, of his time, so that often he cannot be understood except by a reader similarly gifted. Such an one, however,

will find in him depths and subtleties for which he would seek in vain in Jámí's poetry.

Nizámí and Firdawsí

In one only of his "Five Poems" does Niẓámí challenge comparison with his great predecessor Firdawsí, to wit in his "Alexander Book" (*Sikandar-náma*), which, alike in metre and subject-matter, resembles the corresponding portion of the *Sháh-náma*, but, in the judgement of most critics, falls short of it[1]. But here Niẓámí was apparently more hampered than Firdawsí by the fanaticism of a less tolerant age, as he hints in the following lines:

جهان ز آتش پرستی شد چنان گرم،
که بادا زین مسلمانی ترا شرم،
مسلمانیم ما او گبر نام است،
گر آن گبری مسلمانی کدام است،
نظامی بر سرِ افسانه شو باز،
که مرغِ پندرا تلخ آمد آواز،

"The world was so warmed by Fire-worship
That thou mayst well be ashamed of thy Muhammadanism.
We are Musulmáns, while he is called a Guebre (*gabr*):
If that be heathenism (*gabrí*), what is Muhammadanism?
Return, O Niẓámí, to the tenour of thy tale,
For harsh are the notes of the bird of admonition!"

Jámí's close imitation of Niẓámí

Jámí, though a mystic, was essentially an orthodox Muhammadan, and shows little of the enthusiasm for pre-Islamic Persia which inspired Firdawsí, and, in a lesser degree, Niẓámí. Of his indebtedness to the latter he makes no secret, and, indeed, follows his footsteps with extraordinary closeness, though here and there he introduces topics and dissertations entirely his own[2]. Not only does he imitate Niẓámí in the titles, metres and subdivisions of his poems, but even in minute

[1] This matter is discussed at length by Shiblí in his *Shi'ru'l-'Ajam*, vol. i, pp. 323–356.

[2] E.g. his curious explanation of and commentary on the letters of the *Bismi'lláh* near the beginning of the *Tuḥfatu'l-Aḥrár*.

personal details. Thus each poet addresses himself and gives advice to a seven-year-old son, the only difference being that while Nizámí encourages his son to study Medicine, Jámí recommends Theology. The parallelism is especially apparent in the sections dealing with the "cause of the versification of the tale" of Laylá and Majnún in the respective versions of the two poets, but lack of space compels me to omit the illustrations of this given by Mírzá Bihrúz in his essay. Such critical comparison of the works of the great Persian poets is very important and has hitherto been too much neglected, but the necessary preliminary work of a historical, biographical and bibliographical character is all that I have been able to attempt in this and the preceding volumes on the literary history of Persia.

Jámí's lyric poetry

Of Jámí's lyric poetry, embodied, as already mentioned[1] in three separate *Díwáns*, it is impossible to give an adequate account in this volume, which has already exceeded in bulk the limits I had assigned to it. In Europe German scholars alone have done much work in this field, notably von Rosenzweig[2], Rückert[3] and Wickerhauser in his *Blütenkranz*[4]. Having regard to the eminence of Jámí in this field also, and to the abundance of his output, a separate monograph would be required to do adequate justice to the subject, which deserves fuller study not only on account of Jámí's own merit as a lyric poet, but also by reason of the profound influence which,

[1] See pp. 515–6 *supra*.

[2] *Biographische Notizen über Mewlana Abdurrahman Dschami nebst Übersetzungsproben aus seinen Diwanen von Vinzenz Edlem von Rosenzweig* (Vienna, 1840). The pages of this volume are, unfortunately, unnumbered.

[3] His work extends over 33 years (1844–1876). It began in the *Z. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenlandes*, vols. v, pp. 281–336, and vi, pp. 189–227; and was continued in the *Z. D. M. G.*, vols. ii, pp. 26–51; iv, pp. 44–61; v, pp. 308–329; vi, pp. 491–504; xxiv, pp. 563–590; xxv, pp. 95–112; xxvi, pp. 461–464; and xxix, pp. 191–198.

[4] Leipzig, 1855 and Vienna, 1858.

as already indicated[1], he exercised over his successors, not only in Persia, but also in Turkey. I hope that it may be possible to recur to his lyric poetry in my next volume, when I come to trace the development of the *ghazal* in later times, but for the moment I must content myself with a few specimens selected after a cursory perusal of the edition of his first *Díwán* printed at Constantinople in 1284/1867–8, and based, as stated in the colophon, on an autograph manuscript[2]. I have also at hand a much fuller text of the same *Díwán* lithographed at Lucknow in 1298/1881, which contains many poems omitted in the Turkish edition, and comprises 568 as against 182 pages.

(1)

يَا مَنْ بَدَا جَمَالُكَ فِی كُلِّ مَا بَدَا،
بادا هزار جانِ مقدّس ترا فدا،
می نالم از جدائیِ تو دم بدم چو نَی،
وین طرفه‌تر كه از تو نَیَم یك نفس جدا،
عشق است و بس كه در دو جهان جلوه میكند،
گاه از لباسِ شاه و گه از كسوتِ گدا،
یك صوت بر دو گونه همی آیدت بگوش،
گاهی ندا همی نهیَش نام و گه صدا،
بر خیز ساقیا ز كرم جرعهٔ بریز،
بر عاشقانِ غمزده ز آن جام غمزدا،
ز آن جامِ خاص كز خودِیَم چون دهد خلاص،
در دیدهٔ شهود نماند بجز خدا،
جامی رهِ هدی بخدا غیرِ عشق نیست،
گفتیم و السّلامُ علی تابع الهُدَی،

[1] See pp. 421–3 *supra*.

[2] Unfortunately no indication of the whereabouts of this MS. is forthcoming. The texts here given have been emended in some places from the Indian lithographed edition, which often gives a more correct reading.

"O Thou whose Beauty doth appear in all that appeareth, may a thousand holy spirits be Thy sacrifice!

Like the flute I make complaint of my separation from Thee every moment, and this is the more strange since I am not parted from Thee for a single instant[1].

It is Love alone which reveals itself in the two worlds, sometimes through the raiment of the King, and sometimes through the garment of the beggar.

One sound reaches thine ear in two ways; now thou callest it 'Echo' and now 'Voice.'

Arise, O cupbearer, and graciously pour out a draught of that grief-dispelling wine for the sorrow-stricken lovers!

Of that special wine which, when it delivers me from myself, leaves in the eye of contemplation naught but God.

O Jámí, the road of guidance to God is naught but Love: [this] we tell you, and 'Peace be upon him who followeth right guidance.'"

The following is evidently inspired by and modelled on the well-known ode of Ḥáfiẓ composed in the same metre and rhyme[2]:

(2)

نَسِيمَ ٱلصُّبْحِ زُرْ مِنِّی رُبَی نَجْدٍ وَ قَبِّلْهَا،
که بوی دوست می آید از آن پاکیزه منزلها،
چو گردد شوقِ وصل افزون چه جای طعن اگر مجنون،
ببوی هودجِ لیلی فتد دنبالِ محملها،
دلِ من پُر ز مهرِ یار و او فارغ نبودست آن،
که میگویند راهی هست دلهارا سوی دلها،
رسید اینك ز ره سَلْمَی و من از ضعفِ تن زینسان،
فَخُذْ يَا صَاحِ رُوحِی تُحْفَةً مِنِّی وَ أَقْبِلْهَا،
مریز ای ابرِ دیده آبِ حسرت بر سرِ راهش،
که دور اَوْلَی سُمِ اسپش از آسیبِ چنین گلها،

[1] This line is an obvious reminiscence of the opening line of the *Mathnawí*.

[2] It is the first *ghazal* in the *Díwán* of Ḥáfiẓ.

مرا از هجرِ او در دل گره می بود صد مشکل،
چو دیدم شکلِ او فی ٱلحال حلّ شد جمله مشکلها،
ز جورِ دورِ غمفرجام جامی غُصّه‌ها دارد،
و لٰکِنْ خَوْفُ أَمْلَالِ ٱلنَّدَامَی لَمْ یُطَوِّلْهَا،

"O Breeze of Morning, visit the hills of Nejd for me and kiss them, for the fragrance of the Friend comes from those pure camping-grounds.

When the longing for union increases, what occasion for blame is there if Majnún follows the litters in the hope of [finding amongst them] Laylá's howdah?

My heart is filled with love for the Friend, who is not heedless thereof, for they say 'Hearts have a road to hearts.'

Behold, Salmá hath arrived from the road, while I am in such case through bodily weakness; take, then, O comrade, my spirit as a gift from me and accept it.

O cloud-like[1] eye, do not shed the rain of regret in her path, for it is better that her horse's hoof should be far removed from the plague of such mire.

In my heart were knotted a hundred difficulties through separation from her; when I saw her form all difficulties were solved forthwith.

Jámí suffers vexations from the harshness of this grievous cycle, but fear of the wearisomeness of penitents did not prolong them."

(3)

طرفِ باغ و لبِ جوی و لبِ جامست اینجا،
ساقیا خیز که پرهیز حرامست اینجا،
شیخ در صومعه گر مست شد از ذوقِ سماع،
من و میخانه که این حال مدامست اینجا،
لب نهادی بلبِ جام و ندانم منِ مست،
که لبِ لعلِ تو یا باده کدامست اینجا،
بستهٔ زلفِ سیاهِ تو نه تنها دلِ ماست،
هر کجا مرغِ دلی بستهٔ دامست اینجا،

[1] I.e. weeping.

می کشی تیغ که سازی دلِ مارا بدو نیم،
تیغ بگذار که یك غمزه تمامست اینجا،
پیشِ اربابِ خرد شرح مکن مشکلِ عشق،
نکتهٔ خاص مگو مجلسِ عامست اینجا،
جامی از عشقِ تو شد مست و نه مَی دید و نه جام،
بزمِ عشقست چه جای مَی و جامست اینجا،

"Here is the border of the garden, the brink of the stream, and the lip of the goblet: arise, O cup-bearer, for here abstinence is a crime.

If the elder of the monastery is intoxicated with the delights of music, give me the wine-tavern, for here this state endureth continually!

Thou didst touch the lip of the goblet with thy lip, and I the drunkard know not which is here thy ruby lip and which the wine.

Not my heart alone is bound in thy black tresses: wherever there is a birdlike heart it is here caught in the snare.

Thou dost draw the sword to divide my heart in twain; lay aside the sword, for here one glance is sufficient.

Do not explain the difficulties of Love to the reasonable; utter not a private matter, for here is a public assembly.

Jámí is intoxicated with thy love, though he has seen neither wine nor goblet: here is the Banquet of Love: what place is there for wine or goblet?"

(4)

خوبان هزار و از همه مقصودِ من یکیست،
صد پاره گر کنند بتیغم سخن یکیست،
خوش مجمعیست انجمنِ نیکوان ولی،
ماهی کزوست رونقِ این انجمن یکیست،
خواهیم بهرِ هر قدمش تحفهٔ دگر،
لیکن مقصّریم که جان در بدن یکیست،
گشتم چنان ضعیف که بی ناله و فغان،
ظاهر نمی شود که درین پیرهن یکیست،

آنجا که لعلِ دلکشِ شیرین دهد فروغ،
یاقوت و سنگ در نظرِ کوهکن یکیست،
ناموس و نامِ ما تو شکستی ز نیکوان،
آری ز صد خلیل همین بُت شکن یکیست،
جامی درین چمن دهن از گفت و گو ببند،
کآنجا نوای بلبل و صوتِ زغن یکیست،

"The fair ones are a thousand, but of them all my desire is one; my speech is one, though they cut me into a hundred pieces with the sword.

The assembly of the beautiful is a pleasant meeting-place, but the Moon whence this assembly derives its lustre is one.

For each pace of her advance we desire a different present, but we fall short [of this our desire], for the soul in the body is [only] one.

I have grown so thin that, but for my lamentation and wailing, it would not appear that there was anyone in this shirt.

Where the charming ruby [lips] of Shírín are glowing, rubies and pebbles are alike in the eyes of [Farhád] the Tunneller.

It was thou of all the fair ones who didst shatter my name and fame; yea, of a hundred Abrahams the breaker of idols is but one.

O Jámí, close thy mouth from speech in this garden, for there the song of the nightingale and the shriek of the raven are one!"

This poem bears a great similarity, both in form and ideas, to an ode of unknown authorship of which I printed the opening lines with a verse translation in my *Year amongst the Persians*[1]. The fourth couplet appears to have been inspired by the well-known Arabic verses of al-Mutanabbí[2]:

أَبْلَى ٱلْهَوَى أَسَفًا يَوْمَ ٱلنَّوَى بَدَنِى،
وَ فَرَّقَ ٱلْهَجْرُ بَيْنَ ٱلْجَفْنِ وَ ٱلْوَسَنِ،
رُوحٌ تَرَدَّدُ فِى مِثْلِ ٱلْخِلَالِ إِذَا،
أَطَارَتِ ٱلرِّيحُ عَنْهُ ٱلثَّوْبَ لَمْ يَبِنِ،
كَفَى بِجِسْمِى نُحُولاً أَنَّنِى رَجُلٌ،
لَوْ لَا مُخَاطَبَتِى إِيَّاكَ لَمْ تَرَنِى،

[1] p. 501. [2] Ed. Dieterici, p. 5.

"On the day of parting passion wore away my body with sorrow,
while separation effected a divorce between my eyelids and sleep.
[I am only] a spirit permeating [a body] like a splinter [in leanness],
no longer visible when the wind blows the garment away from it.
Thin enough is my body, for indeed I am a man whom thou wouldst
not see if I did not speak to thee."

This is not an isolated instance of the influence of Arabian poetry on Jámí's Persian verse. Thus the line:

بودم آن روز من از طائفهٔ دُرْد کشان،
که نه از تاك نشان بود و نه از تاك نشان،

"I was of the company of dreg-drainers on that day
When there was [as yet] no trace of the vine or of the vine-planter"

is, as Mírzá Bihrúz has pointed out to me, almost certainly inspired by the celebrated couplet of the great Egyptian mystic 'Umar ibnu'l-Fáriḍ[1]:

شَرِبْنَا عَلَى ذِكْرِ ٱلْحَبِيبِ مَدَامَةً،
سَكِرْنَا بِهَا مِنْ قَبْلِ أَنْ يُخْلَقَ ٱلْكَرْمُ،

"We drained a draught of wine to the memory of the Friend:
We were intoxicated therewith ere ever the Vine was created."

Of the great Persian lyrical poets who preceded Jámí the influence of Sa'dí and Ḥáfiẓ is most noticeable; and in the verses sometimes known collectively as the *Nay-náma*[2], or "Book of the Reed," he has skilfully imitated the style and lucidly developed the idea of the Prologue to Jalálu'd-Dín Rumí's great Mystical *Mathnawí*. To conclude and epitomize in one sentence this wholly inadequate account of one who, though I decline to regard him as the last great classical poet of Persia, was certainly one of the most talented, versatile and prolific. In Jámí the mystical and pantheistic thought of Persia may be said to find its most complete and vivid expression; while, though he may have been equalled or even surpassed by others in each of the numerous realms of literature which he cultivated, no other Persian poet or writer has been so successful in so many different fields, and the enthusiastic admiration of his most eminent contemporaries is justified by his prolific and many-sided genius.

[1] Ed. Cheïkh ed-Dahdah (Paris, 1855), p. 472.

[2] See p. 514 *supra*.

INDEX

In the following Index where many reference-numbers occur under one heading the more important are printed in **Clarendon** type, which is also used for the first entry under each letter of the alphabet. To save needless repetition, all references to any name common to several persons mentioned in the text are brought together under one heading, the individuals bearing this name being arranged either in chronological order, or in order of importance, or in classes (rulers, men of letters, poets, etc.). The letter **b.** between two names stands for **Ibn** ("Son of..."), and **n.** after the number of a page indicates a footnote. The addition in brackets of a Roman number after a name or book indicates the century of the Christian era in which the man lived or the book was written. Prefixes like **Abú** ("Father of...") and **Ibn** ("Son of...") in Muḥammadan, and **de, le, von** in European names are disregarded in the alphabetical arrangement, so that names like **Abú Sa'íd, Ibn Síná, le Strange, de Slane**, *etc.*, must be sought under **S**, not under **A, I, L** or **D**. Titles of books and foreign words are printed in *italics*, and an asterisk is prefixed to the former when they are quoted at any length in the text. A hyphen preceding a word indicates that the Arabic definite article **al-** should be prefixed to it.

Abáqá (Mongol Íl-Khán, xiii), **17–25**, 31, 40, 53, 69, 106, 112, 114, 175

'Abbás "the Great," Sháh — (Ṣafawí king, xvi–xvii), 317, 396

'Abbás (murderer of Ulugh Beg, xv), 386

'Abbásid Caliphs (viii–xiii), 91, 206, 396, 484

'Abbásí clan or family of Qazwín, 94

Abdál (a class of invisible saints), 276 and n.

Abdál Beg (xv–xvi), 417

'Abdu'l-'Azíz b. Ulugh Beg (Tímúrid, xv), 386

'Abdu'l-Ghafúr of Lár (disciple of Jámí, xv–xvi), 458, 508

'Abdu'l-Ḥamíd (Ottoman Sulṭán, xix–xx), 107 n.

'Abdu'lláh. Shaykh — Anṣárí (saint, iv–v), 479, 514; Amír — of Shíráz (xiii); Mír — (father of Sháh Ni'matu'lláh, xiv), 464; — b. Faḍlu'lláh of Shíráz (historian, xiii–xiv), see **Waṣṣáf-i-Ḥadrat** and **Ta'ríkh-i-Waṣṣáf**; Prince — b. Ibráhím b. Sháh-rukh (Tímúrid, xv), 387, 429; — b. Mír 'Alí (calligraphist, xv), 395; — *Mathnawí-gú* (known as Hátifí, xvi), 459

Abú 'Abdi'lláh Muḥammad b. Abí Bakr b. 'Uthmán. See **Imámí**

'Abdu'l-Laṭíf, son of the minister and historian Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh (xiii–xiv), 82, 84; Prince —, son of Ulugh Beg the Tímúrid (xv), 82, 84, 386, 387, 388, 390, 429, 438, 503

'Abdu'l-Majíd b. 'Izzu'd-Dín (Ḥurúfí heretic, xv). See **Firishta-záda**

'Abdu'l-Mú'min, son of Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh (xiii–xiv), 81; — the rhapsodist, put to death (xiv–xv), 195

'Abdu'l-Muqtadir, Mawlawí — (contemporary Indian scholar), 259 n., 260, 261, 263, 287 n., 293 n.

'Abdu'l - Qádir. — of Maráǵha (musician, xiv–xv), 191, 384; — (? Ḥurúfí, xiv), 368

'Abdu'l-Waḥíd (name adopted by **Herman Bicknell**, *q.v.*, xix), 302–3

'Abdu'n-Nabí Fakhru'z-Zamán (biographer of poets, xvii), 273

'Abdu'r-Raḥím. — Ḥurúfí (xiv), 368; — Khán-Khánán (Akbar's general, translator of the *Bábur-náma* into Persian, xvi), 392

'Abdu'r-Raḥmán. Shaykh — Fámí (author of old and apparently lost history of Herát), 174, 431; — (unidentified, xv), 494; — Bey Sheref (contemporary Turkish historian), 408 n., 411, 412
'Abdu'r-Razzáq. — Sarbadár ruler (xiv), 178; — Kamálu'd-Dín of Samarqand (historian, xv), 361, 393, 397, 426, 428–430, 464, 473; — Láhijí (commentator of the *Gulshan-i-Ráz*, xvii), 148
Abel-Rémusat, 10, 19 n.
Abgháy (grandfather of Tímúr, xiv), 185
Abhar (near Zanján), 31, 87
Abíward, 497
Abkház, 85, 122, 490
Abraham, 89, 529–31, 547
Abulustayn, Battle of — (A.D. 1277), 19
Abyssinia, Abyssinians, 89, 398
Achaemenian dynasty, 3
Adam, 73, 89, 100, 133, 219 n., 245, 335, 343
Ádam-náma (Ḥurúfí work), 374, 450
Aden, 111, 327, 398
Ádharbáyján (Persian province), 43, 122 n., 146, 160, 173, 187, 192, 194, 264, 272, 317, 321, 332, 382, 385, 389, 397, 399, 400, 401, 402, 406, 409, 410, 416, 425, 426, 462, 489
Ádharí (poet, xiv–xv), 259, 350, 352, 438, 497, 498, 502–3
'Ádil Sháh, Mír — (d. A.D. 1424), 489
Adrianople (Turkish *Edirné*), 104, 356, 370
'Aḍudu'd-Dín. — 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán b. Aḥmad al-Íjí (theologian and philosopher, xiv), 159, 170, 276 n., 356–7; — (grandson of Faḍlu'lláh al-Ḥurúfí, xv), 366
Áfáq u Anfus (poem by Busháq, xv), 350; — (poem by Maḥmúd Qárí of Yazd, xv), 351–2
Afḍal-i-Káshí (poet, xiv), 154
Afḍalu'd-Dín. Mawláná — (xiii), 27; Sayyid — Mas'úd (pensioner, xiv), 81
Afghánistán, Afgháns, 64, 107, 122 n., 152 n., 161, 175, 193, 379, 393
'Afífa (daughter of Amír Khusraw, xiii), 109
'Afífu'd-Dín of Baghdád (xiv), 83
Afrásiyáb (Atábek of Luristán, xiii), 37
Africa, North —, 92
Afshár tribe (supporting Sháh Isma'íl the Ṣafawí, xvi), 417
Agra (taken by Bábur, A.D. 1526), 393
Áhang-i-Khusrawání (name of a Persian air), 500 n.
Aḥar, 27, 416
Áhí (poet of Bábur's time, xvi), 459
Ahlí (poet of Turshíz, xv), 438, 459
Aḥmad. Sulṭán — Takúdar (Mongol Il-khán, xiii), 25–6, 27, 31; — (Muẓaffarí prince of Kirmán, xiv), 163, 168, 169, 190; — b. Uways of the Il-khání or Jalá'ir dynasty (xiv), 172, 173, 187, 191, 196, 197, 204, 205, 206, 284, 358, 366, 399, 400; — b. Abú Sa'íd (Tímúrid prince, xv), 390; Chapel of —, 504; Sulṭán — (Ottoman, xvii), 396; — Sháh Bahmaní (of the Deccan, xv or xvi), 464; Sulṭán — (governor of Kurdistán, xv), 401; — b. Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh (governor of Ardabíl, xiii–xiv), 84, 86; — (Áq-qoyúnlú prince, xiv), 404; Shaykh — -i-Jám (saint, xi–xii), 479; — Suhrawardí (calligraphist, xiii), 84; — b. Sahl of Balkh (geographer, cited in *Nuzhatu'l-Qulúb*, ? xiii), 99; — b. Abí 'Abdi'lláh (author of the *Tibyán*, cited in the *Nuzhatu'l-Qulúb*), 99; Qáḍí — of Dámghán (historian, source of *Ta'ríkh-i-Guzída*), 89; Khwája — (merchant, xiv), 84; — of Tabríz (poet, author of *Sháhinsháh-náma*, xiv), 103; — -i-Lur (Ḥurúfí, assailant of Sháh-rukh, A.D. 1426), 366, 382, 473; Sayyid — Ṭoghán-oghlu (envoy of Úzún Ḥasan to Ottoman Sulṭán, xv), 410; Farídu'd-Dín — b. Sa'd-at-Taftázání (theologian and jurist, xv), 398, 423, 458; — Dedé b. Luṭfu'lláh (Turkish historian, xvii), 384 n.; — b. Muḥammad Nadím (Turkish historian, translator from the Arabic of the last writer's *Ṣaḥá'ifu'l-Akhbár*, xviii), 384 n.; Dr — Khán (contemporary), 183, 361
Aḥmad-ábád (Gujerát, India), 318
Aḥrár, Khwája — Naqshbandí (saint, xv), 441
'Á'isha (wife of the Prophet, called *Ḥumayrá*), 320 n.

'Á'isha Sulṭán Begum (Bábur's wife), 455
'*Ajá'ibu'l-Makhlúqát* ("Wonders of Creation" of al-Qazwíní, xiii), 64 n.
'*Ajá'ibu'l-Maqdúr fí akhbári Tímúr* ("Marvels of Destiny in the History of Tímúr," by **Ibn 'Arabsháh**, *q.v.*, xv), 181, 183, 321 n., **355–6**
Akbar (the celebrated "Great Mogul" Emperor of India, xvi–xvii), 391, 392, 393 n.
Akhí Júq (antagonist of Mubárizu'd-Dín, xiv), 165
Ákhirat-náma (Turkish Ḥurúfí book), 374–5, 450
Akhláq-i-Jalálí (by Jalálu'd-Dín Dawání, xv), 246, 389, **442–4**
Akhláq-i-Muḥsiní (by Ḥusayn Wá'iẓ-i-Káshifí, xv), 246, 443, 444
Akhláq-i-Náṣirí (by Naṣíru'd-Dín Túsí, xiii), 18 n., 442
Akhláqu'l-Ashráf* (by 'Ubayd-i-Zákání, xiv), 230, 232, 235, 237, **244–51, 257
Akhlát, 188, 192, 401
Akhtar (the "Star," a Persian newspaper published at Constantinople, A.D. 1875–1895), 515 n.
'Akká (St Jean d'Acre in Syria, ravaged by Tímúr in A.D. 1401), 197
Ála Tágh (or — dágh, mountain), 59, 192
Álafrank (son of Gaykhátú, Mongol prince, xiii–xiv), 43, 48
Alamút (stronghold of the Assassins), 6, 25, 66, 69, 92, 255
Alast ("Day of —"), 219 n., 307 and n., 308
'Alá'u'd-Dawla. — b. Aḥmad Jalá'ir (xiv), 191; — b. Báysunqur (Tímúrid prince, xv), 386–8; — Bakhtísháh Ghází (father of **Dawlatsháh**, *q.v.*, xv), 436
'Alá'u'd-Dín. — 'Atá Malik-i-Juwayní (historian, xiii), 20, 22, 24, 25, 29, 65, 88, 106; Khwája — Hindú (correspondent of Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh, xiii–xiv), 82; Malik — (correspondent of same, xiii–xiv), 85; Sulṭán — of India (correspondent of same, xiii–xiv), 85; — Kurt (xiv), 176; Khwája — Muḥammad (fiscal officer of Sulṭán Abú Sa'íd, xiv), 215; — (appealed to by 'Ubayd-i-Zákání, xiv), 240, 241; — Simnání (xiii–xiv), 484; — 'Alí Qúshjí (astronomer and philosopher, xv), 386, 407
Alburz Mountains, 316 n.
Aleppo (*Ḥalab*), 181, 197, 361, 425, 449, 464
Alexander "the Great" (*Iskandar-i-Rúmí*), 3, 16, 89, 90 n., 182, 228, 291 n., 317 n., 373, 533, 536, 541
Alexandria (*Iskandariyya*), 53 n.
Alfiyya [*wa*] *Shalfiyya* (pornographical work by Azraqí, xi), 347 and n., 349, 350
'Alí. — b. Abí Ṭálib (fourth Caliph of Sunnís and first Imám of Shí'a, vii), 51, 71, 91, 250, 255, 510, 519, 521; — Riḍá (eighth Imám of Shí'a, viii–ix), 44; Shaykh — b. Kinjik (or Kikhshik, or Kichik, Mongol, xiv), 53; Amír — Pádisháh (Mongol noble, xiv), 59; Amír — (governor of 'Iráq-i-'Arab, xiii–xiv), 80–81, 82; — b. Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh (xiii–xiv), 84; — Sahl (son of Shaykh Abú Isḥáq Injú, xiv), 163, 275 n.; — b. Uways Jalá'ir (xiv), 172; — Mu'ayyad (Sarbadár, xiv), 178; — Sulṭán Qúchín (retainer of Sháhrukh, xv), 366; — Táz (or Pír 'Alí, xv), 381; — Beg b. Qára 'Osmán (or 'Uthmán, of the "White Sheep" Turkmáns, xv), 404; — Qúshjí (entitled **'Alá'u'd-Dín**, *q.v.*, xv), 386, 407; — b. Ḥusayn Wá'iẓ-i-Káshifí (xv), 434, 441–2, 509
Abú 'Alí b. Síná, 443. See **Avicenna**
'Alí-garh (A.-O. M. College, India), 108, 261
'Alí-sháh. — (rival and enemy of Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh, xiv), 51–2, 54, 70, 71; — (son of the same Rashíd, xiii–xiv), 84
'Aliyyu'l-A'lá (successor of Faḍlu'lláh al-Ḥurúfí, xiv–xv), 371, **374**, **451**
Alláhu Akbar, Tang-i- — (defile near Shíráz), 291 and n.
Allesandri, Vincentio d' — (Italian traveller in Persia, xvi), 381 n.
Almagest, 18, 502
"Alumut" (last ruler of Áq-Qoyúnlú dynasty so called by Italians), 415
Alwand Beg b. Yúsuf Áq-Qoyúnlú (xv–xvi), 417–18
Amán-Kúh, 176

America, 107
Ámid (Diyár Bakr), 192, 404
'Amídu'l-Mulk *Sáḥib-Díwán* (patron of 'Ubayd-i-Zákání, xiv), 235, 238
Amín (poet contemporary with Kátibí, xv), 494
Amíní (poet parodied by Maḥmúd Qárí of Yazd), 352
Amínu'd-Dín. — Naṣr Mustawfí (great-grandfather of Ḥamdu'lláh Mustawfí of Qazwín, xiii), 87, 96; Khwája — (minister of Shaykh Abú Isḥáq Injú, xiv), 233; Shaykh — (? identical with preceding), 275; — (poet parodied by Busḥáq, probably identical with *Amíní* mentioned above), 350
Amír Bey (Ottoman envoy to Úzún Ḥasan, xv), 410
Amír Khusraw of Dihlí (poet, xiii), 108–10. See under **Khusraw**
Amírí, Yúsuf — (poet attached to Báysunghur, xv), 501
Amurath, a corruption of **Murád**, *q.v.*
'Ána (in Mesopotamia), 42, 69, 81
Ana'l-Ḥaqq ("I am the Real," *i.e.* God), 195 n.
Anatolia, 371, 451
Andakán, 180
Andakhúd, 185
Andalusia, 132
Angioletto, Giovan Maria — (Italian traveller in Persia, xv), 381 n., 409, 411, 412, 413, 416
Angora (Anqura), Battle of — (A.D. 1402), **198**, 199, 365, 370
Anísu'l-'Árifín* (the "Gnostics' Familiar," by **Qásimu'l-Anwár, *q.v.*), 475, 482, **485**
Anísu'l-'Áshiqín (the "Lovers' Familiar," by **Qásimu'l-Anwár**, *q.v.*), 475
Anísu'l-'Ushsháq (by Sharafu'd-Dín Rámí, A.D. 1423), 462
Anjou, King René of —, 395
'Anqá (mythical bird), 136 and n., 316 n.
Antioch (Anṭákiya), 81
Anúsharwán, Khusraw — (the Sásánian, vi). See **Núshírwán**
Anwarí (poet, xii), 64, **118**, 224, 291, 350, 510, 522
Anwár-i-Suhaylí ("Lights of Canopus," by Ḥusayn Wá'iẓ-i-Káshifí, xv), 441, 443, **463**, **504**
Áq Búghá ("White Bull," grandfather of Shaykh Ḥasan-i-Buzurg), 171
Áq-Qoyúnlú ("White Sheep" Turkmán dynasty, xv–xvi), 379, 380, 381, **389**, 399, **403–4**, **407–9**, 417, 418, 421 n., 444
Áq Shamsu'd-Dín, Shaykh — (Turkish theologian, xv), 411
Aqṭáb ("Poles," plural of *Quṭb*, a class of the *Rijálu'l-Ghayb*, or Invisible Saints), 276 n.
Arabia, Arabic, Arabs, 3–5, 32, 64, 93, 99, 132, 162, 231 n., 250 n., 461, 467, 468 n.
Arabia Felix, 184. See **Yaman**
"Arabian Nights" (*Alf Layla wa Layla*), 221
Arabic literature produced in Persia, 62–65
Ibnu'l-'Arabí, Shaykh Muḥyi'd-Dín — (the great mystic, xii–xiii), 63, 127, 128, 132, 139, 446 n., 447, 484, 514
Ibn 'Arabsháh (historian, xiv), 181, 183, 185, 197 n., 198, 203, 321 n., **355–6**
Araxes (Aras) river, 187, 192, 196
Árayish-náma ("Book of Adornment" by the poet Maḥmúd Qárí of Yazd, xv), 352
Arbíl, 191
Archives (Paris), 10
Arcturus (*Simák*), 113
Ardabíl, 42, 85, 86, 362, 416, 473, 474, 482, 485, 486
Ardashír. — Bábakán (founder of Sásánian dynasty, iii), 90 n.; — -i-Changí (Míránsháh's harper, xiv), 195 n.; — (unidentified, xv), 494–5
Arghún (Mongol Íl-khán, A.D. 1284–91), 26, **27–34**, 37, 40, 46, 47, 163
'Árif Ḥikmat Bey (Turkish poet, xviii–xix), 371
'Árifí (poet of Herát, xv), 438, 490, **495–7**
Arik Búqá (brother of Húlágú the Mongol, xiii), 58
Aristotle, 18, 443
Arjísh, 399
Armenia, Armenians, 54, 181, 190, 196, 201, 406, 489
Arpa, Arpagá'ún (Mongol Íl-khán, xiv), **58–59**, 171, 274 n.
Arrán, 57, 67
'Arsh-náma ("Book of the Throne," Persian Ḥurúfí work), 375, 450
Arzanján, 83, 188. See also **Erzinján**
Áṣaf (Solomon's minister), 67, 307, 308, 309

Aṣafí (poet, xv), 438, 458
'Ashára (unidentified place in Mesopotamia), 81
Ash'arí (doctrine), 301
Ashi''atu'l-Lama'át* (Jámí's commentary on 'Iráqí's **Lama'át, *q.v.*), 132–3, **444–7**, 512
'Áshiq Chelebi (biographer of Turkish poets), 369
Ashraf, Malik-i- — (xiv), 170
Ashraf-i-*Namad-púsh* (poet parodied by Maḥmúd Qárí of Yazd), 352
Asia Minor, 3, 5, 53, 54, 56, 58, 71, 92, 99, 111, 127, 155, 188, 196, 357, 397, 404, 408, 479
'Asjadí (poet, xi), 65
Aṣílu'd-Dín (b. Naṣíru'd-Dín Ṭúsí, astronomer, xiii), 48; — (judge of Shíráz, xiv), 275, 276
Asír-Garh (Burhánpúr, India), 289
"Asmurat" (Italian corruption of Murád), 412
Asráru't-Tanzíl (al-Baydáwí's commentary on the *Qur'án*, xiii), 63
"Assambei" (Italian corruption of Ḥasan Beg, *i.e.* **Úzún Ḥasan**, *q.v.*), 389, 404
'Aṣṣár (poet of Tabríz, xiv), 159, 328, 344
Assassins (of **Alamut**, *q.v.*), 6, 19, 25, 53, 66, 69, 73, 92, 154–5, 255
Ástárá, 482
Astarábád, 190, 216, 286, 355, 365, 368, 370, 388, 390, 395, 488, 489
"Astibisti" (Italian corruption of *Hasht Bihisht*, "the Eight Paradises"), 414
Astrachan, 356
Astrology condemned, 86
Atábek (son of Shamsu'd-Dín Muḥammad *Ṣáḥib-Díwán*, xiii), 28, 29; — dynasty of Fárs, 92, 100, 121, 274 (see also *Salgharid*); — of **Luristán**, *q.v.*, 68, 92, 189
Átash-kada ("Fire-temple," a well-known biography of Persian poets by Luṭf 'Alí Beg Ádhar, xviii), 111, 119, 210, 211, 216, 222, 230, 258, 274, 321 n., 331 n., 345
'Aṭá'u'lláh, Mír — of Mashhad (writer of Bábur's time, xv–xvi), 458
Áthár'u'l-Bilád ("Monuments of the Lands" by al-Qazwíní, xiii), 64–5
Athenæum (newspaper), 95 n.
Athír-i-Awmání (poet, xiii), 154, 261
Ibnu'l-Athír (Arabian historian, xiii), 88, 144 n.
Auguries from Ḥáfiẓ (*tafá'ul*), 311–19
Austin (printers, of Hertford), 504 n.
Austrians (defeated by Mongols at Liegnitz, A.D. 1241), 6
Avesta, 290 n., 317 n.
Avicenna (Shaykh Abú 'Alí ibn Síná, x–xi), 443, 522
Avník, 192, 196
'Awáṣim, 81
'Awfí (Núru'd-Dín Muḥammad, biographer, xiii), 65
Awḥadí of Maráǵha (poet, xiii–xiv), ?128, **141–6**; parodied, 352
Awḥadu'd-Dín of Kirmán (poet, xiii), 65, ?128, **139–41**, 473
Awján, 166
Awrang-zíb 'Álamgír ("Great Mogul" Emperor, A.D. 1659–1707), 391
Awtád (a class of the "Invisible Saints"), 276 n.
Aydakán, 171
Aydín, 192
Áy Khátún (daughter of Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh), 84
'Ayn Jálút (defeat of Mongols by Egyptians at — in A.D. 1260), 19
'Ayntáb, 197
Aywának (near Ray), 194
Ayyúbí Dynasty, 408
Ázád, Ghulám 'Alí Khán — (biographer, xviii), 289
Azraqí (poet, xi), 347

Bábá Ḥusayn (murderer of 'Abdu'l-Laṭíf the parricide in A.D. 1450), 386–7
Bábá Kúhí (Shrine of — at Shíráz), 274
Bábá Sangú (holy man of Andakhúd, xiv), 185
Bábá-Sawdá'í (poet, xv), 438, 497, 501
Bábís, 432, 452, 465, 470
Bábur, Mírzá Abu'l-Qásim (Tímúrid, d. 1456–7), 311, 387, 388, 390, 421 n., 429; Ẓahíru'd-Dín Muḥammad (Tímúrid, founder of the "Great Mogul" Empire in India, xv–xvi), 184 and note on pronunciation of the name, 311 n., 380, 391–3, **418–19**, 433, 440, 453–60, 505, 507
Báburí (favourite of Ẓahíru'd-Dín Bábur), 455
Bábur-náma* (autobiography of Ẓahíru'd-Dín Bábur), **391–3, 440, **453–9**, 505 n.

"Babylon," "Sultan of —," 199, 201
Bachú Núyán (Mongol general, his letter to the Pope), 10
Badakhshán, 388, 390, 393
Badakhshí (poet, xv), 438
Badáyi'u'ṣ-Ṣanáyi' (a work on Rhetoric by Mír 'Aṭá'u'lláh of Mashhad, xv), 458
Bádghís, 179, 427
Badí'u'z-Zamán. — al-Hamadhání (man of letters, x–xi), 139 n.; — b. Abu'l-Ghází Sulṭán Ḥusayn (Tímúrid prince, xv–xvi), 399, 416, 418
Badr. — (poet of Chách or Shásh in Transoxiana, xiii), 106, 110; — (poet satirized by Kátibí, xv), 491–2
Baghdád, 4, 20, 24, 31, 32, 33, 34, 54, 55, 60, 62, 66, 70, 78, 82, 111, 160, 161, 162, 164 n., 166, 172, 183, 191, 195 n., 196, 197, 204, 205, 206, 208, 223, 225, 226, 230, 234, 250, 257, 261, 263, 264, 284, 285, 317, 357, 361, 366, 368, 396, 399, 402, 409, 510, 511
Baghdád Khátún (daughter of the Amír Chúbán, xiv), 54, 56, 57, 58, 170, 171
Bahádur (title assumed by the Mongol Íl-khán Abú Sa'íd in A.D. 1318), 53
Baháristán (the "Spring-Land," by Jámí, xv), 258, 273, 347 n., 436, 489, 515
Bahárlú tribe, 399
Bahá'u'd-Dawla, Bahman Mírzá (Qájár Prince and bibliophile, xix), 80, 100 n.
Bahá'u'd-Dín. — Juwayní (great-grandfather of Shamsu'd-Dín Muḥammad *Ṣáḥib-Díwán*, xii–xiii), 20; — Juwayní (son of the above-mentioned *Ṣáḥib-Díwán*, xiii), 21–22, 29, 119; — Zakariyyá (saint of Multán and spiritual guide of 'Iráqí, xiii), 125, 127, 174; — Aḥmad (commonly called **Sulṭán Walad** or **Veled** *q.v.*, son of Mawláná Jalálu'd-Dín Rúmí, xiii), 155; — (father of the poet Ḥáfiẓ, xiv), 274; — Qára 'Osmán (known as *Qára Iluk*, "the Black Leech," of the *Áq-qoyúnlú*, or "White Sheep" Turkmáns, xiv–xv), 404
Bahman Mírzá, 80, 100 n. See above under **Bahá'u'd-Dawla**
Bahman Sháh (of India, xv), 400
Bahrám u Gul-andám (poem by Kátibí, xv), 487
Bakhshís (Úyghúr priests and scribes), 50, 111, 112 and n.
Abú Bakr. — (the first Caliph, vii), 74, 255 and n.; — b. Sa'd-i-Zangí (Átábek of Fárs, xiii), 100; — (father of Mubárizu'd-Dín, founder of the Muẓaffarí dynasty, xiii), 162; — (son of Míránsháh b. Tímúr, xiv–xv), 362, 399, 400
Bákú, 175, 368, 417
Bala'bakk (Baalbek), 197
Baladu'l-'Ayn, 81
Balkh, 108, 432, 456
-Balkhí, Abú Zayd Aḥmad b. Sahl — (geographer and author of the *Ṣuwaru'l-Aqálím*, one of the sources of the **Nuzhatu'l-Qulúb**, *q.v.*), 99 and n.
Bam, 81, 165
Bámiyán, 122
Banákat (or Fanákat in Transoxiana), 100 and n., 320 n.
Banákatí, Ta'ríkh-i- —, 100–103. See *Rawḍatu Uli'l-Albáb*
Banátu'n-Na'sh (Arabic name for the constellation of Ursa Major), 213 n.
Bang (Cannabis Indica or *Ḥashísh*), 150 and n., 151 and n.
Bankipore (Library and Catalogues), 108, 109 n., 259 n., 260, 287 n., 293 n., 312 n., 317 n., 319
Banná'í (poet, xv), 438, 457, 458
Bánú Jahán (wife of Mubárizu'd-Dín Muḥammad, xiv), 163
Báqir b. Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Kurt (xiv), 177
Barandaq (poet of Bukhárá, xv), 501
Bárbad (minstrel of Khusraw Parwíz, vii), 267 and n.
Barbaro, Josafa — (Venetian envoy to Persia, xv), 380, 399, 404
Barbier de Meynard, 431
Bardí Beg (xv), 381–2
Bar-Hebraeus, Abu'l-Faraj — (Christian historian and physician, xiii), 12, 18, 19 n., 25 n., 26 n., 27 n., 48 n., 64, 106 n.
Barmak, House of —, or "Barmecides," 21
Barqúq (al-Maliku'ẓ-Ẓáhir, ruler of Egypt, xiv), 191
Bashárat-náma (Turkish Hurúfí poem by Rafí'í, xv), 375, 449–50
Baṣra, 81, 85

Batnír, Massacre of — (xiv), 194
Bátú (Mongol prince, xiii), 54, 354
Ibn Baṭúṭa (Arabian traveller, xiv), 47 n., 55 n., 56 n., 58, 61, 64
Báyandarí (the "White Sheep" Turkmán dynasty, xv–xvi), 402, 404. See **Áq-qoyúnlú**
Bayánu'l-Ḥaqá'iq (by Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh, xiv), 77, 79
Báyazíd. — (of Bisṭám, saint and mystic), 479; — b. Mubárizu'd-Dín Muḥammad, founder of the Muẓaffarí dynasty (xiv), 163; — b. Sulṭán Uways of the Íl-khání or Jalá'ir dynasty (xiv), 173; — I, known as *Yildirim*, the "Thunderbolt" (Ottoman Sulṭán, A.D. 1389–1402), 173, 196, 198–9, 203–6, 365, 399, 400; — II (Ottoman Sulṭán, A.D. 1481–1512), 398 (where "II" is twice erroneously given as "III"), 418, 419, 422, 423; Khwája — (Ḥurúfí, xiv), 368
Báyazíd (Turkish frontier fortress), 188
Baybars (al-Maliku'ẓ-Ẓáhir, Sulṭán of Egypt, xiii), 19
-Baydá (the Arabic name of *Turbat-i-Safíd* in Fárs), 63
-Baydáwí, Qáḍí Náṣiru'd-Dín — (commentator, historian and judge, xiii), 63, 88, 100, 101, 272 n.
Baydú (Mongol Íl-khán, A.D. 1295), 39–40
Bayhaq, 178
Bayqará (Tímúrid prince, nephew of Sháh-rukh, xiv–xv), 427
Bayrám, Khwája — Bahárlú (of the dynasty of the "Black Sheep" or **Qára-qoyúnlú**, *q.v.*), 399
Báysunqur. — (Tímúrid prince, son of Sháh-rukh, xv), 108, 366, 380, 385 and n., 386, 387, 395–6, 400, 424, 427, 438, 453, 473, 499–501; — b. Ya'qúb (of the Aq-qoyúnlú or "White Sheep" dynasty, *circ.* A.D. 1500), 415
Bázdárí family of Qazwín, 94
Bázigha (her love affair with Joseph), 532 and n.
"Beard," "Book of the —" (*Ríshnáma*, by 'Ubayd-i-Zákání, xiv), 235, 251
Bektásh, Ḥájji — (d. A.D. 1337–8), 371–2, 374, 451
Bektáshí order of dervishes, 365, 370–5, 450–2
Belgian professors at Cambridge (A.D. 1915), 112 n., 427. See also **Faṣíḥí, Muséon**
Belin (*Notice sur Mir Ali-Chir...*, 1861), 391, 439, 506, 508
Bell, Miss Gertrude Lowthian — (*Poems from the Divan of Hafiz*, 1897), 162, 273, 286, 291, 292, 303–6, 308–11
Bengal, 286, 287, 393, 398
Bernhauer, 156
Beveridge, Mrs — (edition of *Bábur-náma*, 1905), 391
Bianchi, 399
Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris), 237, 372
Bicknell, Herman — (translator of Ḥáfiẓ, d. 1875), 283, 290, 291 n., 302–3, 304–7, 309, 310
Bihnám (his fatal banquet at Hamadán, A.D. 1282), 25 n.
Bihrúz, Mírzá Dhabíhu'lláh — of Sáwa (contemporary), 541, 542, 548
Bihzád (miniature painter, xv), 456, 459, 505
Bijanagar, 398, 429
Birjand, 155
Bisáṭí (poet, xv), 438, 501
Bishárí (family or clan of Qazwín), 94
Bisṭám, 59, 178
Bitlís, 192
"Black Sheep" Turkmáns. See **Qára-qoyúnlú**
Blochet, M. Edgar — (edition of part of the **Jámi'u't-Tawáríkh**, *q.v.*), 74 n.
Blochmann (*Persian Prosody*, 1872), 514 n.
Blue Banner (Léon Cahun), 15
Blüthensammlung aus d. Morgenl. Mystik (Tholuck, 1825), 147
Blütenkranz (Wickerhauser, 1885–8), 542
Bodenstadt (translator of Ḥáfiẓ, 1877), 303
Bohemia, 10, 102
Bombay, 231
"Bousaet," "Boussay" (Italian corruption of **Abú Sa'íd**, *q.v.*), 61
Brahmins, 342 n.
Britain, British, 102, 183
British Museum, 367, 430, 445
Brockelmann, Karl — (*Gesch. d. arab. Litt.*, 1898–1902), 63 n., 64 n., 99 n., 354, 355, 356, 357
Brockhaus (editor of Ḥáfiẓ), 299 n., 302

Broussa, 199
Buddhist, Buddhism, 44, 73
Buhlúl (rebellion of —, A.D. 1395), 193
Bukhárá, 82, 186, 188, 189, 234, 238, 432
Búlá Tímúrí (family or clan of Qazwín), 94
Bulgarians, 15
Bulqán Khátún (mentioned in Rashídu'd-Dín's will), 28
Búqá, Amír — (mentioned in Rashídu'd-Dín's will), 28
Buráq (rebellion of —, A.D. 1268–9), 25
-Burda (the "Mantle-poem" of al-Buṣírí), 363
Burgundy, Dukes of —, 395
Burhán-i-Jámí' (Persian dictionary), 351
Burhán-i-Qáti' (Persian dictionary), 351 n.
Burhání (family or clan of Qazwín), 94
Burhánpúr, 289
Burhánu'd-Dín. Qáḍí — (Turkish warrior-poet, xiv–xv), 404; Sayyid — (father of Mírkhwánd the historian), 432
Burújird, 187, 190, 368
"Busech" (Italian corruption of **Abú Sa'íd**, *q.v.*), 389, 410, 429 n.
Búshanj, 150, 175, 186
Busḥáq (Abú Iṣḥáq, parodist of Shíráz), 159, 209, 211, 257, 299, **344–51**, 353, 492
-Buṣírí (Arabic poet, author of the *Burda*), 363
Bustán (of Sa'dí, xiii), 16, 354, 529
Buwayhid dynasty, 91, 522
Byzantine Empire, 205, 409

Caesarea (Qayṣariyya), 83, 85
Cahun, Léon —, 9 n., 14, 15
Cairo, 42, 196, 356, 357
Calcutta, 216
Calf, Golden —, 35, 36
Caliph, Caliphate (*Khalífa*, *Khiláfat*), 5, 62, 73, 74, 90, 91, 92, 101, 247 n. See also under **'Abbasias, Fátimids, Umayyads**
Calmucks, 398
Cambay, 398
Cambaluc (Khán-báligh, *i.e.* Pekin), 397
Cambridge, 112, 162, 367, 368, 373, 427, 430 n., 440, 443, 445, 496
"Caño" (name of Tímúr's wife as given by Clavijo), 200
Caracoili, 399. See **Qára-qoyúnlu**
Carmathians, 451
"Carparth" (corruption of **Kharpút**, *q.v.*), 389
Cashmere, 283. See **Kashmír**
Caspian Provinces and Sea, 3, 6, 15, 187, 355, 481, 482. See also **Gílán, Mázandarán**
"Cassan" (Italian corruption of **Káshán**, *q.v.*), 389
Catalonia, 102
Cathay (*Khaṭá*), 75, 228
Catholic church, 6
Catkins called "Willow-cats" (*gurba-i-bíd*), 118 and n.
Caucasus, 7
Ceylon, 122, 398
Chabistar, or **Shabistar** (*q.v.*), 146
Chabot, J.-B. —, 31 n., 52 n.
Chách, Cháchí, 110, 262, 320 n.
Chaghatáy Khán, 66
Chaghatáy language, 391, 438. See **Eastern Turkish, Turkí**
Chahár Maqála (by Niẓámí-i-'Arúḍí of Samarqand, xii), 65, 256, 353 n., 522 n.
Chansons de Gestes, 394
Chao (Chinese paper-money introduced into Persia), 37–9
Chelebi, 479
Chess, 456–7
Chézy (translator into French of Jámí's *Layla wa Majnún*, Paris, 1805), 516
Chilla (forty days' fasting and self-discipline, in Arabic *arba'ín*), 125, 527 n.
China, Chinese, 37, 43, 44, 49, 64, 73, 74, 75, 77, 86, 89, 101–3, 202, 206, 228, 362, 383, 397, 398
Chingíz Khán or Qá'án (xii–xiii), 11, 12, 15, 16, 40, 43, 65, 73, 74, 103, 159, 180, 182, 185, 203, 250, 285, 364, 383
Chingíz-náma (or *Sháhinsháh-náma* of Aḥmad of Tabríz, xiv), 103
Chosroes (generic name for Sásánian king, Arabic **Kisrá**, Persian **Khusraw**, *q.v.*)
Christ, Christians, 17, 18, 19, 54, 58, 101, 116, 134, 196, 201, 259, 281, 282, 338, 342 n., 372, 467, 476
Chronograms, 58, 282, 283, 385, 386, 387, 512. This list is not exhaustive

Chronological Retrospect (Major David Price, 1811–21), 196 and n.
Chúbán, Amír — (xiv), 51–56, 59, 60, 170, 171
Churches destroyed by orders of Gházán (*circ.* A.D. 1295), 40
Churchill, Sidney — (rare Persian books acquired by —), 95, 300
Clarke, Col. H. Wilberforce — (translator of Ḥáfiẓ, etc.), 299, 300, 302, 303
Clavijo, Ruy Gonzalez de — (Spanish ambassador to Tímúr, A.D. 1404–5), 199–201
Clement. Pope — IV, 19; Pope — V, 49
Cologne (mentioned by the historian Banákatí, xiv), 102
"Como" (Italian corruption of **Qum**, *q.v.*), 389
Comneni, 407, 408–9
Compass, invention of —, 15
Constantinople, 64, 199, 201, 203, 206, 231, 257, 367, 368, 370, 399, 405, 409, 413, 419
Contarini, Ambrosio — (Venetian envoy to Persia, xv), 380, 406 and n., 410
Copts, era of the —, 89
Cordier, M. Henri — (edition of Odoric of Pordenone), 61 n.
Crusades, 8
"Curlumameth" (Italian corruption of **Oghúrlú Muḥammad**, *q.v.*), 410

Dabírán (family of Qazwín), 94
Dah Faṣl (by 'Ubayd-i-Zákání, xiv), 237, 252
Dah Waṣl (by Maḥmúd Qárí of Yazd, xv), 352
Ḍaḥḥák (legendary tyrant of Persia), 250
Dalmatia, 6
Dámád Ibráhím Pasha (xviii), 384 n.
Damascus (Dimashq), 41, 42, 122, 128, 181, 197, 355, 356, 357, 425, 462
Dámghán, 81, 190, 368, 388
Dánishmand Bahádur (general, xiii), 176
Dante compared with Ḥáfiẓ, 292–3
Dárábjird, 356
Darband, 175
Darby (translator of Petis de la Croix's *Life of Tímúr* into English, 1723), 363
Darius (Dárá). — Hystaspes, 405; the last —, 228, 229
Ḍarráb, Sayyid Amír Ḥájji — (xiv), 164
Dáru'l-Aytám (in Shíráz), 444
Dáru'sh-Shifá (in Shíráz), 166, 355
Dáru's-Siyádat-*i-Gházání* (at Síwás), 83; — -*i-Sulṭání* (at Herát), 504
Dasht, 356
Dastúr-náma (by Nizárí), 155
David's melodious voice, 500
David Comnenas, 408
Davy, Major — (xviii), 184
Dawán (in Fárs), 444
***Dawlatsháh.** — (ruler of Kirmán, xiv), 166; — b. Bakhtísháh of Samarqand (author of the well-known Biography of Poets, xv), 40 n., 47, 72, 108, 109 n., 111, 115 n., 118 n., 119, 141, 188, 209, 210, 211, 215, 222, 223, 224, 230, 258, 259, 262, 263, 265, 272, 273, 274, 282, 311 n., 321, 331 n., 344, 345, 346, 347, 362, 363, 382, 383–4, 434, **436–7**, 439, 453, 459, 487 n., 488, 489, 491 n., 497, 498, **499–501**, 505, 508
Daylamís, 91. See **Buwayhids**
Deccan, 285, 464
Defrémery, 64 n.
Delhi. See **Dihlí**
Deluge, era of —, 89
Despina. — (daughter of Michael Palaeologus and wife of Abáqá Khán the Mongol Íl-khán, xiii), 18; — (daughter of Kalo Joannes and wife of Úzún Ḥasan, xv), 407
Abú Dharr, traditions of —, 514
Dhu'l-Fiqár ('Alí's sword), 467, 468 and n.
Dhu'l-Qadar (one of the nine tribes supporting Sháh Isma'íl, A.D. 1500), 417
Dhu'l-Qadarí dynasty (xv), 401
Dieterici (editor of al-Mutanabbí), 347 n.
Dihlí, 107, 108, 181, 183, 194, 358, 391, 393
Dilshád. — Khátún (daughter of **Dimashq Khwája**, *q.v.*), 55. 58, 171, 172, 260, 262; — Aghá (Tímúr's wife, xiv), 186
Dimashq Khwája (son of Amír Chúbán, xiv), 54, 55, 170
Díwa-Maḥall, 398
Díwán-i-Albisa (by Maḥmúd Qárí of Yazd, *q.v.*), 351–3

*Díwán-i-Aṭ'ima (by **Busḥáq of Shíráz**, *q.v.*), 346–51
Díwánu'n-Nasab (source used by author of *Ta'ríkh-i-Guzída*), 88
Diyár Bakr (formerly Ámid), 84, 92, 192, 400, 402, 404, 406, 407, 408, 417, 418
Diyá'u'd-Dín (Jámí's son), 514
Dizful, 83, 191
Dolmetsch (suggested Turkish etymology), 9 n.
Dominican archbishop of Sulṭániyya (xiv), 54
Doqúz Khátún (wife of Húlágú Khán, xiii), 18, 52 n.
Dorn, Bernard —, 210 n., 426
Drink, indulgence in — by Tartars, 24, 200, 391, 406; laws against —, 53, 58, 277–8
Dughlát, Mírzá Ḥaydar — (cousin of Bábur and author of **Ta'ríkh-i-Rashídí**, *q.v.*), 392, 453
Dulafí (clan or family of Qazwín), 94
Dur-duzd, Mawláná 'Alí — (poet parodied by Busḥáq and Maḥmúd Qárí), 350, 352

Ebu'ẓ-Ẓiyá Tevfíq (Abu'd-Diyá Tawfíq) **Bey** (Turkish man of letters and printer, xix–xx), 231
Edward King of England. — I, 11, 19; — II, 11, 12, 49
Egypt, Egyptians, 11, 19, 20, 41, 42, 44, 49, 51, 53, 54, 56, 70, 85, 86, 92, 106, 127, 162, 164 n., 170, 173, 191, 197, 199, 205, 206, 312, 329, 368, 396, 397, 399, 400, 401, 404, 405, 414, 466, 468, 469
"Elephant," "Year of the —," 89
Eleutherius, Pope —, 102
Elias, N. — (d. 1897), 170 n., 364 n., 392 n.
Eliot, Sir Charles —, 433
Elliot, Sir H. — (*History of India*), 107, 110
Ellis, A. G. —, 174, 179 n., 430
Elphinstone (*History of India*), 454
Emessa. See **Ḥims**
England, English, 6, 43, 44, 102, 107, 395,
Era, Íl-khání —, 45; others employed by different peoples, 89
Erdmann, Dr Franz von —, 224, 225, 226
Erskine, W. — (historian of India), 364 n., 392 n., 393 and n., 419 n., 454
Er-Toghril (ancestor of the Ottoman Sulṭáns), 205
Erzeroum, 188, 196, 199
Erzinján, 188, 196, 404, 408. See also **Arzanján**
Ethé, Dr Hermann — (d. June 7, 1917), 68 n., 103, 302 n., 515 n., 531 n.
Euclid, 18
Euphrates (*Furát*), 42, 69, 81, 84, 379, 408, 412, 511 n.
Euphuists, 461
Europe, Europeans, 89, 395
Eve (*Ḥawwá*), 334, 335
Evil Eye (rue or pepper burned for protection against —), 229 n.

Facetiæ (*Hazaliyyát*) of **'Ubayd-i-Zákání**, *q.v.*, 231, 238
Abu'l-Faḍl of Sáwa, Mírzá — (physician and writer, xix), 540
Faḍílat-náma (Ḥurúfí work), 450
Faḍlu'lláh. — al-Ḥusayní (author of *al-Mu'jam fí Athári Mulúki'l-'Ajam*, xiii–xiv), 68; — (author of *Jámi'u't-Tawáríkh*, xiii–xiv), see under **Rashídu'd-Dín**; — al-Ḥurúfí of Astarábád (heresiarch, xiv), 190, 365–374, 449, 451, 479; — of Tabríz (physician to Tímúr, xiv–xv), 202; —, Mír — (courtier of Maḥmúd Sháh Bahmaní of the Deccan, xiv), 285
Fahlawiyyát (poems in dialect), 352
Fákihatu'l-Khulafá (by Aḥmad ibn **'Arabshah**, *q.v.*, xiv), 356
**Fakhrí*, *Kitabu'l-* — (xiv), 4–5
Fakhrí-i-Banákatí (historian and poet, xiv), 100–103
Fakhrí-i-Jurjání (poet, xi), 65
Fakhru'd-Dín. Monastery of Shakh —, 28; — Kurt, Malik — (xiv), 41, 50, 150–1, 174 n., 176; — 'Iráqí (*q.v.*, poet, xiv), 63, **124-39**, 174, 321, 344, 350, 445, 446, 512; — Abu'l-'Abbás Aḥmad-i-Shírází (author of the *Shíráznáma*, xiv), 360–1; —, Khwája — (correspondent of Ḥurúfís, xiv); — 'Ajamí (Persian Mufti of Constantinople, xv), 370; — 'Alí b. Ḥusayn Wá'iẓ-i-Káshifí (poet, preacher and biographer, xv–xvi), 441–2, 504, 509
Fakhru'l-Mulk Shamsu'd-Dawla (patron of the poet Imámí, xiii), 117, 118 and n.

Fál-náma (table for taking auguries), 235, 312–15
Falconer, Forbes —, 516, 523 n., 527
Fání (Persian *takhallus* of **Mír 'Alí Shír Nawá'í**, *q.v.*), 505
Faqr-náma (Ḥurúfí work), 450
Faráh, 175, 186
Faraju'lláh (son of the *Ṣáḥib-Díwán* Shamsu'd-Dín Muḥammad-i-Juwayní, xiii), 29
Abu'l-Faraj, Gregorius — b. Ahrún (physician and historian). See **Bar Hebraeus**
Akhú Abi'l-Faraj of Zanján (saint, xi), 426 and n.
Farghána, 380, 393, 418
Farhád, 328, 329, 547
Farhádjird, 178
Farhang-i-Anjuman-árá-yi-Náṣirí (Persian lexicon by Riḍá-qulí Khán, xix), 481 n.
Ibnu'l-Fáriḍ, 'Umar — (Egyptian mystical poet, xii–xiii), 133, 514, 548
Faríd-i-Aḥwal ("Squinting Faríd," poet, xiv), 154
Farídu'd-Dín. — 'Aṭṭár (mystical poet, xiii), 88, 344, 350, 352, 435, 479, 505; Qáḍí — (envoy of Báyazíd "the Thunder-bolt" to Tímúr), 205; — Aḥmad b. Sa'du'd-Dín at-Taftázání. See under **Aḥmad**
Farmán-Khánd (daughter of Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh, xiv), 84
Farrukh (ode of Ḥáfiẓ addressed to —), 301
Farrukh Yasár (king of Shírwán, *c.* A.D. 1500), 417
Farrukhí (poet, xi), 65
Fárs, 20, 73, 83, 101, 119, 160, 163, 165, 168, 186, 188, 189, 190, 191, 206, 226, 237, 272, 274, 275, 276, 277, 284, 285, 317, 344, 356, 357, 381, 385, 387, 389, 397, 402, 406, 410, 444
Fárs-náma-i-Náṣirí, 162, 165 n., 168 n., 274 n., 275 n., 357 and n.
Fáryáb, 175
Faryúmad, 212, 215
Fasá (in Fárs), 168
Faṣíḥí of Khwáf (author of the rare *Mujmal*, or Compendium of history and biography), 28 n., 29, 40 n., 67 n., 112 and n., 150 and n., 151–2, 174 and n., 195 n., 210 and n., 211, 214–15, 224, 230, 282 n., 283, 354 n., 365, 424 n., 425, 426–8
Fatḥ-ábád, Garden of —, 83
Fatalism (Ḥáfiẓ charged with —), 301 and n.
Fatḥ-'Alí Sulṭán b. Imám-qulí Khán, 318–19
Abu'l-Fatḥ Ibráhím b. Sháh-rukh (d. A.D. 1434–5), 385 n.
Fátiḥatu'sh-Shabáb (Jámí's first *Díwán*, compiled in A.D. 1479–80), 515
Fáṭimid Caliphs, 92, 154
-Fawá'idu'ḍ-Ḍiyá'iyya (Arabic grammar compiled by Jámí for the use of his son), 514
Fayḍ-náma (Turkish Ḥurúfí work), 450
Ferté, M. —, 231, 235
Filwágúshán (clan or family of Qazwín), 94
Fiott-Hughes (collector of Oriental MSS.), 225
Firáq-náma (by Salmán-i-Sáwají, xiv), 261
Firdawsí, 65, 89, 95, 104, 108, 224, 259, 316 n., 348, 350, 385, 510, 532, 541. See also **Sháh-náma**
Fire-arms, invention of —, 14
Fire-worshippers. See **Gabr, Guebre, Magian, Zoroastrian**
Firídún Bey (Aḥmad Firídún Tawqí'i, Turkish writer and official, compiler of a great collection of State Papers known as *Munsha'át*, xvi), 203–6, 398 and n., 400, 401 and n., 407, 409–11, 422–3
Firishta, Muḥammad Qásim — of Astarábád (historian of India), 286
Firishta-záda ('Abdu'l-Majíd b. Firishta 'Izzu'd-Dín, Ḥurúfí heresiarch and author of the *'Ishq-náma*), 371, 451
Fírúzábád (in Fárs), 357
-Fírúzábádí, Abú Ṭáhir Muḥammad — (lexicographer, xiv–xv), 357–8
Fírúz-Kúh, 175, 193, 368
Fish supporting the earth (*máhí* or *samak*), 113
FitzGerald, Edward —, 304, 516, 523, 524, 526
Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, 162, 360
Fleischer, 156, 328
Florence, 292
Florin, Turkish —, 423 and n.
Flügel, 88 n., 367 n.
Forbes, Duncan —, 529
"Four" (*i.e.* the Four Elements), 248

France, French, 6, 9, 10, 395
Franciscan envoys to Mongol court, 19
Franks, 73, 74, 101, 200, 205. See also **Europeans**
Frazer, Sir J. G. —, 474
Friesland, 6
Fuḍúlí (Fuẓúlí, Turkish poet of Baghdád, xvi), 441
Furúghí (Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khán *Zuká'u'l-Mulk*, contemporary Persian poet and historian), 383
Fuṣúṣu'l-Ḥikam (by Shaykh **Muḥyi'd-Dín ibnu'l-'Arabí**, *q.v.*), 63, 127, 446, 513

Gabr (Guebre), 38, 39, 541. See also **Magians, Zoroastrians**
Ganja, 122, 326 n., 535, 536
Ganj-náma (Turkish Ḥurúfí book), 450
Gantin, M. Jules — (editor of *Ta'ríkh-i-Guzída*), 94
Garm-sír, 52
Gawhar Shád Khátún (or — Áqá, xv), 388, 389, 410, 428
Gaykhátú (Mongol Il-khan, A.D. 1291–5), 31, 37–9, 43, 163
Gayl (Gêl, Gíl), 480, 481
Gedik Aḥmad Pasha (tutor to the Ottoman Prince Muṣṭafá, xv), 411
Gêl. See above under **Gayl**
Genoa, 201
Geoffrey de Langley (English envoy to Gházán's court), 44
Georgia, Georgians, 9, 85, 160, 188, 190, 192, 197, 199, 362, 406, 409, 414, 503
German, Germany, 6, 542; German Emperor, 107 n.
Gharjistán, 175
Ghaza (Egypt), 19
Gházán (Mongol Il-khán, A.D. 1295–1304), 17, 27, 40–46, 47, 48, 69, 70, 72, 73, 74, 76, 82, 83, 84, 101, 104 n., 163, 176, 275, 361
Gházániyya (suburb of Tabríz), 46, 70
Gházán-náma (by Aḥmad of Tabríz, xiv), 103
Abu'l-Ghází Sulṭán Ḥusayn b. Manṣúr b. Bayqará (Tímúrid prince, xv–xvi), 380, 390–1, 395, 396, 399, 400, 410, 412, 418, 421–2, 430–1, 433, 434, 436, 439–40, 443, 453, 455–9, 487 n., 505, 506, 517
Ghazna, House of —, 73, 74, 91, 380
-Ghazzálí, Shaykh Muḥammad — (xi–xii), 479; Shaykh Aḥmad —, 135 n.
Ghibellines, 399
Ghiyáthu'd - Dín. — Muḥammad Sám (king of Ghúr, d. A.D. 1202), 174, 179; — Kurt ruler of Herát (d. A.D. 1329), 55, 57, 176–7, 179; — Pír 'Alí Kurt (grandson of the preceding), 57, 179, 186; — (Muḥammad b. Rashídu'd - Dín Faḍlu'lláh (minister and patron of letters, put to death in A.D. 1336), 56–7, 58–9, 71, 83, 84, 87, 103, 226, 261–2; — Ḥájji Khurásání (ancestor of the Muẓaffarí dynasty, xiii), 162; — b. Sulṭán Iskandar (king of Bengal and correspondent of the poet Ḥáfiẓ, xiv), 286–7; Amír — (Ḥurúfí poet), 373; — Naqqásh (xv), 397
Ghúch Ḥusayn b. Amír Chúbán (xiv), 170
Ghulám 'Alí Khán *Ázád* (author of the *Khizána-i-'Ámira*, xviii), 289
Ghúr, 152, 175, 176; kings of —, 91, 179
Ghurí, Amír — (Sarbadár, xiv), 180
"Giansa," 389. See **Jahánsháh**
Gibb, E. J. W. — (Turkish scholar, d. 1901), 156, 210 n., 354, 368 n., 369, 370, 392, 399 n., 404 n., 422, 423, 426, 441 n., 449, 450, 532
Gibbon (author of the *Decline and Fall*), 202–3
Gibbons, Professor H. A. —, 198, 401 n.
Gílán, Gíl, 49, 416, 429, 473, 479, 481, 482. See also **Caspian provinces, Gayl**
Gird-i-Kúh (stronghold of the Assassins), 368
Gobineau, le Comte de —, 103, 425
de Goeje, 88 n., 99 n.
Gog, 16
Golden Horde, 57, 354
Gomez de Salazar (member of Spanish mission to Tímúr, xv), 199
Gonzalez de Clavijo (Spanish ambassador to Tímúr), 199–201. See **Clavijo**
Gothland, 6
Gottwaldt, 88 n.
Government service to be avoided, 28
Graf (editor of Sa'dí's *Bustán*), 16 n., 529 n.

Greece, Greek, 3, 89, 405
Gregory X, Pope —, 19
Griffith, R. T. H. — (translator of Jámí's *Yúsuf wa Zulaykhá*), 516, 531
Gúdarz (rebel at Sírján, xiv), 192
Guebre (*gabr*), 38, 39, 541. See also **Magians, Zoroastrians**
Guelphs, 399
de Guignes, 382 n.
Guillaume d'Ada (archbishop of Sulṭániyya, xiv), 54 n.
Gujarát, 318, 398
Gulandám, Muḥammad — (compiler of the *Díwán* of Ḥáfiẓ), 272, 283
Gulbarga, 398
Gulistán (of Sa'dí), 16 n., 401 n., 436, 515
Gulistán (place in Caucasia), 417
**Gulshan-i-Ráz* ("Rose-garden of Mystery"), 146–9, 300, 471 n.
Gurgán, 190, 355, 390. See also **Astarábád, Jurján**
Gurjistán (Georgia, *q.v.*), 188
**Gúy u Chawgán* ("Ball and Polo-stick," a poem by 'Árifí, xv), 495–7

Habíb-i-'Údí (favourite of Míránsháh put to death by Tímúr), 195
Ḥabíb, Mirzá — of Iṣfahán (xix), 231, 257, 346, 351
Ḥabíbu's-Siyar (history by Khwándamír, xvi), 39 n., 40 n., 41, 60 n., 171 n., 174, 258, 264, 273, 282 n., 283, 331 n., 353 n., 354, 366, 385, 389, 421, 428 n., 429, 430 n., 432, 434, 460, 488 n., 503, 505
Ḥadíqatu'l-Ḥaqíqat (by Saná'í of Ghazna), 141
Ḥadítha, 81
Hadiyya Malik (daughter of Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh), 84
Ḥáfiẓ. Muḥammad Shamsu'd-Dín — of Shíráz (the poet, xiv), 108, 159, 161, 166, 170, 188–9, 207, 209, 211, 225, 238, 243, 258, 259 n., 260, 269 n., 271–319, 320, 325, 348, 350, 352, 354, 356, 357, 435, 444, 495, 498, 508, 510, 544, 548; tomb of — (*Ḥáfiziyya*), 311, 318–9; — b. Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Kurt (xiv), 57, 117–8; — Abrú (historian, xv), 424–6, 430; — (minstrel of Shíráz), 328; Darwísh — (copyist, xv), 225
**Haft Awrang* (the *Sab'a*, Septet, or "Seven Thrones" of Jámí, xv), 515, 516
Haft Birádarán (the "Seven Brothers," the constellation of the Great Bear)," 213 n.
**Haft Iqlím* (the "Seven Climes," a geographical and biographical work by Amín Aḥmad-i-Rází), 111, 141, 142, 153, 210, 211, 216, 222, 223, 230, 258, 274, 331 n., 345, 362, 363
Haithon (Armenian historian), 25 n.
*Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalání (*Inbá*), 367
*Ibnu'l-Ḥájib (Arabic grammarian, author of *al-Káfiya*), 514
Ḥájji Beg b. Amír Chúbán (xiv), 170
Ḥájji Khalífa (Turkish bibliographer, author of the *Kashfu'ẓ-Ẓunún*), 88 n., 367 n.
Hakluyt Society, 6 n., 8, 381, 399 n., 404 n., 405 n., 407, 416 n.
Ḥalláj (wool-carder). See **Busháq** (Abú Isḥáq) of Shíráz, who followed this trade
Ḥál-náma ("the Book of Ecstasy") of 'Árifí, 495–7. See also **Gúy ú Chawgán**
"Halul," 413. See **Khalíl**, of which this is an Italian corruption
Ḥama (in Syria), 197
Ḥamadán, 25, 39, 69, 85, 125, 193, 403, 424
Ḥamdu'lláh Mustawfí of Qazwín (historian and geographer), 56, 87–100, 224, 231 n.
Ḥamídí dynasty, 401
von Hammer, 68, 156, 347 n., 436
Hammer-Purgstall, 147, 401 n.
Ḥamza b. Qára 'Oṣmán ('Uthmán) Áq-qoyúnlú (xv), 404
Ḥanafí. — sect, 46, 50, 97, 98; clan or family of Qazwín, 94
Ḥanbalí sect, 301 n.
Ḥaqíqat-náma (Turkish Ḥurúfí book), 450
Ḥaqqu'l-Yaqín (by Maḥmúd Shabistarí, xiv), 149–150
Ḥaramayn, Sulṭánu'l- — (title assumed by Egyptian rulers, xiv), 205
Harqadáq (Mongol general, xiv), 48
Hartmann, 516
Hárún. — ar-Rashíd ('Abbásid Caliph, ix), 21; Sharafu'd-Dín — b. Shamsu'd-Dín Muḥammad *Ṣáḥib-Díwán* (xiii), 20–21
Ḥasan. The Imám — b. 'Alí b. Abí Ṭálib (vii), 90, 91; Shaykh — b. Ḥusayn Jalá'ir or Ilkání (Il-Khání) called **Buzurg** ("the Great," d. A.D. 1356), 54, 55, 59, 60, 170–2;

208, 260, 261, 262, 264; Shaykh — b. Tímúrtásh b. Chúbán called **Kúchak** ("the Little," d. A.D. 1343), 59, 60, 170–2; b. Uways b. Shaykh — i-Buzurg (killed A.D. 1382), 172, 320; — b. 'Alí Beg b. Qára 'Osmán ('Uthmán) Báyandarí or Áq-qoyúnlú (A.D. 1453–77), 402, 403; see **Úzún Ḥasan**; —['Alí] b. Jahánsháh (xv), 402, 403, 408, 409, 410; —i-Ṣabbáḥ (founder of the **Assassins**, *q.v.*, xi), 66; Amír — of Dihlí (poet, xiv), 106, 108, 293, 350, 352, 491, 498; Shaykh-i-Júrí (xiv), 211–12; Sayyid — of Tirmidh (parodied by Maḥmúd Qárí of Yazd), 352; Khwája — and Shaykh — (correspondents of Ḥurúfís, xiv), 368; Ḥájji Mírzá — (author of *Fárs-náma-i-Náṣirí*, xix), 162

Hasht Bihisht (a garden near Tabríz, the "Astibistí" of the Venetian travellers), 414

Hátifí (nephew of Jámí and poet, xvi), 459

Ḥátim-Ṭá'í, 276, 383

Ḥaydar-i-Ṣafawí, Shaykh — (xv), 407, 414, 416, 417 n.

Ḥaydar of Shíráz (poet, xiv), 223–4

Ḥaydarábád codex of the *Bábur-náma*, 391

Hazárasp dynasty in Luristán, 37

Hebrews. See **Jews**

Henry the Pious, Duke of Silesia, 6

Herát, 41, 49, 50, 55, 57, 115, 152, 161, 163, 173, 175, 176, 178, 179, 180, 186, 208, 210, 354, 355 n., 362, 366, 380, 382, 384, 387, 388, 390, 393, 397, 402, 418, 421, 422, 424, 425, 427–32, 455, 457–9, 462, 464, 473, 488, 500, 501, 503, 506, 507

Hertford (Oriental printing at —), 443, 444

Hiawatha, 523

Hidáyat (*takhalluṣ* of Riḍá-qulí Khán Lálá-báshí, xix), 432. See **Riḍá-qulí Khán**

Hidáyat-náma (Persian Ḥurúfí book), 450

Hiláli (poet, xv–xvi), 459

Ḥims (Emessa), 41, 197

Hindús, 193

Hindusháh (poet, xiii), 22

Ibn Hishám (biographer of the Prophet), 88

Ḥiṣn Kayf (fortress), 408

Hít, 81

Horn, Dr Paul —, 107 n.

Houtum-Schindler, Sir Albert — (d. 1916), 80, 100 n., 150 n., 162, 210 n., 360, 426, 430, 474

Howorth, Sir Henry — (*History of the Mongols*), 13–14, 15, 18 n., 19 n., 21, 25 n., 26 n., 34 n., 41 n., 42 n., 44, 45, 58 n., 60, 61 n., 177 n.

Huart, M. Clément —, 365, 375, 449, 450, 462

Húlágú (Mongol Íl-Khán, xiii), 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 39, 40, 58, 59, 60, 66, 69, 74, 162, 171, 175, 250, 251

Húlájú (Mongol prince put to death by Arghún, xiii), 33

Ḥulwání (clan or family of Qazwín), 94

Ḥumám, Humámu'd-Dín. — son of Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh (xiii), 84; Mawláná — (contemporary of above-mentioned Rashíd), 28; —, or Humámí, of Tabríz (poet, xiii–xiv), 152–4, 329, 352

Ḥumayrá ('Á'isha, the Prophet's wife, so called), 320

Humáyún ("Great Mogul" Emperor of India, xvi), 391, 393, 418, 419

Humáy wa Humáyún (poem by Khwájú of Kirmán), 226

Hungary, Hungarians, 6, 9

Hurmuz, 47, 193, 238, 285, 290, 397

Ḥurr b. Yazíd-Riyáḥí, 87

Ḥurúfí sect (xiv), 190, **365–75, 449–52**, 475, 478, 479

Ḥusayn. The Imám — b. 'Alí Ṭálib (vii), 256, 441, 449, 510; — b. Manṣúr al-Ḥalláj (mystic, x), 195 and n.; — b. Amír Chúbán (xiv), 54; Amír — (general of Abú Sa'íd the Mongol, xiv), 52; — b. Áq-Búghá b. Aydakán-i-Jalá'ir (or Ílkání (father of **Shaykh Ḥasan-i-Buzurg**, *q.v.*, xiv), 171; — b. Uways-i-Jalá'ir (killed A.D. 1382), 172; Sulṭán — (Tímúr's rival), 185; Shaykh — Júrí (xiv), 178–9; Abu'l-Ghází Sulṭán — b. Manṣúr b. Bayqará (Tímúrid prince, xv), see *supra*, *s.v.* **Abu'l-Ghází**; — Kiyá (Ḥurúfí correspondent, xiv), 368; — Beg Shámlú (counsellor of Sháh Isma'íl the Ṣafawí, A.D. 1500), 417; — Wá'iẓ-i-Káshifí (man of letters, xv), 434, 438, **441–3**, 463, **503–4**; — 'Údí (musician to Mír 'Alí Shír Nawá'í, xv), 505

Ḥusayní, Amír — of Khurásán (questioner of Maḥmúd-i-Shabistarí, xiv), 147
Ḥusn u 'Ishq ("Beauty and Love," a poem by Kátibí, xv), 487
Hyde, Thomas — (xviii), 303
Hyrcania, 390. See **Astarábád, Gurgán, Jurján**

Ibnu'l-Athír (Arab historian, xiii), 6, 12, 88, 144 n.
Ibráhím. Shaykh Ṣadru'd-Dín — al-Ḥamawí (xiii), 40; Shaykh Ibráhím al-Juwayní (xiii), 40 n.; Khwája — b. Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh (xiv), 52, 71, 83, 84, 86; Mírzá — Sulṭán b. Sháh-rukh (xv), 364, 387, 500; — b. 'Alá'u'd-Dawla b. Báysunqur (xv), 388; Sulṭán — Lódí of Dihlí (xvi), 393; — (brother of Sháh Isma'íl-i-Ṣafawí, A.D. 1500), 416; Amír Shaykh — of Shírwán (xv), 488
Iconium, 63, 127. See also **Qonya**
Idájí, Sulṭán — (put to death, A.D. 1291), 33
Idol-temples destroyed in Persia by Gházán (A.D. 1295), 40
'Ídu'l-Fiṭr, 349 and n.
Iftikhárí, clan or family of Qazwín, 93
Iftikháru'd-Dín, Malik Ṣa'íd — Muḥammad b. Abú Naṣr (xiii), 93, 115
Íj (place in Fárs), 356, 357
Ikhtiyáru'd-Dín, castle of —, 366
Ildaci or Ildonchi, Thomas — (Mongol envoy to Edward II in A.D. 1307), 11 and n., 49
Íl-Kháns. This title is properly applied to the **Mongol successors of Húlágú Khán**, whose history is contained in ch. i (1–61), but it is also sometimes applied to the dynasty founded by **Shaykh Ḥasan-i-Buzurg**, more correctly called **Jalá'ir** or **Ílkání** (170–3). The references to the former are: 15, 17, 18, 20, 27, 44, 45, 49, 50, 58, 71, 74, 83, 87, 92, 172, 205; to the latter: 160, 161, 170–3, 208, 260, 261, 262, 401. On the forms **Il-Khání** and **Ílkání** see especially 171; but it is to be noted that in the received text of Ḥáfiẓ (ed. Rosenzweig-Schwannau, vol. iii, p. 8) the former title is applied to the grandson of Shaykh Ḥasan-i-Buzurg
Ilminsky (editor of the *Bábur-náma*), 391
'Imádu'd-Dín. — *Faqíh* ("the Jurisconsult," poet of Kirmán, xiv), 159, 209, 211, 258–9, 280, 281, 325, 348, 350, 352; — Nasímí (Nesímí, the Turkish Ḥurúfí poet, xiv–xv), 368. See **Nasímí**
Imáms, the Twelve — (vii–ix), 91. See also under **'Alí, Ḥasan, Ḥusayn**, etc.
Imám-qulí Khán, 318
'Imárat-i-Túqchí (Iṣfahán), 368
Ínál (old Turkish name), 120, 121 and n.
-Inbá (of Ibnu'l-Ḥajar, xiv–xv), 367
India, Indians, 3, 44, 64, 73, 74, 83, 85, 89, 101, 106, 107, 108, 111, 125, 127, 128, 174, 181, 182, 183, 184, 193, 194, 272, 284, 302, 318, 357, 380, 383 n., 393, 397, 398, 419, 420, 423, 429, 433, 442, 461, 466, 468, 498, 504, 335, 536, 540
Indian hemp (*Bang*, *Ḥashísh*), 150 and n., 151 and n.
Indian Mutiny, 183 n., 380, 391, 420
Indus, 4, 175, 193, 194, 393
Injú, Shaykh Abú Isḥáq — (xiv), 163, 164–5, 166, 225, 226, 230, 231, 233 n., 235, 237, 274, 275, 290, 357
"Institutes" (*Tuzúkát*) of Tímúr, 183, 202, 361 n.
Iouldouchi, Thomas —, 11, 49. See above *s.v.* **Ildaci**
Iram, 525
Iranchin (Mongol officer, xiv), 52, 53
'Iráq, 20, 21, 160, 168, 173, 191, 204, 225, 317, 325, 364, 368, 385, 387, 389, 397, 398, 402, 409, 410, 418, 464, 466, 468
'Iráqí, Fakhru'd-Dín — (poet), 63, 124–39, 174, 321, 344, 350, 445, 446, 512
Ireland, Irish, 44, 102, 107
Írín (place near Ray), 265
'Ísá. Sulṭán — (governor of Márdín, xiv), 192; — brother of the Ottoman Sulṭán Muḥammad I, 401. See also **Jesus**
Isen-búqá (Mongol officer, xiv), 52
Iṣfahán, 15, 22, 37, 81, 82, 119, 141, 160, 161, 165, 168, 169, 181, 188, 190, 208, 274, 331, 344, 360, 364, 368, 384, 389, 402, 410, 416, 489
Isfandiyárí dynasty, 401
Isfará'in, 186, 497, 503

Isfizár, 175, 176
Isḥáq Efendi (author of the *Káshifu'l-Asrár*, xix), 371, 450
Abú Isḥáq. — b. Sulṭán Uways b. Sháh Shujá' Muẓaffarí (slain by Tímúr, A.D. 1393), 169; Shaykh — Injú (xiv); see above *s.v.* **Injú**; — Aḥmad b. Yá-Sín (historian of Herát), 174, 431; — of Shíráz (gastronomic poet, xiv); see above *s.v.* **Busḥáq**; — Ibráhím (saint of Kázarún), 226
'Ishq-náma (Persian Ḥurúfí book by **Firishta-záda**, *q.v.*), 371, 450, 451
Iskandar. — b. 'Umar Shaykh Mírzá (Tímúrid, xv), 344, 345, 366; — b. Qára Yúsuf Aq-qoyúnlú (xv), 382, 400, 401, 402, 404, 489. See also **Alexander the Great**
Iskandar-náma (Ḥurúfí poem), 449
Islám, 4, 8, 11, 17, 31, 32, 40, 43, 44, 46, 48, 49, 73, 78, 93
Isma'íl, Sháh — Ṣafawí (A.D. 1500), 315, 316, 379, 380, 381, 400, 407, 414, 415, 416, 417–19, 434, 458, 459, 507
Isma'íl 'Alí (Indian copyist, xix), 154
Isma'ílí sect, 53, 73, 74, 154. See also **Assassins**
'Iṣmat of Bukhárá (poet, xv), 352, 353, 501
Iṣṭahbánát (in Fárs), 331
Iṣṭakhr (in Fárs), 414, 416
Istiwá-náma (Persian Ḥurúfí poem), 373, 450
Istizháru'l-Akhbár (one of the sources of the *Ta'ríkh-i-Guzída*), 89
Italy, Italians, 381, 395, 399, 405, 414. See also **Venetians**
Iyás b. Mu'áwiya, 255
Izníq, 369
'Izzat Malik (wife of Shaykh Ḥasan-i-*Kúchak*, xiv), 60
'Izzu'd-Dín. — Muẓaffar (minister responsible for introducing paper money into Persia, A.D. 1294), 38; — 'Umar-i-Marghiní (minister, xii–xiii and ancestor of Kurt dynasty), 174, 175; Malik — (ruler of Luristán, xiv), 187, 192, 368; — Shír (xv), 401

Jacob, 413, 414, 415. See **Ya'qúb**
Ja'far. — b. Abí Ṭálib-*Ṭayyár* (vii), 144 and n.; — Ṣádiq (Imám, viii), 440; — of Tabríz (calligraphist, xv), 395, 499
Jahángír. — b. Tímúr (xiv), 381; — (Mogul Emperor of Dihlí, xvii), 273, 319, 391; — b. 'Alí Beg b. Qára 'Osmán ('Uthmán) Aq-qoyúnlú (xv), 404, 407, 408
Jahán-gushá, Ta'ríkh-i- — (by 'Alá-'u'd-Dín 'Aṭá Malik-i-Juwayní, xiii); see under **Ta'ríkh**
Jahán Khátún (satirized by 'Ubayd-i-Zákání, xiv), 233 n.
Jahán-náma (one of the sources of the *Nuzhatu'l-Qulúb*), 99
Jahánsháh b. Qára Yúsuf Qára-qoyúnlú (xv), 387–9, 400–3, 406, 408–10, 412
Jalá'ir family and dynasty, 54, 59, 60, 160, 161, 166, 170–3, 187, 191, 260, 284, 320, 399. See also **Ílkhání (Ílkání)**
Jalál. — i-'Adudí (poet, xiv), 159, 344, 350, 352; Khwája — [or Jalálu'd-Dín] b. Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh (xiv), 82, 84; — -i-Khwárí (poet), 65; — i-Ṭabíb (poet), 65, 159, 344, 350, 352
Jalálu'd-Dín. — Mankobirní Khwárazmsháh (xiii), 12, 66; — Simnání (minister to Arghún, put to death in A.D. 1289), 31; — Kay-Qubád b. 'Alá'u'd-Dín Kay-Qubád Seljúq of Rúm (xiii), 83; Khwája — b. Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh (xiv), 82, 84; Mawláná — Rúmí (author of the *Mathnawí*, *q.v.*), 105, 106, 111, 139, 140, 155, 217, 302, 344, 350, 445, 479, 484, 514, 548; — Manṣúr-i-Muẓaffarí, 163 (see also *infra*, *s.v.* **Manṣúr**); Mawláná — b. Ḥusám of Herát (contemporary of 'Ubayd-i-Zákání), 257; Khwája — (patron of Ḥáfiẓ), 292; — Dawání (philosopher, xv), 389, 398, 423, 442–4; Mawláná — Isḥáq of Samarqand (xiv–xv), 428
Jám (town in Khurásán), 175, 435, 473, 507
Jám-i-Jam (poem by Awḥadí of Marágha, xiv), 141
Jámí, Mullá Núru'd-Dín 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán (poet, xv), 124, 125, 132, 133 n., 139 n., 140, 141 n., 258, 261, 273, 283, 320, 321 n., 331, 347 n., 395, 398, 399 n., 422–3, 426 n., 434, 435–6; 437, 440, 445–8, 457, 459, 461 n., 463, 475, 486, 496, 497, 503, 505, 506, 507–548

Jamálu'd-Dín. Shaykh — (xiii), 35, 36 and n.; — Dastajirdáni (minister of Baydú, A.D. 1295), 39, 41; — Sháfi'í doctor of Baghdád (xiv), 70; — Abu'l-Qásim of Káshán (historian cited in *Ta'ríkh-i-Guzída*), 88; — Muḥammad b. Ḥusám (poet, xiv), 177; — (poet parodied by Maḥmúd Qárí of Yazd), 352
Jámi'-i-Mufídí (monograph on the town of Yazd), 360, 362, 464
Jámi'u't-Taṣánífi-i-Rashídí (xiv), 77 and n.
Jámi'u't-Tawáríkh (by Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh, author of the preceding work), 12, 17, 44 n., 49, 67, 68, 72–5, 89
Jamshíd. — or Jam (the *Yima* of the Avesta, a legendary Persian demi-god or king), 151, 290, 317; — Mawláná, Ghiyáthu'd-Dín — (astronomer, xv), 386, 502; — (unidentified), 494
Jamshíd u Khurshíd (by Salmán-i-Sáwají, xiv), 261
Jání Beg Khán (of the Golden Horde, xiv), 354
Jarbádhaqání, Abú Sharaf — (translator of al-'Utbí's *Kitábu'l-Yamíní*), 88 and n.
Jarún, 397
Java, 398
Jawáhiru'l-Asrár (of Ádharí), 259; — of Kamálu'd-Dín Ḥusayn b. Ḥasan of Khwárazm (commentary on the *Mathnawí*), 444–5
Jawáhiru't-Tafsír (larger commentary on the *Qur'án* by Ḥusayn Wá'iẓ-i-Káshifí, xv), 442
Jawharí, Ṣadru'd-Dín Muḥammad — (parodied by Busḥáq and Maḥmúd Qárí), 350, 352
Jáwidán-i-Kabír (by Faḍlu'lláh al-Ḥurúfí), 367–9, 449 (where *Jáwidán-náma* is a mistake for the above title), 450–2
Jaxartes (river), called by the Arabs *Síḥún*, 202
-Jazíra (**Mesopotamia**, *q.v.*), 368
Jedda, 398
Jerusalem, 99, 357
Jesus Christ (*'Ísa'l-Masíḥ*), 298
Jews, 17, 31–6, 39–40, 47, 49, 69, 71, 73, 74, 89, 101, 194, 251, 372; Society for the propagation of Christianity amongst the —, 346
"Jex" (Italian corruption of **Yazd**, *q.v.*), 389
Jibba (place), 81
Jinn, 317 n.
Johan-Yokhnan-Úng (origin of "Prester John"), 11 n.
John XXII, Pope — (A.D. 1322), 54
Jones, Sir William —, 303, 304
Joseph, 263. See **Yúsuf**
Juḥá (a celebrated wit or jester), 254, 255
Junayd, Shaykh — (Ṣafawí, grandfather of Sháh Isma'íl), 414
Jurján (province of Persia), 355, 390. See **Astarábád, Gurgán**
-Jurjání, -Sayyidu'sh-Sharíf (xv), 159, 276 n., 353, 355, 370
Júshkab (Mongol noble executed), 33
Juwayní (family), 20–24; 'Alá'u'd-Dín 'Aṭá Malik-i- — (author of the **Ta'ríkh-i-Jahángushá**, *q.v.*), 10, 11 n., 12, 17

Ka'ba, 32, 89, 321, 492 n.
Kabíru'd-Dín b. Fakhru'd-Dín 'Iráqí (xiii), 127, 128
Kábul, 86, 175
"Kábulí thief," Khwájú of Kirmán so called, 224
Káfiristán, 193
Káfiya (of Ibnu'l-Ḥájib), 514
Kajaḥání, Shaykh —, 264
Kalát-i-Nádirí, 152 n., 186 (?)
Kalíla wa Dimna (Book of —), 94 (translated into Mongolian); 111 (versified by Qáni'í, xiii); 463, 504. See also **Anwár-i-Suhaylí**
Kalo Joannes (last Christian Emperor of Trebizond, xv), 407, 408
Kamál of Khujand (poet contemporary with Ḥáfiẓ, xiv), 159, 209, 211, 320–30, 331–2, 350, 352, 435, 491, 498. See also under the next heading
Kamálu'd-Dín. Khwája — of Síwás (correspondent of Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh, xiv), 84; — Isma'íl of Iṣfahán (poet, xiii), 261, 327 n., 352, 522; — Ḥusayn (satirized by 'Ubayd-i-Zákání, xiv), 238; — of Káshán (poet parodied by Busḥáq), 350; — Ghiyáth al-Fársí of Shíráz (accused of plagiarism by Kátibí), 491; Khwája — (correspondent of Ḥurúfís, xiv), 368; — 'Abdu'r-Razzáq (author of the **Maṭla'u's-Sa'dayn**, *q.v.*), 389,

428–30; — Ḥusayn Gázargáhí (pseudo-Súfí and poetaster, alleged to be the real author of the **Majálisu'l-'Ushsháq**, *q.v.*), 440, 457–8; — Ḥusayn b. Ḥasan of Khwárazm (author of a commentary on the *Mathnawí* entitled *Jawáhiru'l-Asrár*, xv), 445
Kamál-náma (by Khwájú of Kirmán, xiv), 226
"Káma-Shastra Society," 436
Kámí, Sháh Ḥusayn — (poet contemporary with Bábur), 459
Kan'án Beg (xvii), 318
Kanbá'it (Cambay), 398
Kanzu'l-Ishtihá (the "Treasure of Appetite" by Busḥáq of Shíráz, xv), 346–50
Karají, clan or family of Qazwín, 94
Karbalá, 42, 44, 191, 256, 449, 510
Karduchín (wife of Amír Chúbán, xiv), 55
Karím Khán-i-Zand (xviii), 311
Karít, Kerait (a people akin to the Mongols), 11, 18 n.
Kár-kiyá Mírzá 'Alí (governor of Gílán, A.D. 1500), 416
Karkúk, 192
Kár-náma (of Rabí'í of Búshanj, xiv), 151–2
Kash, 185, 194
Káshán, 81, 118, 389
Kashf (near Euphrates), 42
Kashfa'ẓ-Ẓunún (of Ḥájji Khalífa), 367 n.
Káshghar, 382
Káshifu'l-Asrár (refutation of Ḥurúfí heresies by Isḥáq Efendi), 371, 450–2
Kashmír, language of —, 43; beauties of —, 283
-*Kashsháf* (of -Zamakhsharí), 272
Kátibí (poet of Níshápúr or Turshíz, xv), 352, 353, 438, 487–95, 498, 501
Ká'ús, Kay — (legendary king of Persia), 152
Kawthar (stream or fountain in Paradise), 134
Kayání dynasty of Persia, 90
Kayfí (name of a place), 82
Kaysí, clan or family of Qazwín, 94
Kazan, 391
Kázarún, 226, 418, 444
Keene, H. G. — (translator of *Akhláq-i-Muḥsiní*), 444
Kerá'it, Karít, 11, 18 n.
"Key of Life" (*Miftáḥu'l-Ḥayát*), 372
Khabís, 81
Khabíthát (obscene poems of Sa'dí), 232 n.
Khabúshán, 387
Khafája (Arab tribe), 162, 231
Ibn Khaldún (historian, xiv), 462
Khálidí clan or family of Qazwín, 94
Khalíl. — Sulṭán of Shírwán (xv), 400; — Sulṭán b. Míránsháh (Tímúrid prince, xv), 381, 382, 438; Mawláná — Naqqásh ("the painter"), 384, 498
Khalílí, clan or family of Qazwín, 94
Khalílu'lláh Mírzá b. Úzún Ḥasan Áq-qoyúnlú (xv), 408, 413, 414
Khallágu'l-Ma'áni ("Creator of [new] Ideas"), 327 n. See above under **Kamálu'd-Dín Isma'íl**
Ibn Khallikán (biographer, xiii), 64
Khamriyya (the "Wine-poem" of **'Umar b. al-Fárid**, *q.v.*), 514
Khamsa ("Quintet") of Niẓámí of Ganja, 226, 505, 541; — of Khwájú of Kirmán, 225–6; — *tu'l-Mutaḥayyirín* of Mír 'Alí Shír Nawá'í, 508
Khán-báligh ("Cambaluc," Pekin), 397, 398
Khániqín, 163
Khán-záda Begum (Bábur's sister), 419
Kháqání (poet, xii), 65, 224, 522
Khar-banda (original name of Uljáytú changed to **Khudá-banda**, *q.v.*), 46–7
Kharjird, 473
Kharpút, 389
Khatá (Cathay), 75, 228, 356
Khatimatu'l-Ḥayát (Jámí's last *Díwán*, compiled in A.D. 1490–1), 516
Khatlán, 390
Khayálí (poet of Bukhárá), 352, 438, 501
Khaysár, 152, 174, 175, 176
-Kházin al-Baghdádí, Abú Ṭálib 'Ali — (historian), 88
-Khazrají (author of *al-'Uqúdu'l-Lú'lú'iyya*, a history of Yaman), 357
Khiḍr, 134, 259, 291
Khiḍr Khán (xv), 383 n.
**Khirad-náma-i-Sikandarí* (by Jámí), 516, 536–40
Khiva, 190. See **Khwárazm**

Khizána-i-'Ámira (biography of poets by Mír Ghulám 'Alí Khán *Ázád*, xviii), 289
Khudá-banda (Úljáytú, A.D. 1305–16), 46–51, 83, 176, 215. See also **Úljáytú**
Khudá-dád (leader of revolt against Khalíl Sulṭán, xv), 381
Khujand, 206, 209, 320, 324, 327
Khuláṣatu'l-Akhbár (by Khwándamír, xv–xvi), 434
Khurásán, 25, 27, 32, 52, 54, 83, 147, 152 n., 160, 162, 175, 177, 185, 190, 193, 210, 233 n., 272, 354, 364, 382, 387, 388, 392, 398, 402, 408, 410, 416, 418, 419, 428, 435, 438, 456, 466, 468, 473, 498, 503, 506, 507, 511, 512
Ibn Khurdádhbih (geographer), 99
Khurram-ábád (Luristán), 187, 410
Khurshíd Beg (ambassador from Úzún Ḥasan to the Ottoman Sulṭán Muḥammad II), 409
Khusraw I (vi), see **Núshírwán**; — II (— Parwíz, vii), 267, 329, 500; Amír — of Dihlí (poet, xiii), 106, 107, 108–10, 293, 352, 491, 498, 514, 527, 536 n. See also **Chosroes, Kisrá, Sásánians**
Khutan, 33, 266
Khúy, 199, 414
Khúzistán, 82, 83, 193, 411
Khwáf, 112, 211, 424 n., 428. This place is chiefly mentioned in connection with **Faṣíḥí**, *q.v.*
Khwájú (poet of Kirmán, xiv), 159, 209, 211, 222–9, 293–5, 296, 348, 350, 352
Khwándamír (historian and biographer, xvi), 17, 40, 171, 273, 283, 361, 393, 433, 434, 488, 503, 504, 505. See also **Ḥabíbu's-Siyar, Khuláṣatu'l-Akhbár**
Khwár, 81
Khwárazm (Khiva), 12, 190, 354, 356, 368, 390, 418, 456
Khwárazm-sháhs, 66, 73, 74, 92, 180
Kichik, 53
Kieff, 10
Kikshik, 53
-Kinása, 254
Kinjik, 53
Kirmán, 47, 48, 81, 85, 92, 115, 139, 160, 161, 163, 166, 168, 169, 190, 208, 223, 224, 258, 259, 280, 325, 345, 357, 360, 387, 389, 402, 406, 410, 418, 427, 463, 464, 465
Kisrá, 120, 121, 285, 467, 469. See also **Chosroes, Khusraw, Núshírwán, Sásánians**
Kitáb-i-Yamíní (History of Sulṭán Maḥmúd of Ghazna), 88
Kitábu'l-Aḥyá wa'l-Áthár (by Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh, xiii–xiv), 75, 79
Kitábu'l-Ma'árif (Ibn Qutayba), 88
Kitábu't-Tanbíh wa'l-Ishráf (-Mas'údí), 90 n.
Kiyá, clan or family of Qazwín, 94
Kosti (Zoroastrian girdle), 342 n.
Kubla Khán. See **Qubiláy**
-*Kubrá* (treatise on Logic by al-Jurjání, xiv–xv), 355
Kúcha-i-'Ulamá ("Street of the Learned" in the Rab'-i-Rashídí at Tabríz), 86
Kúh-i-Chahil Maqám (mountain near Shíráz), 167
Kunhu'l-Murád (by Sharafu'd-Dín 'Alí Yazdí), 363
Kunúzu'l-Ḥaqá'iq (commentary on the *Mathnawí*), 445
Kur, River —, 417
Kurdistán, 190, 401, 406
Kursí-náma (Persian Ḥurúfí work), 450
Kurt (dynasty of Herát), 41, 50, 55, 57, 60, 160, 161, 163, 173–80, 186, 208, 211, 354, 431
Kurt-náma of Rabí'í of Bushanj, 174, 431
Kushtí (Zoroastrian girdle), 342 n.
Kutbí, Maḥmúd — (historian of Muẓaffarí dynasty, xv), 162, 166, 360
Kuyúk Khán (Mongol Emperor, xiii), 8

Láhiján, 416, 482
Láhijí, 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán — (commentator of *Gulshan-i-Ráz*), 148
Lálá-báshí. See **Riḍá-qulí Khán**
**Lama'át* (of 'Iráqí), 127, 132–9, 444–7, 512
Landauer (editor of *Sháhnáma*), 89
Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, by G. le Strange, 100
Lane, Edward —, 312
Lane-Poole, Stanley —, 19 n., 178, 379, 387, 390
Langlès, Professor —, 184
Lár, 285
Láranda, 155
Laṭá'if-i-Rashídiyya (dedicated by the author Maḥmúd b. Ilyás to Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh), 84–5

Laṭá'if-náma, 362
Laṭá'ifu'l-Ḥaqá'iq (by Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh), 76
Laṭífa-i-Ghaybiyya (critical essay on Ḥáfiẓ), 300, 315, 316
Laṭífí (Turkish biographer of poets), 369
Latin, 9, 10, 11, 43, 62
**Lawá'iḥ* (by Jámí), 444, 447–8, 512
Lawámi' (commentary by Jámí on the *Fuṣúṣu'l-Ḥikam*), 513
Lawámi'u'l-Ishráq (by Jalálu'd-Dín Dawání), 443. See **Akhláq-i-Jalálí**
Laylá (concubine of Qubád b. Iskandar Qára-qoyúnlú), 402
***Layla wa Majnún** (of Amír Khusraw, xiii), 109–10; — (of Jámí, xv), 516, 533–6, 545
*Leaf, Walter — (translations from Ḥáfiẓ), 303–6, 308, 309
Leyden (in Holland), 367; Dr John —, 392, 454
Liegnitz, Battle of — (April 9, 1241), 6
Lisánu'l-Ghayb ("Tongue of the Unseen," Ḥáfiẓ so entitled), 311
Lisánu't-Ṭayr ("Language of the Birds," poem by Mír 'Alí Shír Nawá'í), 505
Lishta-Nishá (in Gílán), 416
Literary History of Persia, by the author of this volume (vol. i from the earliest times to A.D. 1000, vol. ii from A.D. 1000 to 1265, published by Fisher Unwin in 1902 and 1906 respectively), 5 n., 6 n., 15 n., 17 n. and *passim*
Llandudno Junction, 231 n.
Locksley Hall (Tennyson), 218 n.
Lódí, Sulṭán Ibráhím — of Dihlí (xvi), 393
Lombardy, 102
Lowe, W. H. — (translator of Ḥáfiẓ), 299
Lubábu'l-Albáb (by Muḥammad 'Awfí, xiii), 65
Lur, Luristán, 37, 68, 92, 187, 189, 191, 410
Luṭf 'Alí Beg (author of the **Átash-kada**, *q.v.*), 274
Luṭfu'lláh b. Ṣadru'd-Dín 'Iráqí (xiv), 165
Lyly, John — (the Euphuist), 461
Lyons, 8

Ma'ádhí (satirized by Kamál of Khujand), 329
McCarthy, Justin —, 303
-Madína, 55, 111, 127, 167, 427
Magas, Mullá —, 315–16
Maghrib (Morocco), 84, 331
Maghribí (mystical poet of Tabríz, xiv–xv), 159, 211, 330–44, 345, 435, 465, 475
Magians, 234, 278 and n., 300, 342 and n. See also **Gabr** or **Guebre, Zoroastrian, Zunnár**
Máh (the Moon), 113 and n.
Maḥabbat-náma. — (Persian Ḥurúfí work), 373, 450; — *-i-Ṣáḥib-dilán* (by 'Imádu'd-Dín Kirmání, A.D. 1322), 259
Máhán (near Kirmán), 345, 463, 464, 467
Maḥbúbu'l-Qulúb ("Hearts' Darling," by Mír 'Alí Shír Nawá'í), 453
Mahdí. Advent of the expected —, 463, 467, 469, 470; pretended —, 50, 54; Sulṭán — b. Sháh Shujá' Muẓaffarí (xiv), 169; Ibn — (physician, xiii), 85
Máhí (the Fish), 113
Maḥmúd. Sulṭán — of Ghazna (x–xi), 256, 353, 380; — Sháh Bahmaní (of the Deccan, patron of Ḥáfiẓ, xiv), 285, 287 n., 290; Sulṭán — II (Ottoman, xix), 371, 452; — b. Mubárizu'd-Dín Muẓaffarí (xiv), 165, 166–7, 360; — Injú (xiv), 274; — b. Abú Sa'íd (Tímúrid, xv), 390; Mírzá Sháh — (Tímúrid, xv), 388; Amír — b. Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh (xiii–xiv), 81, 84, 85; — b. Ilyás (rewarded for dedicating a book to Rashídu'd-Dín, xiii–xiv), 84; Khwája — of Sáwa (envoy to India, xiii–xiv), 85; — Qárí of Yazd (parodist, xv), 257, 351–3; — Kutbí (historian of Muẓaffarís), 360 n.; Mawláná — (correspondent of Ḥurúfís, xiv), 368
Maḥmúd-ábád (near Shírwán), 417
Maḥmúd u Ayáz (poem by Fakhru'd-Dín 'Alí), 504
Majálisu'l-Mú'minín (by Sayyid Núru'lláh of Shúshtár, xvi), 44 n., 224, 498
**Majálisu'n-Nafá'is* (by Mír 'Alí Shír Nawá'í), 434, 437–9, 459, 487, 490, 495, 497, 499 n., 508
Majálisu'l-'Ushsháq (ascribed by Bábur to Kamálu'd-Dín Ḥusayn Gázargáhí, but generally attributed

to Abu'l-Ghází Sulṭán Ḥusayn), 124, 321, 434, 439–40, 457–8
Ma'jarí (poet of Samarqand, xiv), 329
Majdu'd-Dín. — Isma'íl Fálí (xiii–xiv), 80, 82; Shaykh — (xiii–xiv), 82; Khwája — b. Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh (xiii–xiv), 83, 84; — Hamgar (poet of Yazd, xiii), 115, 116, 118, 119–24; — Muẓaffar (xiv), 168; Mawláná — (correspondent of Ḥurúfís, xiv), 368
Majdu'l-Mulk of Yazd (minister of Abáqá, xiii), 22–4, 27, 30, 31
Majma'u'l-Ansáb (xiv), 103
Majma'u Arbábi'i-Maslak (? *Mulk*: one of the sources of the *Ta'ríkh-i-Guzída*), 89
Majma'u'l-Fuṣaḥá (of Riḍá-qulí Khán, xix), 111, 115, 119, 139, 140, 141, 211, 216, 222, 230, 272, 274, 331, 345, 495
Majma'u'l-Murúj (Egyptians defeated by Mongols in A.D. 1299–1300), 41
Majma'u't-Tawáríkh as-Sulṭání (A.D. 1426), 425. See **Ḥáfiẓ Abrú** and **Zubdatu't-Tawáríkh**
Majmú'a-i-Rashídiyya (xiv), 76, 79
Majnún. See **Layla wa Majnún**
Mákání clan or family of Qazwín, 94
Makhzanu'l-Asrár (of Niẓámí of Ganja), 527
Makhzanu'l-Inshá (by Ḥusayn Wá'iẓ-i-Káshifí), 504
Malabar, 398
Maláḥat, 348 n.
Maláḥida (plural of *Mulḥid*, "Heretic"), 154, 255. See **Assassins, Isma'ílís**
Malátí (harper satirized by Kamál of Khujand), 329
Malatya, 204, 205, 412
Malcolm, Sir John —, 182, 183 n., 203, 311 n., 382, 394
Malfúẓát, or "Memoirs," of Tímúr, 183–4
Maliku'sh-Shu'ará, Qáni'í (xiii) created — or Poet Laureate, 111
Malthusianism of Ibn-i-Yamín (xiv), 218
Mamlakh (Mongol ambassador to Edward II in A.D. 1307), 11
Mamlúks of Egypt, 20
Manásiku'l-Ḥajj (Rites of the Pilgrimage), Jámí's treatise on —, 514
Mangú Khán (Mongol, xiii), 8, 174
Mání (Manes) as a painter, 201, 384, 498 and n.
Manichaeanism of Ibn-i-Yamín, 218
-Maníní's commentary on al-'Utbí's *Kitábu'l-Yamíní*, 89
Mansúr. Jalálu'd-Dín — (ancestor of Muẓaffarís, xiii), 163; Sháh — Muẓaffarí (xiv), 168–9, 173, 189, 191, 206, 290; Shaykh — (correspondent of Ḥurúfís, xiv), 368
Manṭiqu't-Ṭayr (by Farídu'd-Dín 'Aṭṭár, xiii), 505
Maqṣúd (Áq-qoyúnlú, xv), 414 n., 415
Maráǵha, 18, 48, 59, 206, 462
Marand, 409
Mardín, 192, 408
Marghíní, Táju'd-Dín 'Uthmán — (ancestor of Kurts, xii), 174
Marju's-Ṣuffar (Mongols defeated by Egyptians at —, A.D. 1303), 42
Markham, Sir Clements R. —, 199, 203, 386
Ma'rúf. Khwája — (nephew of Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh, xiii–xiv), 81; Mawláná — (suspected of complicity in attempt on Sháh-rukh's life in A.D. 1426), 366
Marta (daughter of Úzún Ḥasan and Despina Khátún, xv), 407
*Martin, Dr F. R. —, 394–7
Marzubánán (clan or family of Qazwín), 94
Marzubán-náma, 356 and n.
Masálik wa Mamálik (by Ibn Khurdádhbih, ix), 99 and n.
Mashhad, 44, 55, 199, 388, 493
"Mashhadís," men of Transoxiana so called, 234
Masháribu't-Tajárib (one of the sources of the *Ta'ríkh-i-Guzída*), 88
Ma'súd. — son of the *Ṣaḥib-Díwán* (xiii), 28, 29; — Injú (xiv), 274 n.
-Mas'údí (the historian, x), 90 n.
Maṭáli'u'l-Anẓár (of al-Bayḍáwí, xiii), 272 n.
Maṯnawí (of Jalálu'd-Dín Rúmí, xiii), 139, 217, 302, 444, 445, 514, 544 n., 548
Maṭla'u'l-Anwár (of Amír Khusraw of Dihlí, xiii), 527
Matla'u's-Sa'dayn (of Kamálu'd-Dín 'Abdu'r-Razzáq of Samarqand, xv), 58, 60 n., 159, 174, 361, 362, 389, 397, 428–30, 431, 473
Matthew Paris, 6–8
Mawáqif (of 'Aḍudu'd-Dín al-Íjí, xiv), 276, 356
Mawáhib-i-'Aliyya (of Ḥusayn Wá'iẓ-i-Káshifí, xv), 442

Mawáhib-i-Iláhí (of Mu'ínu'd-Dín Yazdí, xiv), 359, 360
Mawṣil, 82, 192, 399, 408, 417
Mayána, 389
Maybud, 163
May-khána (of 'Abdu'n-Nabí, xvii), 273
Mázandarán, 27, 51, 52, 152, 160, 186, 187, 190, 193, 194, 388, 390, 416, 419, 494
Mecca, 32, 51, 71, 111, 127, 177, 356, 357, 358, 374, 407, 423, 427, 464, 492 n.
Meninski (Latin renderings of Ḥáfiẓ, 1680), 303
Mercury (the planet), 121 and n.
Merv (Marw), 175, 382, 419
Mesopotamia, 6, 66, 99, 190, 192, 272, 357, 368
Mevleví (Mawlawí) dervishes, 479
de Meynard, Barbier —, 94
Michael Palaeologus (xiii), 18
Miftáḥu'l-Ghayb (Jámí's commentary on —), 514
Miftáḥu'l-Ḥayát (key to the **Jáwidán-i-Kabír**, *q.v.*), 372, 452
Miftáḥu'l-'Ulúm (of as-Sakkákí, xiii), 272 n.
Miftáḥu't-Tafásír (of Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh, xiii–xiv), 76
Mímiyya (or *Khamriyya*, poem of 'Umar ibnu'l-Fáriḍ), 514
Minúchihr Sháh (killed in A.D. 1422), 489
Mír 'Alí Sháh Nawá'í (man of letters, patron of art and learning, and minister to **Abu'l-Ghází Sulṭán Ḥusayn b. Mansúr b. Bayqará**, *q.v.*, xv), 380, 390–1, 399 n., 422–3, 432, 434, 437–9, 440, 442, 453, 455, 456, 457, 459, 487, 490, 495, 496, 497, 499 n., 503, 505–6, 508; Mosque of —, 504
Míránsháh (d. A.D. 1400), 71, 180, 186, 190, 194–5, 321, 332, 367, 371 n., 374, 381, 388, 451
Mirátu'l-Khayál, 514
Mirátu'ṣ-Ṣafá, 437
Mírkhwánd (historian, xv), 17, 58, 361, 387, 388, 393, 407, 414, 431–3, 434, 438, 439. See also **Rawḍatu'ṣ-Ṣafá**
Miṣbáḥ (? of al-Muṭarrizí, xiii), 272
**Miṣbáḥu'l-Arwáḥ* (by Awḥadu'd-Dín of Kirmán, xiv), 140–1
Ibn Miskawayhi (historian), 88
Miṣr b. Qára Yúsuf (xiv), 192
Mízánu'l-Awzán (treatise on prosody by Mír 'Alí Shír Nawá'í), 505
Moguls or Moghuls ("Great —" of Dihlí, xvi–xix), 107, 183, 184, 319, 364, 380, 391, 393, 420, 433. See also **Akbar, Bábur, Humáyún**
Mohl, Jules — (edition of *Sháh-náma*), 89 n.
Mongols (or Tartars), 4–17, 32, 37, 39–45, 48, 49, 60, 62, 67, 71–4, 77, 87, 95–9, 101, 108, 111, 159, 162, 170, 178, 185, 186, 190, 205, 208, 250, 405; Mongolian language, 31, 93, 111
Moravia, 6
Morris, William —, 395
Moṣallá, 283. See **Muṣallá**
Moscow, 192
Moses, 89, 114, 267 and n.
Mu'áfiyán, or Mu'áfániyán, a clan or family of Qazwín, 94
Mu'allaqát (the seven —), 492 n.
Mu'ammá (acrostic), 462, 507, 514
Mu'ammá'í Mawláná Muḥammad — (architect, xv), 311; Mír Ḥusayn — (poet, xv or xvi), 459
Mu'áwiya (Umayyad Caliph, vii), 90, 250
Mu'ayyad-záda, 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán Chelebi (xv), 423
Mubárizu'd-Dín Muḥammad (ancestor of Muẓaffarís, xiv), 162–6, 225, 275 n., 277–8, 357, 360
-Mufaṣṣal of -Zamakhsharí, 357
Mufíd of Yazd (author of the *Jámi'-i-Mufídí*, xvii), 360
Mughíthu'd-Dín (grandson of **Faṣíhí of Khwáf**, *q.v.*, xv), 428
Muhadhdhib (? Jewish notable who perished in massacre about A.D. 1291), 35, 36 n.
Muḥákamatu'l-Lughatyn (composed in A.D. 1500 by Mír 'Alí Shír Nawá'í), 453, 506
Muḥammad. The Prophet (vi–vii), 32, 49, 51, 73, 74, 76, 89, 90, 95, 101, 144 n., 231 n., 320 n., 424, 427, 441, 492 n., 507, 513, 521; — Báqir (fifth Imán of the Shí'a, viii), 464; Shamsu'd-Dín — b. Qays of Ray (xiii), ser **Mu'jam** and **Shams-i-Qays**; Shamsu'd-Dín — Juwayní (xiii), see **Ṣáḥib-Díwán**; — Sám (Ghúrí captain, defender of Herát, put to death in A.D. 1307), 50; — Sháh (last Mongol Il-khán, put to death in

A.D. 1338), 59; — of Abarqúh (editor of the letters of Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh), 80; Mawláná — Rúmí (appointed Head of the College at Arzanján, xiv), 83; — b. 'Alí of Shabánkára (author of the **Majma'u'l-Ansáb**, *q.v.*), 103; Sulṭán — (Muẓaffarí prince put to death by Tímúr in A.D. 1393), 169, 190; Malik — Kurt (put to death by Tímúr in A.D. 1389), 180; Sulṭán — b. Abú Sa'íd of Ṭabas (revolted against Tímúr in A.D. 1395), 192; Mawláná — Quhistání (one of Míránsháh's intimates put to death by Tímúr in A.D. 1399), 195; — al-Qáḍí (accompanied Clavijo from Spain to Tímúr's court in A.D. 1404), 199; — Kázarúní (a merchant who befriends Ḥáfiẓ, xiv), 285; — Qásim Astarábádí (historian of India), see **Firishta**; — b. — Dárábí (author of **Laṭífa-i-Ghaybiyya**, *q.v.*), 300; — Fírúzábádí (poet parodied by Maḥmúd Qárí of Yazd), 352; Malik — of Sarakhs b. Mu'izzu'd-Dín Kurt (xix), 354; — b. Sa'du'd-Dín Taftázání (d. A.D. 1434); — I (Ottoman Sulṭán, A.D. 1402–21), 356, 398, 400; — II (Ottoman Sulṭán, A.D. 1451–1481), 370, 398, 400, 401, 405, 407–12; Mírzá Sulṭán — (governor of Íráq, xv), 364; — Júkí b. Sháh-rukh (d. A.D. 1444), 385 n.; — Mírzá b. Jahánsháh Qára-qoyúnlú (xv), 402; — b. Abú Sa'íd (xv), 410; — Badakhshí (poet and bearer of Jámí's letter to Sulṭán Báyazíd II, xv), 423, 459; — b. Kháwand Sháh (historian, xv), 431, see **Mírkhwánd**; — Ṣáliḥ (poet contemporary with Bábur), 459; — b. Báysunqur (xv), 496; Mírzá — b. 'Abdu'l-Wahháb of Qazwín (contemporary Persian scholar), 16 n., 21, 66, 88 n., 106 n., 153 n., 356 n., 448; — Iqbál (contemporary scholar), 269 n.; — Ḥusayn Khán, see **Zuká'u'l-Mulk**

Abú Muḥammad of Tabríz (father of Faḍlu'lláh al-Ḥurúfí), 367

Muḥtasib, functions of —, 164 n., 277 n.

Muḥyi'd-Dín. — (divine, xiii), 27; Shaykh — ibnu'l-'Arabí (xiii), 63, 127, 128, 132, 139, 331, 446 n., 447, 484, 514

Mú'ína (near Ahar), 27

Mu'ín-i-Isfizárí (author of a history of Herát), 173, 430–1

Mu'ínu'd-Dín. — Parwána (xiv), 85, 106, 115, 127; — of Yazd (historian of the Muẓaffarís), 159, 161–2, 170, 359–60; — of Káshán (astronomer, xv), 386

Muir, Sir William — (author of *Life of Mahomet*), 144 n.

Mu'izzí (panegyrist of the Seljúqs), 522

Mu'izzu'd-Dín. — b. Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Kurt (xiv), 57, 177, 178, 179, 211–14, 354; — Jahángír b. Sháh Yaḥyá Muẓaffarí (xiv), 169

-Mu'jam fí Áthári Mulúki'l-'Ajam (history of the ancient kings of Persia by Faḍlu'lláh al-Ḥusayní, xiii–xiv), 68

-Mu'jam fí Ma'áyíri Ash'ári'l-'Ajam (work on Persian prosody by Shams-i-Qays, xiii), 16 n.

Mujír of Baylaqán (poet, xii), 65

Mujmal* of Faṣíḥí of Khwáf (A.D. 1442), 426–8. See **Faṣíḥí

Mukhayyaṭ-náma (mock-heroic poem by Maḥmud Qárí of Yazd, xv), 352

Mukhtárí, clan or family of Qazwín, 94

Mukhtaṣar. — (of -Taftázání, xiv), 354; — *u'd-Duwal* (of **Bar-Hebraeus**, *q.v.*), 18, 64; — *fí Ta'ríkhi'l-Bashar*, see **Abu'l-Fidá**

Ibn Muljam (assassin of the Imám 'Alí, A.D. 661), 256 n.

Multán, 83, 125, 174

Mulúk-i-Ṭawá'if (Parthians so called), 90

Mú'minán, clan or family of Qazwín, 94

Munajjim-báshí (by this title, "the Astronomer in chief," Darwísh, or Dervísh, Aḥmad, author of the history entitled *Ṣaḥá'ifu'l-Akhbár*, is generally known), 383 n., 384 and n.; 387, 390, 403, 407, 409, 411, 414, 415, 417 n.

Múnisu'l-Abrár (by 'Imád of Kirmán, A.D. 1364), 259

Munkir (name of one of the angels who conducts the "Questioning of the Tomb"), 522

Ibnu'l-Muqaffa', 'Abdu'lláh — (viii), 463, 504

Múqán, 39
Ibn Muqla (calligraphist), 84
Murád II (Ottoman Sulṭán, A.D. 1421–51), 383 n., 398, 400, 404
Murád Bey (nephew and envoy of Úzún Ḥasan, A.D. 1461), 408, 418
Murád Páshá Palaeologus (xv), 412
Murgháb, 175, 388
Murtáḍ, Mír — (philosopher and chess-player), 456–7
Músá. — (the last Mongol ruler of Persia, d. A.D. 1337), 17, 59; — the Kurd (pretended Mahdí, xiv), 50; — (brother of Sulṭán Muḥammad I, put to death about A.D. 1416), 401
Musáfir, Darwísh — (Ḥurúfí correspondent, xiv), 368
Muṣallá (" the Oratory," near Shíráz), 238, 284, 291
Muséon, le —, 112 n., 366 n., 427, 428, 465, 467, 469 n.
Músh (town in Armenia), 188, 192
**Mush u Gurba* (" the Mouse and the Cat," poem by 'Ubayd-i-Zákání), 230, 241–4
Muṣṭafá, Prince — (son of Sulṭán Muḥammad II, campaign against Úzún Ḥasan, A.D. 1472–4), 411–12
-Mustakfí (titular Caliph at Cairo, xiv), 164 n.
-Musta'lí (Fáṭimid Caliph, A.D. 1094–1101), 154
-Mustanṣir (Fáṭimid Caliph, A.D. 1035–94), 154
-Musta'ṣim (the last 'Abbásid Caliph, killed by the Mongols in A.D. 1258), 74
Mustawfí, clan or family of Qazwín, 94; Amín Naṣr — (resident in Qazwín when it was sacked by the Mongols in A.D. 1220), 96. See also **Ḥamdu'lláh, Ta'ríkh-i-Guzída**
Mustawfi'l-Mamálik (" Chancellor of the Exchequer "), 20
Mú'ta, Battle of — (A.D. 629), 144 n.
-Mu'taḍid (titular Caliph at Cairo, A.D. 1352–62), 164 n.
-Mutanabbí (Arabic poet, x), 547
-Muṭarrizí (grammarian, xiii), 272 n.
-Muṭawwal (of -Taftázání, xiv), 354
Mu'tazila (sect), 521 n.
Mutiny, Indian — (A.D. 1857), 183 n., 380, 391, 420
Muwaffaqu'd-Dawla 'Alí (grandfather of Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh), 69
Múy-diráz (" long-haired," nick-name of the *Ṣáḥib-Díwán's* grandfather), 20. See under **Juwayní**
Muẓaffar, House of — (xiv), 60, 139, **160–70**, 172, 173, 186, 188, 189, 190, **191**, 193, 206, **208**, 225, 258, **275**, 284, 355, 356, 357; — (governor of Qazwín when it was sacked by the Mongols in A.D. 1220), 96–7; Sháh — (artist, xv–xvi), 456, 459, 505
Muẓaffarí, clan or family of Qazwín, 94

Nádir Sháh (A.D. 1736–47), 371 n.
Nafaḥátu'l-Uns (written by Jámí ín A.D. 1476), 124, 139 n., 140, 141 n., 273, 283, 321, 331 n., 426 n., **434–6**, 458, 461 n., 475, 508, 512, 513
Ná'in, 331
Najáshí (envoy of Sulṭán Báyazíd to Tímúr), 205
Najíbu'd-Dín. — *Kaḥḥál* (" the oculist," xiii, creature of **Sa'du'd-Dawla**, *q.v.*), 32; Shaykh — Buzghúsh (xiv), 484
Najmí (poet parodied by Busḥáq), 350
Najmu'd-Dín Kubrá (xiii), 484
Nakhjuwán, 59, 165, 166, 187, 188, 400, 417
Nakír, 522. See above under **Munkir**
Napoleon I (compared with Tímúr), 182
Naqdu'n-Nuṣúṣ (composed by Jámí in A.D. 1458), 514
Naqíbu'l-Ashráf, Sayyid Táju'd-Dín —, 71
Naqshbandí, order of dervishes, 441, 452, 506
Nárín Búqá, Amír — (xiv), 57
Nasá (in Khurásán), 354
Nasá'í, Shihábu'd-Dín — (biographer of Jalálu'd-Dín Khwárazmsháh, xiii), 12
Nashát (acrostic on the name —), 124
Nasímí (or Nesímí, Turkish poet put to death for heresy in A.D. 1417), 368, **369** and n., **449**, 498
Náṣir. Ah-Malik al- — (Muḥammad, Sulṭán of Egypt, A.D. 1293–1340), 49, 51, 53, 54, 170; (Faraj, A.D. 1398–1412), 196, 197, 199; — -i-Khusraw (Persian poet and traveller, xi), 65, 154, 510; — of Bukhárá (Persian poet), 352

Naṣíru'd-Dín Ṭúsí (astronomer and philosopher, xiii), 17, 18, 48, 67, 442, 502
Abú Naṣr. Ḥasan Beg Bahádur Khán (xv), 103; — -i-Faráhí (poet and author of the well-known rhymed vocabulary entitled *Niṣáb-i-Ṣibyán*), 350
*Nassau Lees, Captain W. — (editor of the **Nafaḥátu'l-Uns**, *q.v.*), 435, 508–9, 510 n.
Ná'úsá (place), 81
Nawá'í. See **Mír 'Alí Shír**
Nawrúz, Festival of the —, 324 n.; — (son of Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'llah, xiv), 28; Amír — (Gházán Khán's general, xiii), 40, 41, 176
Nawrúz u Gul (poem by Khwájú of Kirmán, xiii–xiv), 225, 226
Naw-Shahr, 30, 31, 59
Náy-náma ("Book of the Reed-flute," by Jámí), 514, 548
Nayríz (in Fárs), 356
Nayyir of Kirmán (poet parodied by Maḥmúd Qárí of Yazd), 352
Názir u Manẓúr (poem by Kátibí of Níshápúr, xv), 487
Nebuchadnezzar, 89, 250
Nejd (or Najd), 544
Neri, 399
Nesímí. See above **Nasímí**
Nestorians, 11, 102
Nicholson, Dr R. A. — 88, 95
Nicolas III, Pope — (sends envoys to Mongols in A.D. 1278), 19
Nicolas (Úljáytú said to have been baptized under this name), 46
Niháwand, 193
Nikísá (harper of Khusraw Parwíz), 267 and n.
Nikúdarís, 25, 177
Ni'matu'lláh, Sayyid or Sháh — of Kirmán (xiv–xv), 345, 350, 352, 353, 463–73, 497, 498
Níshápúr, 112–15, 178, 487, 488, 493
Níshápúriyán (clan or family of Qazwín), 94
Nizám. Khwája — (unidentified), 494; — -i-Shámí (biographer of Tímúr, xiv–xv), 159, 183, 197, 203, 361–2, 363, 365
Nizámí. — (poet of Ganja, xii), 65, 224, 226, 326 n., 348, 350, 387, 505, 510, 522, 527, 536. 540–42; — -i-'Arúḍí of Samarqand (author of the **Chahár Maqála**, *q.v.*, xii), 65, 522
Niẓámu'd-Dín. — Awliyá (Saint, d. A.D. 1324), 108; — Maḥmúd Qárí of Yazd (parodist), 211, 351–3; Abu'l-Ma'álí Naṣru'lláh (translator into Persian of the *Book of Kalíla and Dimna*, xii), 463
Niẓámu'l Mulk (minister to the Seljúqs Alp Arslán and Maliksháh, xi), 89
Niẓámu't-Tawáríkh (historical manual by al-Baydáwí, xiii), 63, 88, 100
Nizár (b. -Mustanṣir, Fáṭimid prince, xi), 154
Nizárí of Quhistán (poet, xiii–xiv), 154–5
Nogáy (Mongol prince, xiii), 25
Northampton visited by Mongol envoy in A.D. 1307, 11
North Sea, 6
Nu'mán, Sháh —, son of the poet Háfiẓ (buried at Burhánpúr in India), 289
Nuqṭa ("Point"), 470, 471
Núru'd-Dín. — b. Shamsu'd-Dín Muḥammad (author of the *Gházánnáma*, composed in A.D. 1361), 103; — Raṣadí (xiii), 115; Shaykh — 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán of Isfará'in (xiv), 177, 191; Mullá — 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán, see **Jámí**; Khwája — Luṭfu'lláh, 424, see **Ḥáfiẓ Abrú**
Núru'lláh, Sayyid — of Shúshtar (author of **Majálisu'l-Mú'minín**, *q.v.*), 44 n., 498
Núshírwán (Sásánian king of Persia, vi), 114, 119, 121 n., 250. See also **Chosroes, Kisrá, Sásánians**
Nuṣratu'd-Dín. — Aḥmad b. Yúsuf (Atábek of Lur-i-Buzurg, xiii–xiv), 68; Amír — Sitáy (governor of Mawṣil, xiii–xiv), 82
-Nuṣúṣ (of Shaykh Ṣadru'd-Dín al-Qunyawí), 514
Nuzhatu'l-Akhbár (history by Firídún Bey, xvi), 204
Nuzhatu'l-Qulúb (geography by Ḥamdu'lláh Mustawfí of Qazwín, xiv), 63 n., 87, 93 n., 98–100

Odoric of Pordenone, Friar — (xiv), 61
Oghurlu Muḥammad b. Úzún Ḥasan Báyandarí (xv), the "Curlumameth" or "Ugurlimehemet" of the Venetians, 403, 410, 413
Oghuz (legendary ancestor of the Turks), 73

Ogotáy (son and successor of Chingíz Khán, A.D. 1227–41), 74, 383
d'Ohsson's *Histoire des Mongols* (Amsterdam, 1834–5), 5, 11 n., 12, 13, 15, 26 n., 49, 50, 53 n., 54 n., 58 n., 60, 112 n.
Omar. See **'Umar**
Omayyads. See **Umayyads**
Ong Khán, 11 n. See **Prester John**
Oriental Translation Fund, 448
Orphi, 389. See **'Urfa**
'Osmán, Amír — (xvi), 417. See also **'Uthmán**
Ottoman ('Osmánli) Turks, 4, 5, 107, 156, 164 n., 196, **198–9**, 201, 204, 381, 398, **400–1**, **404–5**, 409, **410–14**, **419–23**, 433, 439, 444, 507. See also **Turks**, and under the names of the several Ottoman Sulṭáns
Ouseley, Sir Gore —, 152 n., 263, 273, 292, 328 n., 473 n.
Oxford, 184
Oxus (*Ámú*, *Jayhún*), 4, 175, 190, 194, 379, 419

Paez de Santa Maria, Fray Alonzo — (xv), 199
Paladins, 394
Palaeologus, Michael — (xiii), 18
Palmer, Professor E. H. —, 300, 305 n.
Pálú (place), 82
Pánípát, Battle of — (April 20, 1526), 393
Panj Ganj ("the Five Treasures," *i.e.* the five great romantic poems of **Niẓámí of Ganja**, *q.v.*, also known as the "Quintet" or **Khamsa**, *q.v.*), 326 n.
Pan-Turanian movement, 14, 15
Paper currency. See **Chao**
Paris, 102, 237
Pársá, Khwája — (mystic), 514
Parthians (*Mulúku't-Ṭawá'if*), 90 and n.
Parwíz, Khusraw — (Sásánian king, vii), 121 n., 267 n.
Patyálí (India), 108
Pavet de Courteille, 392, 454, 455, 505 n.
Payne, 303
"Pehlevi-musulman," 367
Pekin (Khán-báligh, Cambaluc), 397, 398
Pen, the — (*Qalam*), 220 n.
Persia Society, 304 n.
Persian Gulf, 3, 285, 379, 402
"Persian Historical Texts Series," 436
Peruse, François de — (archbishop of Sulṭániyya, A.D. 1322), 54
Petits de la Croix, 363
Petrograd, 112 n., 210 n. See also **St Petersburg**
Pharaoh, 89
Philip le Bel, 49
Pian de Carpine, Friar John of —, 8, 9
Pír Aḥmad (of the Qaramán dynasty, xv), 412
Pír 'Alí, Ghiyáthu'd-Dín — Kurt (xiv), 179, 180; — (minister and murderer of Khalíl Sulṭán b. Míránsháh b. Tímúr, xv), 381; — (brother of Bahá'u'd-Dín Qára 'Osmán of the "White Sheep" Turkmáns, xiv), 404
"Pirameto." See **Pír Aḥmad** above
Pírí Beg Qájár (commander of Sháh Isma'íl's army at the Battle of Shurúr), 417–8
Pír Budáq b. Jahánsháh (of the "Black Sheep" Turkmans, xv), 402
Pír Muḥammad (son of Ghiyáthu'd-Dín **Pír 'Alí**, *q.v.*), 179, 180; — b. Jahángír b. Tímúr, 186, 202, 381
Pír Pasha (connected with Ḥurúfís), 368
Pír Sulṭán (son of Rashídu'd-Dín Fadlu'lláh), 84, 85
Píshdádí (legendary) kings of Persia, 90
Plato, 18, 125
Pococke, 64 n.
"Point." See **Nuqṭa**
Poland, 6, 10, 102
Popes, 8, 9, 10, 19, 101, 102
Portugal, 102
Potiphar's wife, 531. See **Zulaykhá**
Press and Poetry of Modern Persia (by E. G. Browne), 15
Prester John, 11, 19 n.
Price's *Chronological Retrospect*, 196 and n., 366 n.
Printing, Invention of — ascribed to Chinese, 14, 102–3
Prostitutes, Abú Sa'íd's legislation against — (A.D. 1318–19), 53
Pul-i-Fasá (in Fárs), 168
Púr-i-Bahá-yi-Jámí (poet, xiii), 111–15, 177

Qábús b. Washmgír (Prince of Ṭabaristán, x–xi), 221
Qadawí, clan or family of Qazwín, 94
Qádirí, order of dervishes, 452
Qádí-záda-i-Rúmí (Ṣalaḥu'd-Dín Músá, astronomer, xv), 386, 502
Qáf, mountains of —, 316 n., 349
Qájár tribe, 417, 418
Qal'a-i-Safíd ("the White Castle" in Fárs), 165, 168, 191
Qalandar, 124, 125
Qalá'ún (Mamlúk Sulṭán of Egypt, A.D. 1279–90), 26 n.
Qámán (Mongol medicine-men), 111, 112 and n.
Qamaru'd-Dín (xiv), 186
Qámús of -Fírúzábádí, 357
Qandahár, 187, 456
Qáni'í (poet, xiii), 111
Qára-bágh (near Arrán), 57, 166, 188, 196, 197, 199, 201, 417, 503
Qára-Búqá ("Black Bull," xiii–xiv), 82
Qaráchár Noyán (Mongol ancestor of Tímúr), 185
Qára Íluk ("the Black Leech," nickname of Qára 'Osmán Aq-qoyúnlú, xiv), 404
Qára-Khitá'í, dynasty of Kirmán, xiii–xiv), 48, 92
Qaramán (formerly Láranda in Asia Minor), 155, 411; dynasty of —, 401
Qára Muḥammad b. Bayrám Khwája Qára-qoyúnlú (xiv), 399
Qaránqay (Mongol prince executed), 33
Qára 'Osmán ('Uthmán); see above under **Qára Íluk**
Qaraqorum (the Mongol metropolis), 8, 405
Qára-qoyúnlú ("Black Sheep" Turkmáns), 173, 379, 380, 381, 382, 387, 388, 399, 401, 403, 404, 407–9
Qára Sunqur (xiv), 53
Qaráwul, clan or family of Qazwín, 94
Qára Yúsuf ("Black Joseph") son of **Qára Muḥammad**, *q.v.*, 173, 192, 196, 204, 206, 380, 382, 399, 400, 401, 404, 409
Qárs (in Armenia), 188
Qásimu'l-Anwár (poet, xv), 352, 366, 438, 473–86
Abu'l-Qásim Bábur (Tímúrid prince, xv), 311, 387
Qaṣr-i-Zard (in Fárs), 355
Qatáda (family of — at Mecca), 51
Qáyin, 155
Qayṣariyya (Caesarea), 83, 85
Qazwín, 57, 87, 93, 94, 96, 97, 98, 190, 195, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 255, 256, 257, 368, 400
-Qazwíní, Zakariyyá b. Muḥammad — (geographer, xiii), 64
Qibla, 522 and n.
Qinnasrín, 81, 86
Qipcháq, 321, 354, 388, 398
Qiṣaṣu'l-Anbiyá ("Tales of the Prophets"), 88
Qiwám, Ḥájji — (xiv), 276 and n., 292
Qiwámu'l-Dín. Mawláná — of Shíráz (xiv), 166, 292; — 'Abdu'lláh of Shíráz (xiv), 272; Mawláná — (connected with Ḥurúfís, xiv), 368; Ustád — (architect to Sháh-rukh, xv), 384, 498
Qizil Arslán (ruler of 'Iráq, xiv), 225
Qizil-básh ("Red-heads"), 416–17
Qonya (Iconium), 63, 111, 127, 411, 445, 479
Quatremère, 69, 70, 72, 74 n., 75, 76, 77, 78 n., 79, 80, 397, 429
Qubád b. Iskandar Qára-qoyúnlú (xv), 402
Qubiláy ("Kubla") Khán (xiii), 19, 27, 74
Qudsí (poet of Herát, xv), 438, 499
Quhistán, 155, 156
Qul-Muḥammad (musician patronized by Mír 'Alí Shír Nawá'í), 505
Qum, 27, 364, 389, 416
Qúmís, 27
Qumishah, 169
Qunquratáy (Mongol noble put to death, A.D. 1284), 26
Qur'án, 27, 36 n., 63, 76, 84, 86, 92, 125, 165, 166, 175, 215, 259 n., 272, 274, 289, 311, 363, 367, 385, 442, 478 n., 479 n., 500 n., 501 n., 507, 514, 518, 520, 532
Quraysh, 89
Qúshjí, Mullá 'Alá'u'd-Dín 'Alí — (astronomer, xv), 386
Ibn Qutayba, 88
Quṭb-i-Jahán (xiii), 41
Quṭbu'd-Dín. — Muḥammad Khwárazmsháh (A.D. 1199–1220), 20, 66; — Mas'úd of Shíráz (xiii–xiv), 83; — (ruler of Kirmán, xiv), 163; — Maḥmúd b. Mubárizu'd-Dín Muḥammad (Muẓaffarí, born A.D. 1336), 163; Amír — (son of Sayyid Amír Ḥájji Ḍarráb, xiv), 164;

— (envoy of Tímúr), 167, 282; — Ná'í (courtier of Míránsháh, put to death by Tímúr in A.D. 1399), 195
Qutlugh Turkán Ághá (sister of Tímúr, d. A.D. 1382), 186

Rabáb-náma (of Sulṭán Walad or Veled, xiii), 156
Rabban Ṣawmá (member of Arghún's mission to Europe in A.D. 1287–8), 31
Rab'-i-Rashídí (or **Rashídiyya**, *q.v.*), 71, 75, 77, 82, 84, 86
Rabí'í (poet of Búshanj, xiv), **150–2**, 174, 431
Radloff, 156
Ráfiḍís (Ráfiẓís), 234, 519, 521 and n. See **Shí'a**
Ráfi'í. — author of a work entitled *Tadwín*, 93; — clan or family of Qazwín, 94
Rafí'í (or Refí'í, Turkish Ḥurúfí poet, xv), 369, 449
Rafí'u'd-Dín-i-Abharí (poet, xiii–xiv), 154
Rafsinján, 163
Raḥba (Raḥbat) in Syria, 51, 81
Rakhsh (Rustam's war-horse), 535, 536 n.
Ramusio, Giovan Battista —, 381 n., 405
Raṣadí, Núru'd-Dín — (xiii), 115
Rashaḥát-i-'Aynu'l-Ḥayát (composed by 'Alí b. Ḥusayn-i-Káshifí in A.D. 1503), 434, **441–2**
Rashídu'd-Dín. — Faḍlu'lláh (statesman, physician and historian, put to death by Abú Sa'íd the Mongol Íl-Khán in A.D. 1318), 17, 31, 41, 43, **46–7**, 48, **49**, 50, **51–2**, 56, 67, **68–87**, 89, 94, 100, 101, 194, 328 n., 424; — Waṭwáṭ (poet, xii), 65
Rashídiyya (quarter of Tabríz), 70, 328. See also above under **Rab'-i-Rashídí**
Rasht, 489
Raverty, the late Colonel —'s manuscripts, 67 n., 150 n., 210 n., 426, 427
Rawḍatu'l-Anwár (poem by Khwájú of Kirmán composed in A.D. 1342), 226
Rawḍatu'l Jannát* (history of Herát to A.D. 1473 by Mu'ín of Isfizár), **173–4, **179** n.
Rawḍatu'ṣ-Ṣafá (general history by **Mírkhwánd**, *q.v.*), 161, 174, 388, 389, **431–3**, 434, 439
Rawḍatu'sh-Shuhadá (by Ḥusayn Wá'iẓ-i-Káshifí, xv), 434, **441**, 442
Rawḍatu Uli'l-Arbáb* (composed in A.D. 1317 by Fakhru'd-Dín Baná-katí), **100–103
Rawḍu'r-Riyáḥín (by -Yáfi'í), 88 n.
Rawḥa, 192
Ray (Rhages), 16, 27, 187, 190, 193, 194, 199, 265, 382, 386, 402
"Red Heads," 416. See also **Qizil-básh**
Refí'í. See **Rafí'í** *supra*
Rehatsek, 431
Religious Systems of the World (1892), 532 n.
Renaissance, 5
René of Anjou, King —, 395
Revisky (translator of Ḥáfiẓ), 303
Rhages. See **Ray** *supra*
Riḍá-qulí Khán *Lala-báshí*, poetically named *Hidáyat* (Persian statesman, writer and poet, xix), 140, 141, **222–3**, 272, 432, 465, 481 n., 495. See also **Farhang-i-Anjuman-árá-yi-Náṣirí, Riyáḍu'l-'Árifín** and **Majma'u'l-Fuṣaḥá**
Ríḍá Tawfíq (Riẓá Tevfíq, called "Feylesúf Riẓá," contemporary Turkish scholar and politician), 103, 375, 450
Rieu, Dr Charles —, 58 n., 67, 68, 95 n., 96, 100 n., 103, 111, 184 n., 203, 223, 226, 321, 328, 332, 355, 360, 361, 363, 364, 386, 424, 425, 429, 430 n., 436, 437, 440, 441, 443, 453, 460 n., 464, 473, 495 n., 502 n.
Rijálu'l-Ghayb ("Men of the Unseen World"), 276 n.
Risála-i-Amána (by Qásimu'l-Anwár, xiv–xv), 475
Risála-i-Dilgushá* (by 'Ubayd-i-Zákání, xiv), 232, 235, **254–7
Risála-i-Qushayriyya, 88
Risála-i-Ṣad Pand (by 'Ubayd-i-Zákání, A.D. 1350), 232, 235
Risála-i-Sháhid (by Maḥmúd Shabistarí, xiv), 149
Risála-i-Sulṭániyya (by Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh, A.D. 1307), 76
Risála-i-Tahlíliyya (by Jámí, xv), 514
Rísh-náma (the "Book of the Beard," by 'Ubayd-i-Zákání, xiv), 235, 237, 251

Riyáḍu'l-'Árifín (by Riḍá-qulí Khán, xix), 272, 331 n.
Riẓá. See **Ri'ḍá**
Riẓwán or Riḍwán, the custodian of Paradise, 215
Rockhill, W. W. —, 8 n.
Rogers, A., 516, 531
Rome, Romans, 3, 102, 311, 405
Romulus, 102
Rosen, Baron Victor —, 174 n., 210 n., 424 n., 425, 426, 427, 509
von Rosenzweig, Vincenz Edlem —, 516, 531, 532, 542
von Rosenzweig-Schwannau, Vincenz Ritter —, 209, 302, 305. See also **Ḥáfiẓ**
Ross, Sir E. Denison —, 108, 131, 170 n., 184, 259, 364 n., 392
Royal College of Herát, 504
Rubruck, Friar William of — (Rubruquis), 8, 9
Rückert, 542
Rúdakí (poet, x), 522
Rúdbár, 368
Rufá'í, order of dervishes, 452
Ruknábád (stream of — near Shíráz), 238, 284, 291
Ruknu'd-Dín. — Khursháh (late Grand Master of the Assassins of Alamút, xiii), 25; Ṣá'in (prime minister to Abú Sa'íd the Mongol, A.D. 1324), 54, 55; Qáḍí — Juwayní (one of the sources of the **Ta'ríkh-i-Guzida**, *q.v.*), 89; Malik — Abú Bakr b. Táju'd-Dín 'Uthmán (ancestor of the Kurt kings of Herát, xiii), 174, 175; — b. Shamsu'd-Dín-i-Kurt, known as *Kihín*, "the Lesser" (A.D. 1278–1307), 176; Shaykh — 'Alá'u'd-Dawla of Simnán, 223; — (unidentified, praised by 'Ubayd-i-Zákání, xiv), 235
Rúm, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 106. See also **Asia Minor, Turkey**
Rúmlú (one of the nine tribes which supported Sháh Isma'íl the Ṣafawí in A.D. 1500), 417
Rumelia, 412
Russia, Russians, 5, 6, 9, 10, 190, 192
Rustam. — (the legendary hero of Persia), 316 n.; — Beg (general of Jahánsháh beheaded by Úzún Ḥasan in A.D. 1456), 408; — b. Maqṣúd Áq-qoyúnlú (xv), 415, 416; — of Khúriyán (poet, xv), 501
Ruthenians, 9
Rúyatu'lláh ("the Vision of God"), 301 n.

Sab'a (the "Septet" of Jámí, also called **Haft Awrang**, *q.v.*), 515
Sabzawár, 160, 161, 178, 186, 208, 212, 498
de Sacy, Silvestre —, 432 n.
Ṣad Pand (by 'Ubayd-i-Zákání, xiv), 251
Ṣad Wa'ẓ (by Maḥmúd Qárí of Yazd, xv), 352
Sa'd b. Abú Bakr, Atábek of Fárs (xiii), 121
Sa'dí, Shaykh Muṣliḥu'd-Dín — of Shíráz (xiii), 15, 16, 70, 100, 105, 106, 115, 116, 119, 139, 143, 153, 224, 232 n., 238, 293, 329, 348, 350, 352, 401, 484, 485, 486, 510, 516, 522, 529, 531, 548
Sa'dí, order of dervishes, 452
Ṣadr-i-Jahán. Ṣadru'd-Dín Aḥmad-i-Khálidí of Zanján (prime minister to Gaykhátú, A.D. 1291–5), 31, 37, 39, 69; Jamálu'd-Dín Dastajirdání (prime minister to Baydú, A.D. 1295), 41; Mawláná — of Bukhárá, 82
Ṣadru'd-Dín. — Aḥmad-i-Khálidí, see immediately above; Shaykh — Ibráhím (xiii), 40; Shaykh — Qunyawí (of Qonya, Konia or Iconium), 63, 127, 445, 514; — 'Alí b. Naṣíru'd-Dín Túsí (xiii), 67; Shaykh — b. Bahá'u'd-Dín Zakariyyá (xiii–xiv), 81; Mawláná — Muḥammad Turka'í (xiii–xiv), 81, 83; — Qayruwání (parodied by Bushḥáq), 350; Mawláná — (connected with the Ḥurúfís, xiv), 368; Shaykh — of Ardabíl (ancestor of the Ṣafawí kings, xv), 473, 474, 484; Shaykh — Yamaní (xiv), 473
Sa'du'd-Dawla (Jewish minister of Arghún, A.D. 1284–91), 31–6
Sa'du'd-Dín. —-Ḥamawí (xiii), 40; — of Sáwa (xiii–xiv), 48, 50, 69, 70; — Maṣ'úd b. 'Umar-Taftázání (xiv), 159, 353–4, 458; — b. Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh (xiii–xiv), 84, 86; — b. Naṣír (parodied by Bushḥáq), 350; — Waráwíní (author of Persian version of the *Marzubán-náma*), 356
-Ṣafadí (xiv), 356

Ṣafawí dynasty (A.D. 1502–1736), 160, 207, 315, 316 n., 317, 379, 380, 396, 397, 399, 400, 407, 414, 416, 417–20, 421 n., 434, 439, 459, 464, 473, 475, 484, 507
Ṣaffárí dynasty (A.D. 867–900), 91
Ṣaff-i-Ni'ál (the "shoe-row"), 323 n.
Ṣafí or Ṣafiyyu'd-Dín of Ardabíl, Shaykh — (ancestor of the Ṣafawí kings), 85, 474, 484–6
Safínatu'sh-Shu'ará (Turkish translation of Dawlatshah's "Memoirs of the Poets" by Sulaymán Fahmí), 436
Ságharí (poet, satirized by Jámí), 512
Ṣaḥá'ifu'l-Akhbár (general history in Turkish by **Munajjim-báshí**, *q.v.*), 383 n., 384 n., 385 n., 403 n., 407
Saḥbán b. Wá'il, 116 and n.
Ṣáḥib-Díwán-i-Juwayní, Shamsu'd-Dín — (xiii), 20–24, 27–31, 66, 106, 115, 121, 153, 175
Ṣáḥib-Qirán ("Lord of the Fortunate Conjunction," title given to **Tímúr**, *q.v.*), 185
Ṣá'ib (Persian poet), 292
Abú Sa'íd. — b. Abi'l-Khayr (mystic and poet, xi), 65, 121; — (Mongol Il-Khán of Persia, A.D. 1317–35), 48, 51–8, 59, 71, 74, 95, 99, 103, 159, 160, 170, 171, 178, 215, 222, 226, 251, 261, 352(?), 389, 429–30; Sultán — (grandson of Míránsháh b. Tímúr, xv), 388–90, 402, 406, 409–10, 421 n., 429, 487 n., 506 n.
St Albans, 6
St Bartholomew's Hospital, 303
St Peter, 102
St Petersburg, 210 n., 425, 509. See also **Petrograd**.
St Sophia (Constantinople), 367
Ṣá'inu'd-Dín Tarika (saint, xv), 489
-Sakkákí (author of *Miftáḥu'l-'Ulúm*, xiii), 272 n.
Sakyamuni (Buddha), 73
Ṣaláḥu'd-Dín Músá, 386. See **Qáḍí-záda-i-Rúmí**
**Salámán u Absál* (poem by Jámí, xv), 523–6
Salemann, 156
Salgharid Atábeks of Fárs (xii–xiii), 73, 74, 92
Ṣálihiyya cemetery (Damascus), 128
Salím. — (or Selím) "the Grim" (Ottoman Sultán, xvi), 107 and n.; — (Persian poet), 292
Sálí Noyan, 174
Saljúqs. See **Seljúqs**
Saljúq-náma (of Ẓahírí of Níshápúr), 89
Salmá (woman's name), 544, 545
Salmán of Sáwa (poet, xiv), 60, 159, 171, 172, 211, 230, 233, 234, 260–71, 291, 293, 296–8, 325, 348, 350, 352, 490, 491, 522
Salmás, 188
Sám. — (legendary hero of Persia, grandfather of Rustam), 316 n.; — Mírzá (Ṣafawí prince, xvi, author of the **Tuḥfa-i-Sámí**, *q.v.*), 439, 459, 507, 514
Samak (the Fish which supports the Earth), 113 and n.
Sámánid dynasty (x), 91, 522
Samarqand, 169, 180, 186–9, 191–4, 196, 197, 199, 202, 206, 283, 329, 354, 355, 362, 368, 381, 386, 390, 394, 418, 428, 436, 438, 464, 473, 491, 502
Saná'í (poet, xii), 65, 261, 343, 344, 352, 522
Sanguinetti, 64 n.
San Lucar, 201
Santa Maria, 199
Saráb, Sarai, Saráw, Saráy, 53 n., 122, 321, 473
Saracens, 9
Sarakhs, 186, 354
Sarandíb (Ceylon), 122
Saráw-rúd, 70
Saráy Khátún (or Sára Khátún, mother of Úzún Ḥasan, xv), 407, 408 n.
Sarbadár dynasty of Sabzawár (xiv), 60, 160, 161, 178–80, 208, 210, 211, 216, 498
Ṣarf-i-Mír (by -Sharíf-Jurjání, xiv, xv), 355
Sárí (Mázandarán), 494
Sarjam (near Zanján), 426
Sásánian kings of Persia (iii–vii), 3, 14, 68, 74, 90, 119, 120, 121, 250, 267, 414, 500 n.
Sátí Beg (daughter of Úljáytú, and queen in A.D. 1339), 51, 53, 55, 59, 170
Savinj (Sevinj), Amír — (d. A.D. 1318), 52
Savinj (Sevinj), Qutlugh Ághá (niece of Tímúr, xiv), 179
Sáwa, 55, 400
Sawánih (by Shaykh Aḥmad Ghazzálí), 135 and n.
Sawdá'í, Bábá — (poet, xv), 438

Sawmá, Rabban — (one of envoys sent by Arghún to Europe in A.D. 1287–8), 31
Sayfí. — of Herát (historian), 174, 176, 431; — of Bukhárá (poet, xv), 438, 458
Sayfu'd-Dín. — of Isfarang (poet, xiii–xiv), 154; Sháh — (praised by Busháq), 350; Amír — Maḥmúd (father of Amír Khusraw, xiii), 108
Sayyids, heretical — (xiv), 190
Sayyid-i-Sharíf-i-Jurjání (xiv), 159, 166, 189–90, 355
Schefer, M. Charles —, 89 n.
Schiltberger, Johann — (xiv–xv), 404 n.
Schlechta-Wssehrd, 216, 515
Scotland, Scotch, 43, 102
"Sechaidar," "Secheaidare" (Italian corruption of **Shaykh Ḥaydar**, *q.v.*), 416 n.
Sédillot, 502 n.
Seljúqs, 73, 74, 83, 91–2, 111
Seven Heavens, 248 and n.
"Seven Lean Years," 325 n.
"Seven Years' Campaign" of Tímúr, 196
Seville, 199
Sevinj. See **Savinj**
Shábarán, 83
Shabistar, 146
Shabistarí, Shaykh Maḥmúd — (mystical poet, xiii–xiv), 146–50, 300, 484
Shád Malak (the beloved of Khalíl Sultán, xv), 381–2
Shafáthá, 81
Sháfi'í (sect), 46, 50, 70, 97, 98, 356
Sháh u Gadá ("the King and the Beggar," poem by Hilálí), 459
Sháh Jahán. — Qára-Khitá'í (ruler of Kirmán, A.D. 1301–3), 48; — Tímúr (descendant of Abáqá, xiv), 60; — (Mogul Emperor, A.D. 1628–59), 184, 391
Sháh-náma (of Firdawsí, xi), 65, 89, 95, 104, 111, 316 n., 352, 385, 532, 541
Sháh-rukh. — b. Tímúr (A.D. 1404–47), 74, 169, 192, 193, 194, 344, 364, 366, 379, 380–7, 393, 395, 398, 400, 401, 404, 421 n., 424, 425, 427–8, 435, 438, 464, 473, 475, 498, 501, 502; — b. Abú Sa'íd (Tímúrid, xv), 410
Sháh Shujá' (Muẓaffarí, xiv), 163, 164, 165, 166–7, 169, 172, 186, 206, 258, 264, 276 n., 278, 279, 280, 281–2, 290, 299, 355, 357, 360
Sháhí. Amír — (poet of Sabzawár, xv), 352, 438, 498, 501; — Khátún (daughter of Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh, xiii–xiv), 84
Sháhinsháh-náma (or *Chingíz-náma*) of Aḥmad of Tabríz (A.D. 1337), 103
Shahr-i-Naw, 398
Shahr-i-Sabz (Kash, near Samarqand) 194
Shákh-i-Nabát (alleged sweetheart of Ḥáfiẓ), 287
Shám (Damascus, a word-play on the name), 122
Shamákhí, 83, 417
Shamans, 44
Sham'í. See **Shem'í**
Shámlú (one of the nine tribes who supported Sháh Isma'íl the Ṣafawí), 417
Shams. — i-Qays (prosodist, xiii), 16; — i-Tabríz (mystic, xiii), 139, 343, 465, 484; i-Ṭabasí (poet), 65; Amír — (connected with Ḥurúfís, xiv), 368; — i-'Alá (poet satirized by Kátibí, xv), 492–3
Shamsu'd-Dín. — Muḥammad-i-Juwayní, entitled **Ṣáḥib-Díwán**, *q.v.*; — (grandfather of the preceding, xii), entitled *Buzurg* ("the Great") and *Múy-diráz* ("the Long-haired"), 20; Mawláná — (xiii), 28; — b. Ruknu'd-Dín-i-Kurt (xiii), 57, 174, 175; — Muḥammad-i-Kurt (xiv), 177–8; Qádí — Muḥammad b. Ḥasan (xiii–xiv), 81; — Muḥammad-i-Abarqúhí (xiii–xiv), 86; Sayyid — (connected with Ḥurúfís, xiv), 368; — (ruler of Akhlát in A.D. 1425), 401; Amír — Zakariyyá (first Prime Minister of Sháh Isma'íl the Ṣafawí, A.D. 1500), 417; — Gílání (first Chancellor of Sháh Isma'íl, A.D. 1500), 417
Shanb-i-Gházání, 361
Shápúr. — I (Sásánian king, iii), 93; — (unidentified, xv), 494
-Shaqá'iqu'n-Nu'mániyya (biographies of Ottoman divines), 369
Sharafu'd-Dín. — Hárún-i-Juwayní (poet and patron of poets), 20–1; — Ḥasan Mustawfí (xiii–xiv), 82; Mawláná — i-Tabasí (xiii–xiv),

86; — 'Alí Yazdí (biographer of Tímúr, xv), 159, 181, 183, 189, 190, 191, 196, 197, 198, 201, 202, 203, 356, 361, 362–5, 385, 438, see also **Ẓafar-náma**; — Muẓaffar b. Mubárizu'd-Dín A.D. 1325–53), 163; — Rámí (author of the *Anísu'l-'Ushsháq*, A.D. 1423), 462
Sharafiyya College (in Taft of Yazd), 364
Shásh (or Chách, the modern Táshkand), 110, 320 and n.
Shaṭṭu'l-'Arab, 511 and n.
Shawáhidu'n-Nubuwwa ("Evidences of Prophethood," composed by Jámí in A.D. 1480), 512–13
Shaybání Khán the Uzbek (xv–xvi), 380, 390, 393, **418–19, 459**
Shaykhí b. Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh (xiii–xiv), 84
Shaykhí Ná'í (musician, xv–xvi), 505
Shaykhum Suhaylí, Amír — (poet, xv), 438, **457**
Shem'í (Turkish commentator of Ḥáfiẓ), 299
Shiblí. Sulṭán — b. Sháh Shujá'-i-Muẓaffarí (xiv), 167, 169; — Nu'mání (Indian critic and scholar, xix–xx), 108, 261, 265, 267, 269, 271, 273, 274, 280 n., 289, 291, 292 n., 293, 296
Shiháb, Mawláná 'Alí — of Turshíz (poet, xv), 498
Shihábu'd-Dín. — -Nasá'í (biographer of Jalálu'd-Dín Mankobirní, xiii), 12; — Suhrawardí (Sháfi'í doctor of Baghdád, xiii–xiv), 70, 139; Amír — (governor of Baghdád, xiii–xiv), 82; — b. Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh (xiii–xiv), 84; — Ḥaydar (satirized by 'Ubayd-i-Zákání, xiv), 238; Shaykh — Qalandar (satirized by 'Ubayd-i-Zákání, xiv), 257; Shaykh — 'Abdu'lláh (or 'Azízu'lláh) of Khwáf, 426, 428. See also **Ḥáfiẓ Abrú**
Shí'a, Shí'ites, 42, 44, 50, 51, 178, 224, 255, 256, 301, 315, 372, 416, 418, 441, 456, 458, 464, 475, 498, 511, 521 n. See also **Ráfiḍís**
Shíráz, 15, 16, 30, 33, 38, 39, 84, 86, 163, 164, 166, 167, 168, 169, 188, 189, 190, 191, 206, 208, 225, 230, 231, 237, 238, 274, 276 n., 277, 281, 282, 283, 303, 311, 344, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 363, 366, 410, 413, 418, 423, 427, 436, 444, 485, 486, 500
Shíráz-náma (composed in A.D. 1343 by Shaykh Fakhru'd-Dín), 360–1
Shírín (the beloved of Khusraw Parwíz), 329, 547
Shi'ru'l-'Ajam (by **Shiblí Nu'mání**, *q.v.*), 108, 109, 261, 265, 273, 292 n.
Shírwán, 374, 401, 416, 417, 449, 488, 494, 495
Shírwán-sháh (xiii–xiv), 83, 225
Shírzád, clan or family of Qazwín, 94
Shujá', Sháh —. See above under **Sháh Shujá'**
Shurúr, Battle of — (A.D. 1502), 379, 417–18
Shúshtar, 166, 168, 189, 191
Síbak (poet, xv), 438
Síḥún. See **Jaxartes**
Silesia, 6
**Silsilatu'dh-Dhahab* (the "Chain of Gold," composed by Jámí in A.D. 1485), 510, 516–23
Silsilatu'n-Nasab-i-Ṣafawiyya (a rare work on the Genealogy of the Ṣafawí kings of Persia), 474, 484
Simák (the star Arcturus), 113
Símí (poet and calligraphist, xv), 488, 493
Simnán, 55, 81, 190
Símurgh, 316
Sinai, Mount —, 114
Sind, 83
Sindibád-náma (Turkí translation of —), 94
Sinjár (place near Mawṣil), 82, 399
Sinope, 205
Siráju'd-Dín of Dizful, Khwája — (government auditor, xiii–xiv), 83
Ṣiráṭ, Bridge of —, 522
Síratu'n-Nabí ("Biography of the Prophet," probably Ibn Hishám's), 88 and n.
Sírján, 169, 190, 192
Sístán, 86, 91, 160, 175, 177, 181, 186, 187, 193, 388, 392, 456
Síwás, 83, 192, 196, 204, 205, 206, 404, 417
Siyáh-púsh Káfirs, 193
Siyaru'l-Mulúk ("Biographies of the Kings"), 89. The work here intended is the **Siyásat-náma**, *q.v.*
Siyásat-náma (by the Niẓámu'l-Mulk, xi), 88–9
Siyáwush, 317–18
de Slane, Baron McGuckin —, 64 n., 462 n.

Smith, Vincent A. — (historian of Akbar's reign), 393 n.
Smyrna, 199
Solivero, of Barcelona (Spanish envoy at Gházán's court about A.D. 1300), 44
Solomon, 317 n.
Somnáth, 477
"Sortes Vergilianæ," 311
"Spaan," "Spaham" (Italian corruptions of **Iṣfahán**, *q.v.*), 389, 410
Spain, Spaniards, Spanish, 4, 44, 199–201, 396
Sprenger (*Catalogue of the Library of the King of Oude*), 125 and n., 155 and n.
Ssufismus (by Dr Tholuck), 147
Stewart, Major Charles — (translator of *Malfúẓát-i-Tímúrí*, 1830), 184
le Strange, Guy —, 63 n., 70 n., 80, 93 n., 99, 100, 155 n., 304, 356 n., 426
Strassburg or Strasbourg, 107 n.
**Subhatu'l-Abrár* (the "Rosary of the Pious," by Jámí, xv), 516, 528–31
-Subkí (scholar and lecturer at Damascus, xiv), 357
Subutáy (Mongol general, xiii), 25, 96, 97
Súdí (Turkish commentator of Ḥáfiẓ), 299, 302
Ṣúfiism, Ṣúfís, 85, 92, **319 n.**, 417, 435
Suhaylí. See **Anwár-i- —, Shaykhum**
Sulaymán. — Khán (one of the last puppet Íl-kháns of Persia, xiv), 60; Sulṭán — "the Magnificent" (*Qánúní*, A.D. 1520–66), 396; Prince — (brother of Sulṭán Muḥammad I, killed in A.D. 1410), 400, 404; — Fahmí (translator of Dawlatsháh's "Memoirs of the Poets" into Turkish), 436
Abú Sulaymán Dá'úd. See **Banákatí**
Sulaymán Kúh, 193
Sulṭán 'Alí. — (elder brother of Sháh Isma'íl the Ṣafawí), 416; — (calligraphist of Mashhad, xv), 459
Sulṭán Veled (or Walad, son of Mawláná Jalálu'd-Dín Rúmí and author of the *Rabáb-náma*, xiii), 155–6
Sulṭániyya, 48, 51, 53, 54, 55, 61, 67, 70, 81, 166, 187, 190, 192, 400, 401
Sunnís, 50, 178, 238, 256, 301, 315, 418, 419, 521
Sunqur Báwarchí (governor of Baṣra, xiii–xiv), 81
Surghátmish Qará-Khitá'í (ruler of Kirmán, xiii), 163
Surúrí (Turkish commentator of Ḥáfiẓ), 299
Sús, 81
Ṣuwaru'l-Aqálím (geographical work by Abú Zayd Aḥmad b. Sahl al-Balkhí), 99
Suyurghatmish (son of Sháh-rukh, died A.D. 1426–7), 385 n.
-Suyúṭí, 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán Jalálu'd-Dín — (historian and polymath, xv), 164 n.
Súzaní (poet and satirist, xii), 257
Swan and Sonnenschein (publishers), 532 n.
Syria, Syrians, 19, 41, 42, 51, 53, 69, 85, 86, 92, 127, 197, 205, 397, 404, 408, 417, 466, 468
Syriac language, 12, 31
Synagogues (destroyed by Gházán in Persia about A.D. 1295), 40

Ṭabábakán (clan or family of Qazwín), 94
Ṭabaqátu'l-Aṭibbá ("Lives of the Physicians" by Ibn Abí Uṣaybi'a, xiii), 63–4
Ṭabarak, Castle of —, 165
-Ṭabarí (the historian Muḥammad Jarír —), 88, 220 n.
Ṭabaristán, 221
Ṭabas, 55
Tabríz, 27, 28, 33, 38, 40, 46, 61, 70, 79, 82, 86, 103, 146, 161, 165, 166, 172, 173, 175, 187, 199, 201, 208, 230, 317, 320, 321, 328, 329, 330, 361, 362, 368, 379, 400, 403, 406, 410, 413, 414, 416, 418, 473
Tacitus, 80
Tadwín of -Ráfi'í, 93; — of -Yáfi'í, 88
Tadhkiratu'l-Awliyá ("Memoirs of the Saints," by 'Aṭṭár, xiii), 88
Tadhkiratu'sh-Shu'ará ("Memoirs of the Poets," by **Dawlatsháh**, *q.v.*), 434
Tafá'ul (auguries from Ḥáfiẓ, etc.), 311–19
Taft (near Yazd), 364
Taftázán (in Khurásán), 354
-Taftázání. See **Sa'du'd-Dín** and **Aḥmad b. Sa'du'd-Dín**
Ibn Taghribardí (historian), 58

Ṭáhir. — Abíwardí (poet, xv), 501; — of Faryúmad, 111
Abú Ṭáhir-Khátúní (Persian poet and writer), 65
Ṭahmásp, Sháh — I (Ṣafawí, A.D. 1524–76), 316 and n., 381 n., 400, 418, 419
Taḥqíq-i-Madhhab-i-Ṣúfiyán (by Jámí, xv), 514
Tá'iyya (poem by 'Umar ibnu'l-Fáriḍ), 133 n., 514
Tajáribu'l-Umam (of Ibn Miskawayhi), 88
Tájík, 466, 468
Tajríd (commentary on — by al-Qúshjí, xv), 386
Táju'd-Dín. — Áwají (Shí'ite divine contemporary with Úljáytú, xiv), 50; Sayyid — *Naqíbu'l-Ashráf* (xiv), 70–1; Sayyid — (connected with Ḥurúfís, xiv), 368; — 'Uthmán-i-Marghíní (ancestor of the Kurt kings, xii–xiii), 174
Tajziyatu'l-Amṣár. See **Ta'ríkh-i-Waṣṣáf**
Takalú (one of the nine tribes who supported Sháh Isma'íl in A.D. 1500), 417
Takhtákh Injú (xiii–xiv), 83
Takrít, 191
Takúdar. See **Aḥmad Takúdar**
Ṭálib of Jájarm (poet, xv), 438
Abú Ṭálib al-Ḥusayní (translator or author of the supposed autobiographical works of Tímúr, xvii), 184
Ṭálish b. Amír Ḥasan (xiv), 170
Ṭalmíḥ (allusion), 243
Tamanná'í (Turkish Ḥurúfí poet, xiv), 370
Tamerlane (corruption of *Tímúr-i-Lang*, "Limping Tímúr"), see **Tímúr**
Tamímí (clan or family of Qazwín), 94
Tanáṣurí (place), 398
Tarágháy (father of Tímúr), 185
Taramtáz, Amír — (xiv), 50
***Ta'rífát** ("Definitions"). — of 'Ubayd-i-Zákání (xiv), 232, 235, 252–4, 276; — of -Sayyid-Sharíf-Jurjání (xiv–xv), 355
Ta'ríkh. — **i-Banákatí* (composed in A.D. 1317), 100–3; — *i-Gházání*, 72; see **Jámi'u't-Tawáríkh**; — *i-Guzída* (composed in A.D. 1330), 17, 56, 57 n., **87–95**, 115, 118, 119, 162, 166 n., 167, 168 n., 224, 231 n., 360; — *i-Írán* (by Zuká'u'l-Mulk, xix), 383 n.; — *i-Jahán-gusháy* (by Alá'u'd-Dín 'Aṭá Malik-i-Juwayní, completed in A.D. 1260), 10 n., 12, 17, 20 n., 21, **65–6**, 88, 97 n., 106 n., 153 n.; — *-Kámil* (by Ibnu'l-Athír, xiii), 88; — *-Khulafá* (by Jalálu'd-Dín 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán as-Suyúṭí), 164; — *i-Rashídí* (by Mírzá Ḥaydar-i-Dughlát, xvi), 362, 364 and n., 392 and n.; — *i-Ṭabarí*, 88; — *i-Waṣṣáf* (completed about A.D. 1312), 12, 21 n., 28 n., 29, 31, 33, 34, 37, 42, 48 n., 53 n., **67–8**, 70, 360
Ṭaríq-i-Ṣúfiyán ("the Ṣúfís' Way," by Jámí, xv), 514
Tarjumánu'l-Asrár ("the Interpreter of the Unseen," Ḥáfiẓ so called), 312
Tarsus, 81
Tartary, 266, 267
Tartars (properly Tatár, the common form being based on a popular etymology, see pp. 6–7), 4–10, 466, 468. See **Mongols**
Ṭárumayn, 87
Táshkand, 110, 262 n., 320, 418
Tásh-Tímúr (executed in A.D. 1327), 57
Tauris, 413. See **Tabríz**
Ṭá'úsí (clan or family of Qazwín), 94
Tawakkul, Darwísh — (connected with Ḥurúfís, xiv), 368
Tawḍíḥát (by Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh, xiii–xiv), 75–6
Tawqí'í (Tevqí'í), 203. See **Firídún Bey** *supra*
Táyábád, 186
Ṭayy (Arab tribe), 132
Tekfúr (Byzantine Emperor so called), 205
Tennyson, 218 n.
Tevqí'í (Tawqí'í), 203. See **Firídún Bey**, *supra*
-Tha'labí (author of the *Qiṣaṣu'l-Anbiyá*), 88
Thiqatu'd-Dín Fámí, Shaykh — (xiii), 175
Tholuck, Dr —, 147
Thomas Ildaci or Ildouchi (Mongol envoy to Edward II in A.D. 1307), 11, 49
Thompson, W. F. — (translator of the *Akhláq-i-Jalálí*), 444

Tibet, Tibetan, 43
Tibyán (of Aḥmad b. Abí 'Abdi'lláh, one of the sources of the *Nuzhatu'l-Qulúb*), 99
Tiflís, 188, 192, 414
Tigín (typical Turkish suffix to names), 120, 121 and n.
Tigris, 223, 234, 251, 264, 284, 285, 511 n.
Tihrán, 300
Tímúr (Turkish for "Iron"). — Qá'án (Emperor of China, A.D. 1305), 49; — -tash (son of Amír Chúbán, put to death in Egypt in A.D. 1328), 54, 56, 59, 170; — (grandson of Qubiláy Khán), 74; — i-Lang ("Tamerlane," the great Tímúr, b. A.D. 1336, d. 1405), 4, 9, 12, 57, 58, 60, 71, 159, 160, 161, 163, 167–9, 172, 173, 178, 179, 180–206, 208, 216, 282, 311, 321, 332, 344, 353–5, 357, 361–8, 371, 374, 379, 380, 381, 383, 388, 390, 393, 394, 395, 399, 400, 404, 421, 424, 425, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 435, 438, 462, 473, 503
Tíráh, 175
Tirmidh, 390
Tongudar (Armenian form of **Takúdar**, *q.v.*), 25 n.
Toqát (or Túqát), 127, 205
Tornberg, 88 n.
Toynbee, Arnold —, 151
Transoxiana (*Má warâ'a'n-Nahr*), 5, 54, 64, 100, 101, 110, 185, 234, 320, 353 n., 379, 382, 387, 390, 398, 418, 419, 428, 453, 461, 468, 502
Trebizond, 85, 199, 201, 407, 412
Trinity College Library, Cambridge, 553 n., 536 n.
Túgháchár (Mongol general, put to death in A.D. 1295), 35, 36, 37, 39
Ṭughán-sháh (patron of Azraqí the poet), 347
Tugháy-Tímúr (xiv), 59, 60, 216
Tuḥfa-i-Sámí (Biography of later poets by Sám Mírzá the Ṣafawí), 460, 507, 514
**Tuḥfatu'l-Aḥrár* (poem by Jámí, composed in A.D. 1481), 516, 526–8, 541
Túmán (Mongol Envoy to Edward II in A.D. 1307), 11
Tunis, 84
Túqát (or Toqát), 127, 205
Túqátmish (rival of Tímúr, xiv), 189, 190, 192, 321, 328–9, 368 (for Túqtámish in the later references read Tuqátmish)
Túqjáq (niece of Júshkab, a Mongol noble, put to death), 34
Túqmáq (conspires against Chúbán in A.D. 1319), 52
Tuqtáy (xiv), 49
Túrán, 58. See also **Transoxiana, Turkistán**
Túrghúdí dynasty, 401
Turkey, 14, 107, 302, 365, 385, 422, 449, 452, 461, 540, 543. See also **Ottoman Turks**
Turkí (or Eastern Turkish) language and literature, 32, 93, 111, 184, 380, 391, 392, 395, 437–8, 439, **452–8, 505, 506**
Turkistán, 5, 262 n., 272, 385, 386, 388, 398, 453. See also **Túrán, Transoxiana**
Turkmáns, 85, 172, 173, 192, 379, 399, 418. See also **Áq-qoyúnlú** and **Qará-qoyúnlú**
Turks (Eastern), 73, 74, 108, 228, 232, 252, 283, 318, 466, 467, 468, 469
Turk Yurdu (the organ of the *Yeñi Túrán* or Pan-Turanian party in Turkey), 15
Turner Macan (editor of the *Sháhnáma*), 89 n.
Turshíz, 186, 487, 488
Ṭús (the modern Mashhad), 111, 186, 190, 234
Ṭúsí (poet, xv), 438
Túysirkán, 274
Túzuk-i-Báburí (Persian translation of the **Bábur-náma**, *q.v.*), 392
Tuzúkát-i-Tímúrí (the so-called "Institutes of Tímúr"), 183–4, 202–3

'Ubayd-i-Zákání (poet and satirist, xiv), 159, 209, 211, **230–57**, 260, 299, 350, 351, 352, 492
'Ubaydu'lláh. Khwája — of Shásh (xiv, spiritual guide of Kamál of Khujand), 320; Khwája — *Aḥrár* (Shaykh of the Naqshbandí order of dervishes, xv), 441
"Ugurlimehemet" (Italian corruption of **Oghúrlú Muḥammad**, *q.v.*), 413
Újan, 52
Uljáytú (Mongol Íl-khán, reigned A.D. 1305–16), **46–51**, 52, 55, 67, 68, 70, 71, 72, 73, 76, 83, 163, 170, 171

Ulugh Beg (son of Sháh-rukh, murdered by his son 'Abdu'l-Laṭíf in A.D. 1449), 192, 364, 385, 386, 387, 388, 390, 394, 395, 400, 438, 453, 501–3
'Umar. — b. Abi'l-Khaṭṭáb (the Caliph, vii), 250, 255; — -i-Khayyám (the astronomer-poet, xi–xii), 65, 119, 121, 227, 304, 335 n., 446 n.; — b. al-Fárid (Egyptian mystical poet, xii–xiii), 514, 548; — i-Sulṭániyya (connected with Hurúfis, xiv), 368; — Shaykh, Mírzá b. Míránsháh (xiv–xv), 362, 381; b. Úzún Ḥasan (killed in A.D. 1472), 411
Umayyad Caliphs (vii–viii), 90, 91
'Ummán, Sea of —, 148, 212, 214
Úng Khán (the supposed original of Prester John), 11, 19 n.
'Unṣurí (poet, xi), 65, 522
Urdú (Hindustání) language, 107–8
'Urfa, 389, 414
'Urfí of Shíráz (poet, *circâ* A.D. 1000), 292
'Urmiya, 188
Urúk Khátún (mother of Uljáṭú Khudá-banda), 46
Ibn Abí Uṣaybi'a (author of the *Ṭabaqátu'l-Aṭibbá*, or Biographies of Physicians, xiii), 64
'*Ushsháq-náma* ("Book of Lovers") of 'Iráqí, 132; — of 'Ubayd-i-Zákání, 235, 237
"Ussun Cassano" (Italian corruption of **Úzún Ḥasan**, *q.v.*), 389, 404
Ustájlú (one of the nine tribes which supported Sháh Isma'íl the Ṣafawí), 417
Usury prohibited by Gházán Khán (A.D. 1299), 40
-'Utbí (author of the *Ta'rikhu'l-Yamíní*, xi), 88
'Uthmán. — b. 'Affán (the Caliph, vii), 255; Amír — of Mawṣil (A.D. 1502), 417. See also **'Osmán**
Utrár, 202
Uways. Sulṭán — (Íl-khání of Baghdád, xiv), 55, 104 n., 166, 171, 172, 208, 230, 235, 260, 262–3, 264–5, 368 n., 399; Sulṭán — b. Sháh Shujá' (Muẓaffarí, xiv), 167, 169; — (Áq-qoyúnlú, brother of Úzún Ḥasan), 408
Úyghúr script, 112 and n.
'*Uyúnu't-Tawáríkh* (of al-Kházin al-Baghdádí), 88
Uzbek Khán (of the Golden Horde, A.D. 1335), 57, 59
Uzbeks, 204, 379, 380, 390, 393, 399, 418, 419, 445
Úzún Ḥasan (Áq-qoyúnlú, also called **Báyandarí**, *q.v.*, d. A.D. 1477-8), 380, 381, 389, 400, 404–14, 429 n., 443

Ván, 188
Venice, Venetians, 61, 380, 381, 405, 410, 411, 416, 429 n.
Vergil, 311
"Vision of God" (*Rúyatu'lláh*), 301 n.
Vüllers, 89 n.

Abu'l-**Wafá**, Shaykh — (xiv–xv), 445
Wafayátu'l-A'yán (by Ibn Khallikán, xiii), 64
Wahl (translator of Ḥáfiẓ), 303
Wajíhu'd-Dín. Khwája — Zangí (xiii), 111; Mawláná — Nasafí (xiii), 175; Khwája — Mas'úd-i-Sarbadár (xiv), 211–12
Walí, Amír — (ruler of Mázandarán, xiv), 186
Abu'l-Walíd Aḥmad, Tomb of — in Herát, 504
Walt Whitman, 107
Wang (or Ung or Ong) Khán, 11 n. See **Prester John**
Wáqi'át-i-Báburí, 392. See **Bábur-náma**
Waráwíní, Sa'du'd-Dín (author of *Marzubán-náma*, xiii), 356
Wársáq (one of the nine tribes who supported Sháh Isma'íl the Ṣafawí), 417
Wásiṭ (in Mesopotamia), 357
Wásiṭatu'l-'Iqd (Jámí's second *Diwán*), 515
Waṣṣáf-i-Ḥaḍrat (the "Court Panegyrist," 'Abdu'lláh b. Faḍlu'lláh of Shíráz, xiv), 21, 42, 67–8, 87, 424. See also **Ta'ríkh-i-Waṣṣáf**
Water of Life, 291 n.
Waṭwáṭ, Rashídu'd-Dín — (poet, xii), 65
Weil, 88 n.
Whinfield, E. H. —, 119 n., 146, 148, 300, 446 n., 448
White, Dr — (Professor of Arabic at Oxford in A.D. 1779), 184
"White Garden" (Herát), 501
"White Hand" (*Yad-i-Bayḍá*), 267, 470 and n.

"White Sheep" Turkmáns. See **Áq-qoyúnlú**
Wickerhauser, 156, 542
Wilson, C. E. —, 515
Winchester, Bishop of — (A.D. 1238), 6
Wine-drinking. See **Drink**
Wolf, Dr —, 346
"Wurchanadin" (*i.e.* **Burhánú'd-Dín**, *q.v.*), 404 n.
Wüstenfeld, 64 n., 88 n.

Yádigár Muḥammad (xv), 389, 410
-Yáfi'í, Imámu'd-Dín — (xiii), 88; Shaykh 'Abdu'lláh — (xiv), 356, 464
Yaḥyá. — (son of the *Ṣáḥib-Díwán*, xiii), 29; Nuṣratu'd-Dín Sháh — Muẓaffarí (xiv), 167, 168, 169, 190, 292; Khwája — yi-Narrád (favourite of Míránsháh, put to death by Tímúr about A.D. 1400), 195 n.
Yaman (Arabia Felix), 89, 184
Yamínu'd-Dín. Amír — Ṭughrá'í (father of the poet Ibn-i-Yamín, xiv), 211, 215; Amír — (one of Mírzá Báysunghur's poets, xv), 501
Ibn-i-Yamín, Amír Maḥmúd — (son of the above, d. A.D. 1367–8), 159, 179, 210, **211–222**
Yanbú', 398
Ya'qúb (son of Úzún Ḥasan, xv), 413 and n., 414–16
Yáqút. — (the historian and geographer, xiii), 6, 12; — al-Musta'ṣimí (the celebrated calligraphist, xiii), 84
Yarmouth, 6
Yasá'úl (xiv), 52
Yasáwur (rebellion of —, A.D. 1318), 52
Yasúr Nikúdarí, Prince — (killed in A.D. 1320), 177
Yazd, 119, 162, 163, 168, 169, 193, 208, 225, 290, 364, 389, 418, 464
Yazdigird (name of three Sásánian kings). — I "the sinful" (A.D. 399–420), 250; — III, son of Shahriyár, the last of the line, 90
Yazíd b. Mu'áwiya (Umayyad), 256
Year amongst the Persians (by E. G. Browne), 241 n., 299 n.
Yeñi Túrán (the "Pan-Turanian" movement), 15
Yildirim ("the Thunderbolt") Báyazíd (the Ottoman Sulṭán Báyazíd I, reigned A.D. 1389–1402), 173, 196. See under **Báyazíd**
Yima (in the Avesta, the Jam or Jamshíd of the Persian epic), 290 n., 317 n.
Yúnus Khán (xv), 364
Yúrish-i-Panj-sála (Tímúr's "Five years' campaign," A.D. 1392–6), 190–3
Yúsuf. — Amírí (poet of Mírzá Báysunghur, xv), 501; — i-Andakání (musician of Sháh-rukh, xv), 384, 498, 500; — Badí'í (poet of Bábur's time, xv–xvi), 459; — Beg (xvii), 318; — i-Dámghání (connected with Ḥurúfís, xiv), 368; — Ḍiyá'u'd-Dín (Jámí's son), 514, 527; — Ṣháh (minstrel, xiv), 264; — b. Úzún Ḥasan (killed in A.D. 1472), 411, 417
* *Yúsuf u Zulaykhá* (poem by Jámí, composed in A.D. 1483), **516**, **531–3**, 535
Yúsuf, Súratu — (*súra* xii of the *Qur'án*), 325 n.

Zábulistán, 388
Zádání, clan or family of Qazwín, 94
Ẓafar-náma. — (of Ḥamdu'lláh Mustawfí of Qazwín, xiv), 87, **95–98**, 99; — (of Nizám-i-Shámí, *circâ* A.D. 1404), 183, **361–2**; — (of **Sharafu'd-Dín 'Alí Yazdí**, *q.v.*), 181, 185, 190 n., 191, 193, 361, **362–5**, 438
-Ẓáhir, al-Malik. — (Sulṭán Baybars of Egypt, A.D. 1260–77), 19; — (Barqúq, A.D. 1382–98), 191
Ẓahírí of Níshápúr (author of *Saljúq-náma*), 89
Ẓahír-i-Faryábí (poet, xiii), 118, 261, 291, 350, 352, 522
Zakariyyá. — b. Muḥammad al-Qazwíní (geographer, xiii), 64, 94; — (son of the *Ṣaḥib-Díwán*, xiii), 28
Zákán, village of — near Qazwín, 231
Zákání, clan or family of Qazwín, 94, 231 n. See also **'Ubayd-i-Zákání**
Zál (son of Sám and father of Rustam in the Persian epic), 316 n.
-Zamakhsharí (philologist and commentator), 256 n., 272 n., 357
Zand dynasty, 311

Zanján, 37, 48, 87, 97 n., 425
-Zanjání (grammarian), 354
Zanzibar, 398
Zarkúb, Shaykh — of Shíráz, 360
Záwa, 179, 211
Abú Zayd Aḥmad b. Sahl al-Balkhí (author of the *Ṣuwaru'l-Aqálím*), 99
Zaynál b. Úzún Ḥasan (killed in battle in A.D. 1472 or 1474), 411, 412
Zaynu'l-'Abidín b. Sháh Shujá'-i-Muẓaffarí (A.D. 1384–7), 167–9, 188, 189, 191, 282
Zaynu'd-Dín. — 'Alí b. Ṣá'id (preacher and rhapsodist, xiii), 34; Muḥammad (brother of Ḥamdu'lláh Mustawfí of Qazwín, xiv), 87; — 'Alí (brother of Mubárizu'd-Dín Muḥammad, xiii), 163; — Abú Bakr-i-Táyabádí (saint, xiv), 186, 281; — of Hamadán (merchant, friend of Ḥáfiẓ, xiv), 285; Shaykh — of Khwáf (xiv), 321
Zeno, Caterino — (Venetian traveller, xv), 380, 405, 411, 412, 416 n.
Zíj (Astronomical tables). —i-Ilkhání by Naṣíru'd-Dín of Ṭús (xiii), 502; — *i-jadíd-i-Sulṭání* (by Ulugh Beg, xv), 386, 502
Zirih, 186
Zírbád, 398
Zoroastrians, 342 n., 494. See also **Gabr, Guebre, Magians**
Zubdatu't-Tawáríkh. — of Jamálu'd-Dín Abu'l-Qásim of Káshán, 88; — of Ḥáfiẓ Abrú, 424–6, 430
Zubayrí, clan or family of Qazwín, 94
Zuhra (in the allegory of *Salámán and Absál*), 523
Zuká'u'l-Mulk (author of the *Ta'ríkh-i-Írán*, xix), 383
Zunnár (zonarium or sacred girdle), 342 n.

CAMBRIDGE: PRINTED BY J. B. PEACE, M.A., AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS